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THE LIFE & LABOURS
OF
SAINT THOMAS OF AQUIN.

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LIFE & LABOURS

OF

S. Thomas of Aquin,

BY

THE VERY REV. ROGER William BEDE VAUGHAN, O.S.B.,

Cathedral Prior of S. Michael's, Hereford.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS volume completes the sketch of S. Thomas, determines his position in the Schools as a Theologian, contrasts him with the classical Fathers of the Ancient Church, and opens out the sources, describes the character, and indicates the practical scope of his crowning work, the "*Summa Theologica.*"

The "*Summa Theologica*" is a mighty synthesis, thrown into technical and scientific form, of the Catholic traditions of East and West, of the infallible *dicta* of the Sacred Page, and of the most enlightened conclusions of human reason, gathered from the soaring intuitions of the Academy, and the rigid severity of the Lyceum.

Its author was a man endowed with the characteristic notes of the three great Fathers of

Greek Philosophy: he possessed the intellectual honesty and precision of Socrates, the analytical keenness of Aristotle, and that yearning after wisdom and light which was the distinguishing mark of "Plato the divine," and which has ever been one of the essential conditions of the highest intuitions of religion. He had more than this: the mere natural talent of the greatest of mankind would be inadequate to the construction of such a master-piece as the "*Summa*" of S. Thomas. The Stagyrite himself, with his piercing intellect, who is so matchless while dealing with secular philosophy, when he attempts to soar up to the Divinity, staggers, as if struck by the Hand of God, or proves himself little better than a clumsy charlatan. Something beyond natural keenness and cultivated sagacity is required in one who would deal successfully with the supernatural world of grace and glory. Before rising into this finer atmosphere, the soul must be steeped in supernatural light, and comforted by an element more potent far than the strongest flame of the active intellect: in fact, an angelic man, leading a stainless life, almost as if he had never suffered taint in nature, alone would be

capable of receiving into his spirit, and of drawing out before the world, the vast and complicated scheme of the divine economy, and the typical figure of what a man should be. Compare the *Ethics* of the Stagyrite with the "*Summa Theologica*," and the *Timæus* of Plato with our Saint's theory of religious life, and the contrast will act with the force of demonstration.

The Angelical, besides possessing the endowments of the three Greek masters, was lifted into a finer and purer atmosphere than they. Whilst they lay amongst the idolaters in the camp, he went through the cloud up the mountain of Revelation, and conversed with the mighty men of God; and there, on that elevated platform, away from the mist of earth and the din of life, he garnered into the chambers of his memory the rich traditions of the past, and conceived the leading outlines of the "*Summa Theologica*." His timbre of mind, the keynote to his whole career, is not merely supernatural, it is Benedictine and Patristic. His width, his depth, his catholic grasp, speak of the Desert Athletes, the Eastern Fathers, and the impress of the Roman will. These master-influences not only ripened and

mellowed his natural character and gifts, but they helped to enrich and enlarge his vision—they taught his reason to expand in proportion to the greatness of the Truth which was presented to its view. And since S. Thomas knew, as it were by heart, the main writings of the Fathers, his plastic mind must have been deeply affected by their gentleness of sympathy, their force of intellect, and the giant purpose of their lives. For, unlike himself, they did not veil themselves away from the sight of men when they took up their pens to write; but, on the contrary, with beautiful frankness and simplicity, they wove their own portraits in amongst their teachings, and that with a grace and an unconsciousness of self, which are amongst the most charming manifestations of single-minded genius.

Thus the great Angelical drew two things from a patristic source: the tradition of Apostolical religion, and the broad outlines of the perfections, in the active order, of the Christian man. His "*Summa Theologica*" expresses scientifically all that is most important in the accumulated teaching of the Ancient Saints; whilst his own personal life displays, in the highest order of human energy,

the dominant principles which animated them. The ruling Christ-principle of S. Benedict came originally from the East. The heart of S. Anthony of Egypt, was warmed by the same sacred fire as burnt in the bosom of the Patriarch of Latin monks. The great classic Doctors of East and West, those eight noble columns which so majestically support the Holy Ark, spring from a monastic pedestal. That principle which penetrated their beings like a thread of supernatural heroism, and gave oneness to their career and unity to their aim, pierced into the spirit of the Angelical as well, and became a tie of brotherhood between him and the early athletes, between his character and theirs, and stamped its royal signature upon the "*Summa Theologica.*"

This "*Summa*" represents in theory what S. Thomas and the Fathers were in practice: it is not only a powerful machine for creating Theologians, but also a mighty instrument for educating Men: its aim is to reproduce the patristic character as well as the patristic mind.

Thus, the fact of the lives of the classic Fathers occupying a considerable space in the present volume is accounted for at once. Their biographies

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offer the best index to the nature of those writings which form the principal materials of which the "*Summa*" is composed; whilst the character of the Angelical himself was greatly influenced by their practical example. Though living in a scholastic age, he evidently was not cast in the ordinary scholastic mould; his simplicity and force are of the best days of the East; his calibre and breadth speak of S. Ambrose, S. Gregory, and S. Augustine. His logic was almost the only connection he had with the characteristics of the Schools, which represent, with brilliant exceptions, a contentious and comparatively minute and feeble class of Theologians. This can only be realized by comparing the columnal Saints with the writers of the Middle Age: then, it becomes clear at a glance, that S. Thomas was not so much a scholastic, as a Father, who lived in the mediæval time, and aimed at reproducing the spirit of the Patristic Doctors, and at giving to the world the scientific exposition of their united teaching.

But an acquaintance with Patrology, however accurate, would not suffice for the construction of a perfect synthesis of Christian Truth. Two rays of light affect the Catholic mind, and offer it a

double illumination: that of the supernatural revelation of the Written and Spoken Word, and that which is proper to the intellect itself. These, proceeding from a single Sun, can never cross in conflict, but mutually witness to each other, and to that Primeval Truth from which they originally spring. The principal revelation of the Oral Word is conveyed through the teaching of the Fathers, the Councils, and the Pontiffs; that of the Written, is to be found in the Sacred Page; whilst the most perfect manifestation of the natural revelation of the Human Reason is contained in the writings of the most gifted and most cultivated intellects of the most gifted and cultivated people of the world.

Hence, the Angelical did not confine himself to the study of the classic Fathers: he also mastered Holy Scripture and Greek Philosophy: these formed the three-fold basis of the "*Summa Theologica.*"

And so with the present volume: after dwelling upon the Saint's labours on Tradition, then his Commentaries on the Gospels, and his Expositions on the fourteen Epistles of S. Paul, on Job, the Psalms, the Canticle of Canticles, and the

Prophets of the Ancient Law, are brought before the consideration of the reader; whilst, with regard to human reason, the action of the Socratic mind, the influence of Platonic elevation, and the intellectual mastery of Aristotle over secular philosophy in relation to the Angelical, are carefully considered. Nor is this all: a rapid sketch of the Saint's studies on the Stagyrite has also been attempted, more especially with regard to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which go to form in part the ground-work of the moral portion of the "*Summa Theologica.*"

Besides his triple study of original founts the Angelical was, through life, making steady advances, in his own compositions, towards the realization of his master-piece. Each *Opusculum* and Commentary, as it came forth from his hand, represented a progression towards a more universal and scientific exposition—each was a block or pillar ready squared and cut to fit into its proper place. Each, moreover, had its own independent scope in the development of a given truth, or in the annihilation of some special error. To those various aberrations mentioned in the first volume the antidote is now discovered. The rationalism

and irreverence of the Schools, the dangerous bias of the Stagyrite, the pantheism of the Arabians, the teachings of Averroës and Avicenna, and their corruption of the text of the "Philosopher," as well as the schism of the Greeks with their three-fold dogmatic heresy, and the darkness of the Jews regarding the Messias;—all these are encountered by the great Angelical, and are beaten back by him, till, finally, having confronted them one by one, he now attacks them simultaneously; and, by means of his synthetic power, his opulence of principle, his divine illumination, and his logical sagacity, he throws an *enceinte* of adamant around the Spiritual City, which, by the very fact of occupying the ground, displaces or destroys almost every theological error which has the capacity of germinating in the human mind.

Then, besides this, the "*Summa Theologica*" is shown to aim at practical results.

It is proved to be a formidable instrument for turning out world-saving men. The classic Fathers of the Church are types of such as it would realize; and the Angelical points to the Episcopate as the most perfect state to which a Christian can be called. The principles on which

those are formed who possess the plenitude of the priesthood are the principles of monastic sacrifice. Whilst the religious, under vow, is striving after the perfection of holocaustic charity towards God and man, the Bishop is supposed already to have attained it. These ruling principles of an exalted service have been already drawn out at length in the first volume of this work, and they find a vivid illustration in the lives of the eight Œcumenical Doctors of the Church, and in the daily life of the Angel of the Schools. It is the grand Christ-principle of monastic charity which has been the main and secret spring of all that is mighty, tender, and governing in the renowned Champions of the Ark of God, and in the most Catholic princes of the civil order. In proportion as the Priest, the Statesman, or the Sovereign has acted, in his place and measure, in harmony with this principle, in that very same proportion he has been a light to the world, and as salt to the earth.

Nor are these elements of high heroism dead or effete. They still live. And if the world would study them, and look on them in their highest manifestations, as exhibited, for example, in Anthony, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, Chrysos-

tom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Thomas of Aquino, it would speedily discover where its salvation lies. It would with reverence replace those standards and patterns which have been too long thrust out of sight. The "*Summa*" would be recognized by serious men as an educating power. Pagan *Ethics*, German dreams, and liberalesque philosophy, would vanish with the night; and a class of men would be moulded into shape, through the action of this mighty instrument, such as alone would be able to calm the fierce democracy, and, through the very splendour of their lives, to subdue into obedience the masses of the people.

The author has already suggested that it is not possible "adequately to delineate" the labours of the Angelical within the present limits, and that his "full Biography would occupy many thousand pages." * Three more volumes would help to complete the entire scheme; one on the Saint's Philosophy; and another on his Theology; and a third on the influence of these, as presented in the "*Summa Theologica*," upon the leading thinkers of mediæval and modern times.

* See *Preface*, *p.* 8—9.

Indeed, the present work can hardly be looked upon as more than containing the *Prolegomena* to this three-fold exposition. Here the reader is introduced to those Schools of thought, and to those ruling minds, whose tenets and traditions will have to be weighed and measured in their proper place. Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece and Rome are pointed out indeed, but there has been no time for dwelling on them; the action of the Easterns and the Commentators, and the impress of the Masters of Greek Philosophy, are not omitted, but are not manifested fully; the various figures connected with S. Thomas are brought upon the scene and are described, but space does not permit of an analysis of each of them, nor of showing the exact position which they relatively hold in the formation of the mind of the Angel of the Schools. What relation did S. Thomas bear to S. Chrysostom in Exegesis? How did the School of Alexandria temper his method of exposition? When does he differ from S. Augustine, on what principle, and to what extent? How was he impressed with the moral teaching of the Stagyrite, of S. Gregory the Great, of S. Jerome, and S. Ambrose? How

does he differ from the Scholastics? In what is he unlike the classic Fathers? What is the history of that gift which taught him how to draw the best and truest from every source, even the most corrupt, without suffering from the slightest taint of poison? What is the characteristic of his method in the plain of human reason? How does this method influence his teaching upon Dogma, and what is the secret of the paramount hold of the "*Summa Theologica*" on the thinking mind of Christendom?

All such questions as these require full and careful treatment. They cannot be more than touched upon in a work which principally aims at clearing the way, marking out the ground, and offering a general survey, intelligible if not detailed, of a vast and complicated subject. Here the object has not been to instruct the Theologian or Professor, but on the contrary, to make the "LIFE AND LABOURS OF S. THOMAS OF AQUIN" as intelligible as possible to the general reader, and to provide the Student with some kind of introduction to the "*Summa Theologica*." *

* See *Preface*, *p.* 21.

With respect to the authorities which have been relied on in the present volume, they are, with accidental exceptions, mentioned in the "Notes." Such translations of the works of the Fathers as were at hand have been made use of where their words are quoted in the English. In turning the Latin of S. Thomas into the vernacular, the author, in several instances, where the sense permits it, has condensed or abbreviated the original form. The excellent reprint of the *Bollandists* by PALME has been of service in the strictly biographical portions of either volume.* Whenever the Fathers or Schoolmen are quoted, the "Patrology" of MIGNE must be consulted. The "*Opuscula*" are numbered according to the edition of the Saint's "*Opera Omnia*," brought out by FIACCADORI, at Parma; and, except in three unimportant instances, to this edition the reader is invariably referred. †

* For the *Life of S. Thomas, see Vol. VII.*, 1865.
† *Tom. I.*, 1852; *Tom. Ult. XXIV.*, 1869.

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CHAPTER I.

S. THOMAS MADE DOCTOR.

"Tolle Thomam, et Ecclesiam Romanam subverterem."
(Bucer.)

In looking back upon the differences between the Angelical and William of S. Amour, what is to be seen, save a repetition of that contest, which had been waged so many years before, between the austere S. Bernard and the brilliant Abelard? The same principles of antagonism had survived after the death of their respective champions; and when two fresh spirits, sufficiently active, and interested in the subject, became animated with their vitality, the same battle again commenced, differing only inasmuch as it took its character and direction from the divers natures and talents of the combatants—William, proud, sour, and not wanting in artifice and talent; S. Thomas, meek, gentle, and overwhelming from his intellectual weight, and overpowering in his grasp of truth, and in his dexterity

in the use of it.* Yet, the Angelical does not appear before the mind's eye as an antagonist of error so much as an august arbiter of truth. Fighting implies, if not anger, certainly, passion. In him, there was destroying force, but never, violence; there was intensest power, but passion, never. With calm, forcible exposition, with inimitable skill, with cautious reserve, with entire self-control, yet with unruffled confidence, he displays the full form of truth, and is victorious. Yet *he* does not triumph; he does not advert to his own successes; it is truth, and reverence, and authority which is lifted up in victory; and if he be lifted with them, he spares not a thought for self.†

And it was this sublime self-repression, or rather self-forgetfulness (for self-repression implies self-consciousness), which was the secret of the Angelical's extraordinary discriminating power—of that keenness and security with which he

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* He who weighs well the following words, will realize how great a power the Angelical must have been :—"La santa Romana Chiesa madre di tutti i fedeli, & delli suoi credenti vera, & saggia Maestra, alla quale appartiene di determinare la vera, & Catholica dottrina, con molte autorità conferma, & approba questa santa dottrina di questo Angelico Dottore. La onde Innocenzo V. sommo Pontefice, retto, e governato dallo Spirito Santo, nel Sermone, che comincia; *Ecce plusquam Salomon hic;* cosi dice, *Huius Doctoris sapientia præ cæteris excepta canonica habet proprietatem verborum modum dicendorum, veritatem sententiarum. Ita quod qui eum tenuit, nunquam inventus est a veritatis tramite deviasse: & qui eum impugnavit, semper fuit de veritate suspectus." (Vita, p. 4.)*

† "Dicea per nostro ammaestramento Tomaso, che chiunque per giusto che sia, può, e dee senza nota di falsità stimarsi ad ogni altro inferiore, si per gli occulti proprii mancamenti, come per le virtù da lui nel prossimo ignorate; nella maniera appunto, c'honesta donzella alla maritata si humilia e sottopone con questo concetto, che quella forse sia più di lei fervente e divota." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. IX., n.* 14, *p.* 117.)

could put his finger straight down on that minute thread at which truth and error seem to meet, and separate them clean.* And this high gift it was which secured to him so vast a sway over the deepest minds, and the hardest students, of the Paris University. Passion, prejudice, small narrow self-seeking ways, and miserable blindness, were unknown to him, except in theory, or in his having to suffer from the action of such agencies in others.

The history of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" illustrates his impartiality.

It will be remembered that, whilst the Angelical was earnestly engaged in bringing the "Perils" of William of S. Amour to condemnation, William, on his part, was doing his utmost to secure the same fate for the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel." † In the former work, the secular party of the University was compromised; and in the latter, the regulars were unpleasantly mixed up. In fact, the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" was the composition of a certain Br. Gerard, who

* "Et quia ad subtilitatem ingenii sequitur judicii certitudo, dum intellectus, quod potest subtilitate capere, valeat etiam quod verum est judicare; ideo conveniens fuit, ut prædictus Doctor, sicut subtilis ingenii fuisse dicitur, sic et certi judicii fuisse evidentissime judicetur. Nam opiniones et rationes, quas adhuc Bacellarius adinvenit, paucis exceptis, magister effectus scripsit, tenuit, et defendit." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. VII.*, *n.* 41, *p.* 670.)

† "Avant que de se retirer de la Cour de Rome, les Députés de l'Université de Paris, demandèrent la condamnation d'un Ecrit, qui scandalisoit déja toute l'Eglise; & qui dans la suite ne contribua pas peu à former une secte de faux spirituels. Ce Livre étoit appellé, l'*Evangile éternel*." (Touron, *Liv. II.*, *Chap. XII.*, *p.* 143; *Cf.* Bareille, *Chap. XVIII.*, *p.* 194.)

was a Franciscan friar. This friar, urged on by a fanatical monk, a native of Calabria, named Leonard, and Leonard, in turn, being urged on by him, both of them worked, each upon the other, to such a degree, that they finally became possessed by the conviction that the "*Ordo Parvulorum*"—that is, the "Order of Minorites"—was to form the one great absorbing spiritual power in the world; and that all those inanities and follies, written down by one of them in the "Introduction," would come to pass amongst mankind.* Now, the influence of men who are verging on insanity, and yet can hardly be called mad, is proverbially great. The proverb is illustrated by the case in point. For Br. Gerard, and Br. Leonard, fired by their belief in the glorious future of their Order, and disordered in brain by the reveries of Abbot Joachim, soon made many converts.† Men starting life with an intense devotedness to their Order, men who could not help seeing how great a work had been done already, were soothed and flattered by the vivid pictures presented to them by these new apostles. Weak minds, and pious minds too, were tinged with the new fanaticism. Not only the silent novice, and the active preaching friar, but men of great authority in the Order could not resist, altogether, the fascinating influence of forecastings and prophecies which foretold the future

* Vid. Labbe, *SS. Concilia, Tom. XI., p.* 2360, *ad. an.* 1260.
† For full account, see Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XII., p.* 141—147.

splendour, and imperial advance, of the institute they loved so well.* Even the General of the Franciscan Order had, himself, eventually, in consequence of his being compromised in the affairs of Br. Gerard, to resign his high office, and hide himself away in the obscure retirement of conventual life.†

But the keen eye of that hawk, William of S. Amour—as has been said in another place—at once perceived its opportunity. He who would take the trouble to write and publish, far and wide, a book against the Mendicants, would be only too charmed to snatch their own weapons out of their hands, or to make them slay themselves with their own sword. The "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" became as popular as the book of the "Perils." Men who were glad to ridicule the friars, and turn them into mockery by means of a book which was written purposely against them, found their zest sharpened when they were able to laugh at them, and turn them into foolery, by means of a book which they had written in favour of themselves. Possibly, the people living in a

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* See Michelet, *Histoire de France, Tom. IV., Liv. IV., Chap. IX., p.* 10.

† Some have even been of the opinion that the "Introduction" was written by John of Parma :—"Hujus libri auctorem *Joannem de Parma*, Italum, Ordinis Minorum 7. generalem ministrum, *Eymericus* inquisitor vulgo existimatum ait. Auctorem non nominat *Ptolomæus Lucensis*, nec tot et tam crassos illius errores commemorat, sed hunc unum ; 'quod lex evangelii neminem ad perfectum ducebat, sed lex spiritus : unde sic se habebat lex evangelii ad legem spiritus, sicut lex vetus ad legem gratiæ : et quod lex evangelica Christi in 1260 annis evacuari debebat, et lex spiritus subintrare.'" (Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles., Tom. XV., Art. IV., p.* 158.)

university city in the thirteenth century, may have had their wits exercised more than others, and may have been trained to appreciate, more keenly, the humourous and the severe, through their constant intercourse with noisy students and sharp-set professors.* Anyhow, the populace in Paris always seem to have been on the *qui vive* to catch at anything that might create a laugh, especially if they thought they saw the glancing edge, and the keen point, of genuine satire; or hoped to witness an interchange of caustic repartees and pungent sarcasm. Though few of the population could read or write, all of them could hear and see. They were quick, observant, full of vivacity, easily provoked, easily carried away, impetuous, and overflowing with *esprit;* and bright, ready, and free as summer birds.

The song of the minstrel, the play of the buffoon, the constant presence of the Paris student, had developed their intelligence beyond all power of books.† What better material to

* The familiarity of the students of the University with the citizens is evident from the quarrels and disturbances that seem ever to have been taking place between them—a familiarity which, whilst it bred contempt, also, no doubt, had its influence upon the minds and imaginations of the people. They received, without knowing it, a species of "education"—something, perhaps, resembling that which the Athenians so many hundred years before received from the talkers and sophists of that day. For the relations of the students to the Parisians, see Fleury, *Disc. sur L'Hist. Eccl., Cinquième Disc.*, § *X., Moeurs des Etudians, p.* 212—216.)

† The Jongleurs *(joculatores)* were the men who helped to encourage a love of fun and humour in the people. Some, indeed, confined themselves to singing of the deeds of princes, and of the lives of saints; others gave free play, without restraint, to their ribaldry and antics. Preachers of the day paint them "prenant part aux noces et aux festins, réjouissant les convives par des chants légers, recevant en cadeau des robes précieuses

work upon could William of S. Amour have desired ?* Could only the laugh be turned against the friars; could they only be made the objects of ridicule and wit—then, they would speedily lose their power. The enemies of the Minorites set about their work, not only in earnest, but in the right way. Copies of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel" were sold and distributed in the public market-places. They were used as quivers, out of which to draw all manner of barbs—small, sharp, swift-flying shafts, and poisoned arrows too. The grave professor would draw from it, and fire off his learned disquisition; the quick-witted student would pour out his voluble mixture of ready wit and ready nonsense; the tumbling buffoon would join the chorus, and turn a crowd of listeners into a shout of boisterous laughter; whilst the troubadour would throw into song, partly playful, partly spiteful, always telling, that general sentiment, which glowed in the imagination of the people, but had not the gift of breaking into words. It is sufficient to read Rutebœuf's

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de vair ou de gris, assistant aux tournois pour encourager les champions, mais se distinguant eux-mêmes par leur couardise, leur avidité, leurs bavardages, enfin se couvrant le visage de masques coloriés *(qui dicuntur artificia gallicè)*, pour amuser et tromper leur public." (De La Marche, *La Chaire Française, Troisième Partie, Chap. VI., p.* 444—445.)

* If, what William of S. Amour says be true, the "Eternal Gospel" seems to have been absolutely used as a text-book in some of the schools. In the eighth chapter of the "De Periculis," he says of it:—"Illa doctrina, quæ prædicabitur tempore Antichristi, videlicet *Evangelium Æternum*, Parisius, ubi viget S. Scripturæ studium, jam publice posita fuit ad explicandum A.D. 1254." (Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles., Tom. XV., Art. IV., p.* 159.)

"*Complainte de Constantinople*," to be convinced, not only of the damage which the "*Introductorius*" had done the regulars, but also of the bitterness and mockery which, in consequence of it, were poured upon them.* John de Meung, another caustic satirist, a few years later, proves, in his "*Roman de la Rose*," that the strong feeling of the people had by no means died away.†

The activity of William of S. Amour, the energy of the buffoons and singing minstrels, and the hostility of party feeling, created so strong a bias against the "*Introductorius*," and those connected with it, that Rome was called upon to interfere. As she had condemned the "Perils" of S. Amour, so now, though the honour of an Order which was one of her strenuous supporters appeared to be at

* "Zu welchen Diffamationen und Aggressionen es benützt wurde, davon ein paar Proben aus zeitgenössischen Dichtern: 'Insel Creta, Corsica, Cypern, holde Länder'—ruft Ruteboeuf in seiner *Complainte de Constantinople* aus—'wer beschützt euch nun! Wenn euch der Fremde (Saracene) unter seine Botmässigkeit gebracht haben wird, dann wird der König (Ludwig IX.), in seine Staaten zurückgekehrt, Rath pflegen und entscheiden: dass er will Klöster bauen lassen für Jene, so einen neuen Glauben ausstellen, einen neuen Gott machen, ein neues Evangelium verkünden!" (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p.* 209.)

† Werner quotes John de Meung thus:—"'Ohne die Universität'—drückt sich Johann de Meung aus, *Roman de la Rose, tom. II., p.* 368—'wäre Alles Kopf über, Kopf unter gegangen, als sie (die Bettelmönche) 1255 mit einem Buche an's Licht traten, das ihnen ohne Zweifel der Böse eingegeben hatte. Ich meine das ewige Evangelium, das, wie der Titel besagt, vom heiligen Geiste komme; ein Buch für den Holzstoss. . . . Es heisst darin: So lange Petrus die Macht hält, kann Johannes die Kraft nicht zeigen. Unter Petrus verstehe den Papst und die Weltgeistlichkeit, die das Gesetz Christi bewachen und vertheidigen; unter Johannes die Prediger (Bettelorden), die behaupten, es gebe nur Eine wahre Lehre, das ewige Evangelium nämlich; dieses soll uns den rechten Weg zeigen. Es steht darin geschrieben, dass Alle, die für Petrus sind, umgebracht werden müssen; allein ihr werdet sie nicht besiegen, noch eure Drohungen sie erschrecken. Die Lehre Petri wird bleiben, die eure aber untergehen.'" (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p.* 209.)

stake, she would not shrink, as she never has shrunk, from dealing out to all men even-handed justice.

The Holy See commissioned the learned Cardinal, Hugh of S. Caro, and the Bishop of Messina, both of them Dominicans, to study, and then report upon the work. The result of their labours was what could only have been expected. The "*Introductorius*," like the "Perils," was sentenced to be burnt by the common hangman; but with this reserve, that it should be given to the flames in private—not in a public place—as a mark of delicacy to that Order which had always stood so firmly by the Church, and with which, unfortunately, it was in a certain way connected.*

This vigorous action of the supreme power deeply affected the General of the Franciscans. He had, by some mischance, compromised himself with the reveries of the *exalté* friar, and the imaginative monk. John of Parma was, no doubt, a pious man, but he hardly had shown himself a prudent one. He tendered the resignation of his office, and then suggested S. Bonaventure as his successor. The Order received his resigna-

* "Nachdem der Cardinal Hugo von St. Caro und der Bischof von Messina, beide dem Predigerorden angehörend, das ihnen vom Papste abverlangte Gutachten über das Buch erstattet hatten, wurde es gleich der Schrift *de periculis* zur Verbrennung durch Henkershand verdammt, das Urtheil jedoch nicht auf offenem Platze, sondern im Geheimen vollzogen, aus Schonung gegen die verdienstreiche Genossenschaft, welcher der unglückliche Verfasser angehörte." (See Werner's *Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p.* 210.)

tion; and, though only four-and-thirty years of age, the seraphic friend of the Angelical was elected General of the Order, by the Chapter which met in Rome, at Aracœli.*

S. Bonaventure's dignity brought with it a heavy crown of thorns. He found himself in a position of great difficulty and delicacy. Those who were determined to keep the Mendicants straight, were by no means contented with the resignation of the General, and the burning of the book. A clamour was raised for investigation. S. Bonaventure did what he could to prevent things running to extremes. But the opponents of the regulars had got hold of too fine a bone to be easily dropped until it had been thoroughly well picked. A process was instituted against Gerard the Franciscan and Leonard the Monk. As ringleaders and originators of the scandal of the "*Introductorius*," they were sentenced to imprisonment for life.† But even this was not

* "Ihr General, Johann von Parma, dankte in Folge dessen ab, und schlug Thomas' heiligen Freund, Bonaventura, zu seinem Nachfolger vor, der denn auch, obwol erst vierunddreissig Jahre zählend, von dem im römischen Kloster Aracöli versammelten Generalcapitel einstimmig gewählt wurde. Der neue Obere war in die Lage versetzt, seine Amtsführung mit einem Acte beginnen zu müssen, der ihm, wie kein anderer während seines Lebens, schwer fallen mochte—mit einer Untersuchung wider seinen Vorgänger und dessen Freunde, welche der Hinneigung zu Joachim's Lehren bezuchtiget waren." (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p.* 210.)

† "Nachdem er [Bonaventura] vergebens versucht, die Sache niederzuschlagen, leitete er endlich, mit Umgehung Johann's, den Process gegen die übrigen Meinungsgenossen desselben ein; zwei derselben, Gerhard, Verfasser des Introductorius und der Mönch Leonhard wurden als heftigste Vertheidiger der falschen Lehren zu lebenslänglichem Gefängnisse verur-

sufficient to satisfy the craving of the public feeling. Why should so great a prize as the General of an Order be suffered to escape?* In vain the gentle, loving Bonaventure pleaded for his familiar friend; in vain he tried to pacify the eager, greedy crowd of persecutors. The cry was too powerful. John of Parma had to stand his trial like the rest. It must have been a bitter, heart-destroying blow to that pious man, when he presented himself before his judges.† But, fortunately for him, he was not without his friends. Cardinal Cajetan de'Ursini, who afterwards became Pope Nicholas III., presided at the trial; and, through the energetic and powerful protection of Cardinal Ottoboni, nephew of the reigning Pontiff, and afterwards pope himself, under the title of Adrian V., he was allowed to depart without any sentence of condemnation being passed upon him.‡ His public

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theilt." (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p.* 210.) Some say that the friar and the monk were punished by perpetual imprisonment because they obstinately persisted in defending the errors of Abbot Joachim. (See Natalis Alexander, *Tom. XV., Art. IV., p.* 159.)

* John of Parma had been a disciplinarian, and had done his best to restore lax discipline. Those whom he had corrected, or offended, now took their revenge. (See Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles., Tom. XV., Art. IV., p.* 158.)

† Nicolas Eymericus *(circa* 1356) makes him out to be the author of the "*Introductorius.*" Wadding, on the other hand, denies such to be the case. *(Ann.* 1256, *n.* 31.)

‡ "Auch den längere Zeit geschützten Johann von Parma musste er auf fortwährendes Andringen der Ankläger letzlich vor ein geistliches Gericht stellen lassen, unter dem Vorsitze des Cardinals Cajetan Ursini (nachmaligen Papstes Nicolaus III.). Die eindringliche Vertheidigung des Angeklagten durch den Neffen des Papstes, Cardinal Ottoboni (nachmaligen Papst Hadrian IV. [!]), fuhrte einen tröstlichen Ausgang herbei; Johann wurde ohne Strafe entlassen." (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p.* 210—211.)

career was at an end. All he looked for was to prepare for death. Bonaventure permitted him to select a convent, to which he was suffered to retire. He chose one at Greccio, near Rieti; and when the tomb closed over him, he left, as a legacy amongst the brethren, the odour of a saintly name.*

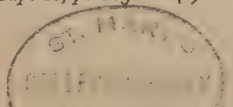
Such is a brief account of the fate of the "Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," of its authors, and of those who were smitten by its prophetic dreams. What had the Angelical to do with it? He had been a strenuous adversary of William of S. Amour, and all that violent party of which he was the spokesman. He himself wore the regular habit which he loved and prized above all earth could give. S. Francis and S. Dominic were bound together with chains of tenderest love and fellowship; the honour of the one was the honour of the other: what stained S. Francis left its mark on Dominic too. Then, the Angelical had fought and conquered in the same combat, for the same victory, and almost with the same weapons, as the Minorites. S. Bonaventure was his nearest, familiar friend. His whole spirit and sympathy leaned towards those preachers of poverty, and lovers of the Cross of Christ. How did he act regarding the "Introduction to the Eternal

* "Da Bonaventura ihm die Wahl seines zukünftigen Aufenthaltes frei stellte, zog er sich in das Kloster Grecchia [!] bei Rieti zurück, wo er später im Rufe der Heiligkeit starb." (Werner's *Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Drittes Capitel, p.* 211.)

Gospel?" That he would defend the wrong done, no one could suspect or could believe. But might he not shield the authors? Could he not explain away? Might he not at least be silent?

He who would know the conduct of the Angel of the Schools, must calm his spirit, cleanse his intellectual eye, and fix it upon the truth, and follow it. Small men engrossed in earth, men spoilt by dealing with creatures, men blinded by looking only on clay, and deaf from the whirl and din of perishing humanity, easily become confused and scared when two great roads open suddenly upon them, and they are obliged to choose the way. The promptings of passion, and the idle voice of sloth, the command of pride, or the fascinations of ambition—heat their brain, and parch and warp their judgment. The Angelical had cast all this on one side; he had flung self, and all its chains from him. "Wisdom" was his passion; Truth was his goal; God alone was his reward; and God's larger glory his one aim in life.* As

* How beautifully Frigerio shows what the Saint understood this "Wisdom" to be!—"Il pregiatissimo dono della sapientia da Tomaso appellato *dignissimum donorum*, per testimonianza di lui medesimo, si possiede da chiunque è di eminente sufficienza dotato a potere per cause altissime e divine conoscere cose rare e maravigliose dalla comunal conoscenza lontane, con sì ferma certezza, che formar ne possa buono e intero giuditio, con saper anche ammaestrarne altrui. Ma sì fatta sufficienza, che talvolta a forza di studio e di vivacità d'ingegno s'acquista, chiamata dal filosofo nell'Etica virtù intellettuale, in altri trovasi (soggiunge quivi l'Angelico) *per quamdam affinitatem ad divina*, per una tal connaturalezza ed unione alle cose di sopra, nella maniera appunto, che l'Areopagita ragiona di Hierotheo, il quale in se stesso ricevendo le cose divine, felicemente l'imparò, ed essendo in questa guisa elevato alle cose sopranaturali, gli fu poi connaturale il farne sano e fermo giuditio. In questa conformità scrisse l'Apostolo a' Corinthi: *Spiritualis autem iudicat omnia.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. I., p.* 123—124.)



a bird bursts its way out of a thicket into the expanding blue of heaven, and can then look down on earth without impediment, so was it with our great Angelical. He rose above all human littleness and party feeling, and lived with that Truth which alone he fought for and defended.

Hence, far from justifying the errors of spiritual men, he at once acknowledged them. He saw clearly that there is nothing more dangerous than a false philosophy, or a false mysticism, amongst the clergy. That which is their daily food—their staff of spiritual life—ought to be wholesome. And no taint is more difficult wholly to expunge, than the stain imprinted on the minds of holy men, by a highly-wrought spirituality, based upon an unscriptural foundation.

This, the clear mind of the Angelical must have vividly perceived. His love for the Religious Orders of the Church, especially for the Minorites, spurred his zeal to do all he could to apply an antidote to the poison which had been introduced into many minds. He could not help feeling that the "Fraterculi," and other Apocalyptic enthusiasts, who rested their fanatical teaching on the theories of Abbot Joachim —theories which they had distorted into a mixture of wildness, wickedness, and blasphemy, essentially their own — would, unless sharply checked, spread like fire, without being as easily

extinguished.* True charity and wise love does not conceal the flaw, but points it out, and makes it good.

And the Angelical took the best possible means for doing this. Tocco tells us that he absolutely "destroyed" the heresy in question.† And how? Whilst still in Italy, he went to a certain monastery —indeed, some say he travelled about to many monasteries on the same errand—and asked the Abbot for the writings of Abbot Joachim, which formed the basis of the fanaticism which then was rife. He studied them from end to end. When he had thorougly mastered them, then, he took his pen, and marked those portions underneath which were erroneous, or savoured in any way of error; and drew his pen across other portions which should neither be read, nor be believed in. And thus, he restored the book to the Abbot, touched and corrected with a master's hand. There is little doubt that the work thus altered served as a guide and test to hundreds of spiritual men. For the

* "Cujus sectatores simul et inventores se nominant Fraterculos de vita paupere, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis Sophistico nomine simplicium corda seducant: quos captos potius hæretica pravitate fermentant, quorum mentes, dum non probant utrum a Deo sint spiritus, sic mendax spiritus dementavit, ut quasi sub uno capite Christo duas figant Ecclesias: unam carnalium, super quam Summus Romanus Pontifex præsidet . . . . Qui dum dicunt se duci spiritu libertatis, in omnem servitutem pravitatis hæreticæ eodem spiritu præcipitante labuntur, criminibus miserrimis, quia divisionis spiritus et erroris, quot potuit ipsorum phantasias subvertere, tot dedit sectas pravitatis hæreticæ invenire." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. IV., n.* 21, *p.* 665.)

† "*Destruxit* et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem Doctor iste mirabilis, qui error antiquus extitit, et perniciosior de novo surrexit, qui sub pio nomine omnem impietatis perniciem continens, vocatur de novo spiritu libertatis." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. IV., n.* 21, *p.* 665.)

Angelical's reputation was very high for learning and acuteness. And there is little doubt that religious men, living in days of violent spiritual delusions, were only too glad to obtain a work which would be at once a sure guide and a useful warning. One small effort of a master-workman exerts its influence and power—not because of the size of the volume, but on account of the skill and reputation of its author. It seems but a trivial undertaking to mark with a pen the errors in a spiritual book. It was the high reputation of the Saint that made his work of deep importance.*

But, though the Angelical "destroyed" the heresy—that is to say, clearly manifested the folly and unreason of many positions taken up by Abbot Joachim—he did not all at once destroy the heretics. Many years elapsed before the heated dreams of Br. Gerard died out amongst the Franciscan friars. Only let the "Spirit of Liberty" take possession of men who have dedicated their lives to the supreme service of their Maker, and wild confusion, and fierce unre-

* Tocco thus describes the work of the Angelical:—"Et quia ex dictis Abbatis Joachim prædicti hæretici fomentum sumunt præfati erroris pestiferi, prædictus Doctor in quodam monasterio petivit librum præfati Abbatis, et oblatum totum perlegit, et ubi aliquid erroneum reperit vel suspectum, cum linea subducta damnavit, quod totum legi et credi prohibuit, quod ipse sua manu docta cassavit." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. IV., n.* 21, *p.* 665.) It is worthy of remark, that these Apocalyptic fanatics, whom the Angelical opposed, put forward as one of their principal merits that they were led *spiritu libertatis*, by a "spirit of liberty." Here, again, the Saint opposes reverence and authority against the licence and rashness of men run wild with false asceticism.

strained fanaticism must be the logical result. For, given an ardent, generous nature, full of burning aspirations, overflowing with heroic resolves; given the impetus and the *élan;* and suddenly withdraw the directing and controlling power—and then, mind and imagination, at once, blaze and flare out into all manner of spiritual extravagances, and are worked up into a species of frenzy, which alone can be produced by the mingled influence of high religious pressure, heated fantasy, and spiritual pride.* When once those who appear called to heroic sacrifice, and mighty spiritual deeds, abandon that one only power which has force enough to hold them in restraint, and wisdom and experience enough to give them a right direction; when once the proud human spirit breaks free from the firm, tender hand of the Church of Christ,—like the chariot of the sun —it is soon seen tumbling down the slope of heaven. Take but a cursory view of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; read the history of that monster Tanchelin † (1115—1124), and Eudo

* See Hull's *Gieseler, Vol. III., Chap. III.*, § 70, *p.* 251—§ 72, *p.* 268, from which much may be learnt regarding the excited state of many religious minds in the middle ages; though much which is advanced must be taken *cum grano.*

† "Declamabat, Ecclesias Dei lupanaria esse reputanda; nihil esse quod sacerdotum officio in mensa dominica conficeretur; pollutiones, non sacramenta nominanda; ex meritis et sanctitate ministrorum virtutem sacramentis accedere . . . Talibus nequitiæ successibus misero homini tanta sceleris accessit audacia, ut etiam se Deum diceret, asserens, quia si Christus ideo Deus est, quia Spiritum sanctum habuisset, se non inferius nec dissimilius Deum, quia plenitudinem Spiritus sancti accepisset." (See Hull's *Gieseler, Vol. III., Third Period, Chap. VII., note, p.* 388; see also *Acta Sanctorum Vita S. Norberti, Jun. VI., Cap. XIII., n.* 76—81, *p.* 830.)

de Stella; recall what has been said about the Catharites; study the lives of Henry and De Bruys; think of the Albigenses, the Waldenses, and the Brothers of the Free Spirit; look upon the sect of Halle (1248)—which declared the hierarchy to be abolished—and upon the Apostolic Brothers: and some notion may be formed of the wild and maddening extravagances, of the cruelties and immoralities, which spring from a fiery spiritual energy which has broken away from the influence of the Church.

If history tells any truth with severe distinctness, and illustrates it with terrible examples in every century of her course since the Christian era, it is this: that no monastic life can long endure, except it be subject to the guidance and control of the Catholic Church.* Attempts may be made; they may stand for a season—but they cannot bide; they have no sap of life; they either sicken and wither into the earth from which they spring, or they are set on fire by their own heat, and are charred and burnt to death by that same erratic spark which brought them into being.—Examples are not wanting, even at the present hour.

* The fact is that, in Europe, at least, no religious organism has ever been constructed to meet, outside the Church, the case of "monasticism." Nor, indeed, did the fanatical religions of the East guide or restrain the spiritual fever of the monastic bodies which were attached to them. Both the system, and its monastic development, partook of the same exciting and uncontrolled enthusiasm: fire does not modify or extinguish fire. Alone, under the firm unimpassioned sway of that Mother of men, the Church, we witness an example of intense ardour, of untold power, guiding and repressing the crude aspirations and vain longings of the human heart, after a state of things not made for man.

Those who are curious to trace the genesis of a spiritual flame which ended in a conflagration, have simply to begin with the teachings of Abbot Joachim, who, after all, was a good and simple man; to watch his false maxims expand in the imagination of Gerard and Leonard; and to see them, then, kindle and blaze in the great Franciscan Order, and take possession of many ardent minds.* Give the flame but a brief season to work its way, and shortly, the Fraterculi, and the Spiritualists, form centres of fierce fanaticism. The most extravagant Franciscan zealot is now too moderate to suit their burning zeal; and they throw themselves into the hands of, and make common cause with, such monomaniacs as the Apostolic Brothers, the Catharites, and the Beghards.† A small spark, truly, can set in motion a terrible conflagration.

Well was it, indeed, for the great Angelical

* His principal fault seems to have been a *penchant* for prophesying. The fact of his predictions sometimes turning out true, gave him, amongst some, the character of a prophet; but S. Thomas, as well as William of Paris, and Trithemius, by no means admit his right to such a title. He wrote voluminously on Holy Scripture. Of his sanctity, Du Pin speaks thus:—"Il fut de son vivant en reputation de sainteté, et même d'avoir le don de Prophétie." (Du Pin, *Nouvel. Bib., Tom. X., Chap. IV., p.* 58—59. *Paris, MDCC.*) How strange a likeness between Schelling's Theology, and that system which originated in this holy Abbot! (See Werner, *S. Thomas von Aquino, B. III., p.* 750.)

† The Beghards appear to have carried the fanaticism and blasphemy of spiritual aberration to its utmost limit. To give one or two of their tenets as an example:—"Dicunt enim, credunt et tenent quod Deus sit formaliter omne quod est. Item dicunt, quod homo possit sic uniri Deo, quod ipsius sit idem posse ac velle et operari quodcumque, quod est ipsius Dei. Item credunt, se esse Deum per naturam sine distinctione. Item quod sint in eis omnes perfectiones divinæ, ita quod dicunt, se esse æternos et in æternitate. Item, dicunt se omnia creasse, et plus creasse, quam Deus. Item, quod nullo indigent nec Deo, nec Deitate. Item, quod sunt impeccabiles," &c., &c. (See Mosheim, *De Beghardis, p.* 210.)

that his vast powers of intellect and reason were seated so firmly in the grand monastic principles of reverence, love, purity, and adoration; well was it for him that he supported his enormous power of mind upon the teaching of the Church—that he leaned upon her bosom, and drank from her sources, with all the trust of a little child; well, indeed, was it for him that he mistrusted *self*, and sought light from heaven, and only then felt himself to be in safety when he was in company with the Holy Scriptures, and with the teachings of the great fathers of the Church—of S. Augustine, and the Damascene, of S. Chrysostom, S. Gregory, S. Ambrose, and S. Jerome. So towering a superstructure, so high a reach of intellectual power, required a deep, broad, and solid foundation: or how great might not have been its collapse and ruin!—too terrible to contemplate, looking on the Angelical, as we do, with such tenderness and love.*

That S. Thomas clearly perceived that a poisonous quality lay concealed in the writings of Abbot Joachim, and that he did not cease to keep his eye upon the "*Introductorius*," is evident from many passages in his *Summa*. One of the

* Touron gives a clue to the whole secret of his security in the following words:—"Il ne suffit pas de dire du Docteur Angélique, qu'il a été véritablement sçavant, et encore plus saint: il faut aussi reconnoître, que c'est sa sainteté qui l'a fait sçavant, comme la science a servi à perfectionner sa sainteté. Si ses lumières ont nourri sa tendre piété, sa charité, sa confiance, et toutes les vertus chrétiennes: il n'est pas moins vrai que la ferveur de sa dévotion, la vivacité de sa foi, son humilité, sa pureté, son attrait pour l'oraison, ont d'autant plus contribué à étendre ses connoissances, qu'on sçait assez que le propre des vertus est de purifier l'esprit et le cœur." (*La Vie de S. Thomas, Liv. IV., Chap. VI., p.* 357.)

principal errors of the Abbot, and perhaps the most dangerous, consisted in his laying down that, as the Old Testament Law had passed away, so would that of the New Testament; and that, in its place, the "Eternal Gospel" which he had written was to take possession of the world. The Father and the Son were to give way to the Holy Spirit; the state of marriage, and the clerical state, were to yield to the Order of Friars. And the friars were to be glorified in the third period of a larger grace, which was to be ministered to them by the Holy Ghost himself; for it was of this period that our Lord spoke, when He said: "When the Spirit of Truth shall come, He will teach you all truth."—It was this tissue of vanity and folly, of blasphemy and conceit, that acted with such magic effect on so many otherwise pious mediæval minds.*

The whole of the teaching of Abbot Joachim was based upon this one principle, viz.: that God was going to improve upon the revelation of Jesus Christ; and the mainspring of the consequent religious aberration was fixed in pride, and was formed of this one conceit: "And we are the men to enforce the covenant to come!"†

* See Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles., Tom. XV., Cap. III., Art. IV., p.* 155—160.

† In all the violent spiritual institutions, and frantic sects, of the middle, indeed of all ages, one principle is ever prominent—pride. Spiritual pride appears to be a devil of fire: burning the imagination, and acting on the whole mental system with corroding violence; eating out of the mind every element of calm judgment, and producing pictures which terrify and scare. Spiritual "passion" in so far, it would seem, as the soul transcends the body, so far is more enslaving, and holds a more despotic sway than carnal passion. Generally, one is the product, or the occasion, of the other.

Now, turn for a moment to the "*Prima Secundæ*" —the first part of the second portion of the *Summa*. There, is displayed the great Angelical's special gift. He, with the instinct of genius, found the root, and, with the power of a giant, he severs it in two. The hundred and sixth, seventh, and eighth Questions — in all consisting of twelve Articles—sweep away, for ever, all the pretensions of the Abbot Joachim and of his dupes. Take, simply as a specimen, the fourth Article in the hundred and sixth Question: it alone is sufficient to act as an antidote to the evil of which we speak. The Question under which this Article is placed treats of the Evangelical Law—which is called the New Law — considered in its own nature.* The first Article asks whether the New Law is a written Law; the second, whether it justifies; the third, whether it ought to have been given from the beginning of the world; and the fourth, which is the Article in question, whether the New Law will last to the end of the world:† for if so, evidently there is no room, either for the "Eternal Gospel" or for the display of a new Order of transcendental friars.

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* Quæstio CVI. De Lege Evangelica, quæ dicitur Lex Nova, secundum se. See S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Summa Theologica*, *Prima Secundæ*, *Tom. II.*, *p.* 416. *Ed. Parm.*

† "Circa primum quæruntur quatuor: 1°. Qualis sit, utrum scilicet sit scripta, vel indita; 2°. de virtute ejus, utrum justificet; 3°. de principio ejus, utrum debuerit dari a principio mundi; 4°. de termino ejus, utrum, scilicet sit duratura usque ad finem, an debeat ei alia lex succedere." *(Ibidem.)*

That this Article was written to meet the above case is evident from the fact that the Angelical, though he mentions no names, states the exact propositions attributed to the "Eternal Gospel," and then overthrows them. His method is the following. He first gives four arguments against his own thesis, viz.: arguments which seem to prove that the New Law will *not* last to the end of the world. Next, he states his own case. Having clearly laid down his master-principle, he then analyzes, or explains, or expands it, letting in a flood of light on the miserable arguments or rather sophisms of the other side.* Having thus exposed their impotence in general, he takes them one by one, and, applying his principle, seems to shake the logical, or rather, sophistical life out of them, and then marches on to other conquests.

To give the entire Article would occupy too much space. As an example, take at random the third argument against his thesis.† Having laid

* The central illumination which lights up to the right, as it were, the "arguments" of opponents, and to the left, the detailed solution of those "arguments," acts upon the mind, very often, so suddenly, and with such force, as to produce the sensation of an "enlargement." The quick transition from intellectual darkness, or twilight, to a perception, clear as day, of all that which was obscure before—and that through the brilliant shining of one simple principle—bears about with it a certain fascination for the mind, and causes the student to smile unconsciously with a species of delight. Who has not felt this?

† "3. Præterea, sicut Pater est alius a Filio, et a Patre, ita Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio. Sed fuit quidam status conveniens personæ Patris, scilicet status veteris legis, in quo homines generationi intendebant; similiter etiam est alius status conveniens personæ Filii, scilicet status novæ legis, in quo clerici intendentes sapientiæ, quæ appropriatur Filio, principantur. Ergo erit status tertius Spiritus sancti, in quo spirituales viri principabuntur." (*Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ, Tom. II., Quæst. CVI., Art. IV., n. 3, p.* 418.)

down the distinction of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the objection frames an argument upon their difference :—

"Since there was a certain order of things which harmonized with the Person of the Father, that is to say, the order of things as it was under the Old Law, when men were bent on the multiplication of the species : so, also, in like manner, there is a condition of things which harmonizes with the Person of the Son, viz., the condition of things as it is under the New Law, when clerics, who occupy themselves with wisdom, which is the speciality of the Son, are in the ascendant. Therefore, there will be a third condition of things, that of the Holy Spirit, when spiritual men will be the rulers."

Here, unmistakably, are the "Eternal Gospel" and the illuminated friars.

The proposition of the Angelical, which stands like a wall of brass against this last fallacy and the three preceding it, is the following :— *

"But what the Lord says, in the thirty-fourth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of S. Matthew, is adverse, viz. : 'Amen, I say to you that this generation shall not pass till all these things be done,' which S. Chrysostom applies to the generation of the faithful of Christ. Therefore, the estate of the faithful of Christ will remain to the consummation of the world."

Next, comes the analysis and development :—

"I reply that the condition of the world may vary in two

* "Sed contra est quod Dominus dicit, Matth. XXIV., 34 : *Dico vobis quia non præteribit generatio hæc, donec omnia fiant ;* quod Chrysostomus (Hom. 78, in Matth., parum a princip.), exponit de generatione fidelium Christi. Ergo status fidelium Christi manebit usque ad consummationem sæculi." *(Summa Theologica, Quæst. CVI., Art. IV., p.* 419.)

ways—in one way, with regard to a change of Law; and, as far as this is concerned, no other condition will succeed to the present state of the New Law. For the dispensation of the New Law succeeded to that of the Old, as the perfect to the imperfect * But no condition of the present life can be more perfect than the state of the New Law; for nothing can approach nearer to the last end than that which immediately conducts into the last end; and this is what the New Law does. Hence, the Apostle says, in the nineteenth verse of the tenth chapter to the Hebrews:—'Having, therefore, brethren, a confidence in the entering into the Holies by the blood of Christ, let us approach the new way which He hath begun for us.' Hence, there cannot be any more perfect state of the present life than that of the New Law: for in so far forth, anything is perfect, as it is near its last end."†

"In another way, the condition of men may change, according as they are related, in a more perfect or less perfect manner, to the same law; and in this way, the condition of the Old Law was frequently changed, since, at one time, the laws were kept very perfectly; at another time, they were not obeyed at all. Just as the condition of the New Law varies according to places, and times, and persons, inasmuch as men are more or less perfectly possessed of the grace of the Holy Ghost."‡

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* "Respondeo dicendum, quod status mundi variari potest dupliciter: uno modo secundum diversitatem legis; et sic huic statui novæ legis nullus alius status succedet. Successit enim status novæ legis statui veteris legis, tamquam perfectior imperfectiori." *(Summa Theologica, Quæst. CVI., Art. IV., p.* 419.)

† "Nullus autem status præsentis vitæ potest esse perfectior quam status novæ legis; nihil enim potest esse propinquius fini ultimo quam quod immediate in finem ultimum introducit; hoc autem facit nova lex: unde Apostolus dicit, ad Heb., X., 19: *Habentes itaquè, fratres, fiduciam in introitu sanctorum in sanguine Christi, quam initiavit nobis viam novam, accedamus.* Unde non potest esse aliquis perfectior status præsentis vitæ quam status novæ legis: quia tanto est unumquodque perfectius, quanto est ultimo fini propinquius." *(Ibidem.)*

‡ "Alio modo status hominum variari potest, secundum quod homines diversimode se habent ad eamdem legem, vel perfectius, vel minus perfecte; et sic status veteris legis frequenter fuit mutatus; cum quan-

"But it is not to be expected that a time will ever come in which the grace of the Holy Spirit will be more perfectly possessed than it has been heretofore, specially amongst the Apostles who 'received the first-fruits of the Spirit,' that is, as the Interlinear Gloss says, 'first in point of time, and more abundantly than all.'"

Having thus enlarged upon his thesis, the Angelical next answers in detail each of the four contrary arguments. The third, which alone has been touched upon here, receives its *quietus* thus :—

"To the third [argument], it is to be said, that the Old Law was not only given by the Father, but also by the Son, for Christ was figured in the Old Law; hence, the Lord says, in the forty-sixth verse of the fifth chapter of S. John :—'For if you did believe Moses, you would, perhaps, believe Me also, for he wrote of Me.' In like manner, the New Law is not only the Law of Christ, but the Law of the Holy Spirit also, according to S. Paul to the Romans (VIII., 2): 'The Law of the Spirit of Life, in Christ Jesus, &c.' Hence, another law, which is to be that of the Holy Spirit, must not be looked for." *

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doque leges optime custodirentur, quandoque autem omnino prætermitterentur. Sicut etiam et status novæ legis diversificatur secundum diversa loca et tempora et personas, inquantum gratia Spiritus sancti perfectius vel minus perfecte ab aliquibus habetur."

"Non est tamen expectandum quod sit aliquis status futurus in quo perfectius gratia Spiritus sancti habeatur, quam hactenus habita fuerit, et maxime ab Apostolis, qui *primitias Spiritus acceperunt*, id est, *et tempore prius, et cæteris abundantius*, ut Glossa interl. dicit, Rom., 8." *(Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ, Tom. II., Quæst. CVI., Art. IV., p.* 419.)

* "Ad tertium dicendum, quod lex vetus non solum fuit Patris, sed etiam Filii, quia Christus in veteri lege figurabatur; unde Dominus dicit Joan. V., 46 : *Si crederetis Moysi, crederetis forsitan et mihi; de me enim ille scripsit.* Similiter etiam lex nova non solum est Christi, sed etiam Spiritus sancti, secundum illud Rom. VIII., 2 : *Lex Spiritus vitæ in Christo Jesu*, &c., unde non est expectanda alia lex quæ sit Spiritus sancti." *(Ibidem.)*

This is a mere sample of the way in which the Angelical, in the *Summa*—of which more will be said later on—grasped error with the strength of a vice, and then poured upon it a flood of intellectual light, displaying all its hollowness, bringing out all its deformity, till it shrank, and shrivelled up into the mere husk of its former self; till what was at first a formidable argument, a difficult objection, became a flimsy fallacy, or transparent impertinence or pretence. Those threatening figures, which, at dusk, looked, in the distance, like armed marauders, turn out, when the morning sun strikes upon them, to be old pollards in the hedge, or stunted trees on the horizon.

Our keen Angelical, though he loved so well to bide alone under the calm Eye of God, was never unmindful of his Master's work, or of the intellectual troubles of his fellow-men. In proportion as he lived his serene and tranquil life, near to the spotless light which shines down from heaven on loving hearts—in that very same proportion he fully realized the mental trials of those who dwelt in "the shadows of death," or in the mists created by the creature, or in those sad clouds which gather about the mind when the heart gets wrong. He fully understood the human spirit.* The

* Gibelli tells us beautifully whence the Angelical drew his knowledge :—"E qui mette bene di considerare che alle sue scientifiche speculazioni sempre andava innanzi l'orazione, e dall' orazione erano aiutate; il Crocifisso gli era, dirò così, quel libro, ond'egli traeva quella nobilissima e felice disposizione d' intelletto, per la quale riusciva, studiando, ad alto

wearing pain of doubt, the stress of uncertainty, that loneliness which verges on despair, the cry for light, the agony of the heart, the dislocation of the entire intellectual system, which show themselves in different degrees and shapes, in those who still possess the sense of longing, but feel about in vain for light—he knew it all, beginning with the first approaches of unrest, to that stage in which, like children waking suddenly in utter darkness, the stifled spirit pants for at least one tiny ray of light on which to fix the feverish eye.

People are in the habit of imagining that "experience" of men, and of their maladies, can only be learnt by mixing busily amongst them. The Angelical teaches a different lesson. He who knows God first, will soon know man's frame, remembering that he is dust. He who knows himself in the light of God, and lives out of self in God, such a man has that within him which can see and measure both men and things.* He does not see them in the light of a world which

segno; al Crocifisso, semprechè gli tornava malagevole l'apprendere checchessia, ricorreva; dal Crocifisso teneva la grazia di potere durare a lunghissime fatiche; il Crocifisso, in brieve, eragli lume all' intelletto, conforto al cuore, avvaloramento alla vita ed ogni maniera di bene." (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Cap. XII., p.* 48. *Seconda Ediz.)*

* There are endless examples, in the lives of the Saints, of that wisdom which takes the place of experience. Indeed, the practice of the Church, in training those who have, in their ministry, to deal with the horrors of the world's wickedness, shows how implicitly she trusts to the principle of a man knowing how to avoid or detect evil by clearly knowing and being sensible of what is good. He who has his ear carefully trained to hear nothing but good music, will not require an education in discords to learn what they are. Accustom him to them, and the jar they produced, at first, becomes gradually less violent; instead of shrinking from them more, he becomes *less* sensible to them.

has created a chaos in the order of affairs, but he sees them in the light of the sanctuary, and measures them in the scales of God. Thus, did the Angelical; he knew, and held, and acted on this principle, viz.: that what comes from above is illumination; what comes from below is darkness, or, at best, obscurity. Hence, his dwelling is in the Unseen. He lived out of the fog and the mist. He came below, indeed, to seek out error, but it was simply that he might throw the Light upon it; that he might draw men out of it; that he might urge them to partake of his own blessedness.*

The work of the *Summa* is a marvellous proof of this. The extract which has just been given is simply one specimen out of a thousand. Who, but a man who felt both keenly and abidingly for others, would have gone through what S. Thomas went through, in hunting up, and preserving, the innumerable difficulties of every class of mind with which his great work is full? How carefully he states the case, how fully; how fair he is; how anxious that its entire force should be elicited. Is this a mere vain love of science; a bump of order? no; it is the

* Tocco speaks most touchingly of his tenderness towards others, a tenderness mixed with so beautiful a gentleness and spiritual refinement, that, simply to read what is said of it, draws the heart towards him. See the paragraph beginning with the words: "Et quia conveniens satis erat, ut qui tot beneficia a Divina largitate abundantius aliis suscepisset, se omnibus caritate diffunderet; fuit etiam prædictus Doctor caritate et pietate diffusus, ut alios a se ipso præveniret in gratiis, quibus datus erat divinitus ut splendesceret in doctrinis." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VI., n.* 37, *p.* 669.)

gentle Angelical's tender love of Christ—his love of the souls for which Christ died. He prized science and logic, inasmuch as science and logic pushed on the Truth which saves. His greatness, the majesty of his mind, was far above all wretched human vanity and the itch of such scientific men as the modern world of materialistic thought has made its slaves. The entire spring of his life and action, the one prime-mover of all he did, had nothing to do with any created craving or ambition.* In the ordinary run of men, the motive power of their lives has its centre somewhere on earth. Hence, those who stand on the earth can shake it, or damage it, or destroy it; hence, the happiness of him who is bound up with it is dependent upon the caprice of men, weak like himself. His peace of mind is at their mercy; and so he is never certain of happiness for a single day. Shake, damage, or destroy the prime object for which a man lives, and you have almost done what is equivalent to shaking, damaging, or destroying the man himself. But let the prime-mover of human activity be placed out of man's reach—let it be God, and "God alone," and man,

* So much was this the case, that Tocco declares that though his body was on the earth, he seemed in reality to be living up in heaven :—"Fuit præterea prædictus Doctor miro modo contemplativus, et cœlestibus deditus, majori enim sui parte a sensibus aberat, qui totus cœlestibus inhiabat, ut crederetur verius esse, ubi mente intenderet, quam ubi carne maneret. Erat enim mirabile, videre hominem, uti sensibus, et conversari cum sensilibus in cibo vel aliquorum consortio, quantumcumque nobilium personarum, in quibus sensus consueverunt distrahi, subito cœlestibus elevari; quasi non esset, ubi corporaliter sisteret, sed ubi mentaliter inhæreret." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. VII.*, *n.* 44, *p.* 671.)

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at once, is made partaker of the peace, security, and stability of heaven. He who *really* rests on the Eternal and Immovable, cannot be swayed or shuffled about by men. Men do not, cannot move him: he moves, manages, and controls them.* They do not know how it is, or whence it comes, but the fact remains — such an one becomes a power, and, if he have great mental gifts, a giant intellectual power, fixed in the stability of the unseen kingdom. Men must give way before his force of character, and acknowledge his larger, steadier, and brighter light.

A man with the power possessed by the Angelical, could afford to be serene and tranquil. He lived, as it were, behind the veil: he saw through, and valued at its intrinsic worth, this earth's stage, and took the measure of all the actors on it.† Like Moses, he came down from

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* Peter Grassus, when examined before the Commissioners who were employed in the process of canonization of the Saint, gives his testimony on oath regarding his great influence. He quotes the Archbishop of Naples, James of Viterbo, to the effect that no one at his day considered that he possessed a full knowledge of sacred science if he had not mastered the writings of Brother Thomas of Aquin:—"Et addidit quod . . . . dixit ipse Archiepiscopus, quod nulli sibi attribuant vel ascribant in sacra scientia aliquid plene scire, nisi qui sequuntur et inhærent scientiæ et scriptis Fr. Thomæ de Aquino, qui viam aperuit intelligentibus ad sciendum." (Vide Boll., *Processus de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Cap. II., n.* 6, *p.* 686.)

† Frigerio speaks of his meekness, saying:—"Questa virtù, che secondo il lume della retta ragione raffrena l'impeto dell'ira, si riduce per ammaestramento del santo Dottore al dono della fortezza, di cui proprio è incorar l'anima non solamente, ne'gravissimi pericoli, ma anche fortificarla nell'affannose molestie, che ne muovono all'ira ed allo sdegno, quali la mansuetudine col predetto dono accoppiata, pone a terra. Or quanto Tomaso si rendesse per questa virtù accetto a Dio ed a gli huomini, apertamente il dimostreranno le sante vendette da esso prese nelle ricevute ingiurie, e l'animo suo sommamente mansueto in sofferirle, come seguentemente diremo." (*Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n.* 1, *p.* 108.)

the mountain, into the turmoil of the chafing world below, and, enlarged by the greatness of the vision in which he habitually lived, it shrank into insignificance before his eye; and those events or influences which excited the minds of others, and disturbed their peace, were looked upon by him somewhat in the same way as we may imagine some majestic, solitary eagle surveys from his high crag, with half-unconscious eye, the world of woods below him. The Angelical himself had drawn his first lessons from a mountain eyrie. His elastic mind, even as a boy, had expanded, as he looked down from the mighty Abbey, on teeming plain and rugged mountain, with the far-distant ranges of the snowy Apennines standing up delicate and crisp against the sky. God, who made all this, had drawn him to Himself, and the fingers of a heavenly hand, striking on his large, solitary heart, had sealed him, imperially, for all his life to come, as the great master of the heavenly science, and as the gentle prince of peace.*

The fascinating influence exerted by the Saint, on all who were drawn within his power, seems to have been the product of a most unusual synthesis. Since his real life-spring was fixed in the unseen

* Tocco, speaking of the utter contempt that the Angelical had for mere created things as proceeding from his high love of God, says:—"Et quia de necessitate sequitur, ut terrena homo despiciat, quem affectio divina decorat: ideo conveniens fuit, ut prædictus Doctor mundana despiceret, qui non inveniret in sensilibus, quod amaret: cum de ipso dicatur, quod mirabili modo fuit temporalium contemptivus: sive rerum, quibus homo pro necessario victu corporis utitur, sive horum, quorum dignitas prælationis ambitur." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. VII.*, *n.* 43, *p.* 670.)

world, his whole method before men spoke of that intellectual might, and that Divine tenderness, which is an expression of the most perfect form of supernatural strength.* Immense weight of character, surpassing grasp of mind, and keenness of logical discernment, added to a sovereign benignity and patience, and to a gentleness and grace, which spoke from his eyes, and thrilled in the accents of his voice, made men conscious, when in contact with him, that they were in the presence of a man of untold gifts, and yet, of one so exquisitely noble as never to display them, save for the benefit of others. Men knew that he had the power to crush them; but since he was so great, they knew also that he never would misuse it; they found him ever self-forgetting and self-restrained. A character with such a capability of asserting itself, and yet ever manifesting such gentle self-repression, must have acted with a singular fascination on any generous mind that came into relation with it.† It is evident, from Tocco

* Gibelli tells us how the influence of heaven seemed to manifest itself in his very bearing and appearance :—"Sempre e ove che fosse, nel suo sembiante, nel portamento, in ogni suo atto si parea un non so che di celeste, e quasi direi, un irraggiamento di Paradiso ; chè, lasciando stare altre cose, egli avea del continuo vivissimo il sentimento della divina presenza ; onde incontrava che, le persone, le quali il miravano, di una cotal riverenza si sentivan comprese. Non per tanto il suo conversare tornava gradito e amabile a tutti ; a tutti egli era cortese, a tutti officioso, a tutti riverente ; i suoi costumi e le sue maniere faceano fede sì della tranquilla egualità della sua mente, sì di quel fervore di carità, ch'era la vita dell'anima sua. La discrezione, la quale è la temperatrice di tutte le virtù, informava a meraviglia ogni sua parola, ogni sua azione." (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Cap. XII., p.* 48—49. *Seconda Edizione.)*

† As described by Tocco, whose style is meagre and dry, the virtues of the Angelical point him out as a marvellous creature, of highest nature and choicest grace :—"Erat enim prædictus Doctor in sui reputatione

and S. Antoninus, that the one abiding specialty, which receives an illustration in every chapter, nay, in almost every paragraph of their biographies of the Saint, is that of his possessing vast power, combined with a royal gentleness in the use of it.* Largeness of mind and self-control—those two great Benedictine characteristics—separated him off, with marked distinctness, from the common herd of students and professors in the thirteenth century.

Indeed, one of the great works which he was raised up to accomplish, was to bring into the midst of the heats and disputations of the University a portion of that lofty spirit of serene self-government which sat so naturally upon him.†

How different from him was the great mass of teachers of that day who gave the tone to the schools, and created the *morale* of the place! In the description of "Paris" attempted in our first

humillimus, corpore et mente purissimus, oratione devotus, consilio providus, conversatione placidus, caritate diffusus, intellectu lucidus, ingenio acutus, judicio certus, memoria retentivus, a sensibus quasi quotidie elevatus, et omnium quasi contemptivus temporalium, ut omnium virtutum unus homo haberet habitus, ex quibus sibi ad meritum et aliis in exemplum similes producerentur effectus." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. V., n.* 24, *p.* 666.)

* See how beautifully Montalembert shows *benignitas* and *simplicitas* to be the special notes of the old Benedictines, quoting that touching epitaph, beginning:—"Mitis erat cunctis, suavis, pius . . ." (*Les Moines d'Occident, Introd., p.* 160.)

† Who, after studying the life of the Angelical—after deeply studying it, can come to any other conclusion than this, that his whole temper of mind falls in exactly with "the normal condition of the monk?" The following expresses what is here meant:—"Nature for art, the wide earth and the majestic heavens for the crowded city, the subdued and docile beasts of the field for the wild passions and rivalries of social life, tranquillity for ambition and care, divine meditation for the exploits of the intellect, the Creator for the creature—such was the normal condition of the monk." (Dr. Newman's *Mission of the Benedictine Order, The Atlantis, Vol. I., p.* 16.)

volume,* sufficient has been said to suggest to the reader the condition of the University, and to prepare him for what is about to follow.

Thousands of noisy dissipated youths, from every quarter of the then known world, made up the majority of those who had to be taught. The teachers, as a rule, were, in their measure, little better than their scholars. Ignorant and vain, random talkers, quick without being deep, ready without being accurate, bold in argument, careless of truth, reckless in statement, violent in manner, overbearing in language and reply, filled with that nervous excitability which springs from, and is aggravated by, the continued working of an overwrought brain—they did little else then keep the schools in a continual fever, and encourage, in those who required just the opposite kind of training, an overweening thirst for intellectual tournament, with its brilliant paradox, its dashing sarcasm, its sparkling repartee, and its unfailing flashes of sheet lightning and of intellectual vapour.† Bright,

* *Chap. XVI., XVII., p.* 350—426.

† "Sed quid docebant novi doctores, et qui plus somniorum quam vigiliarum in scrutinio philosophiæ consumpserant?—Ecce nova fiebant omnia: innovabatur grammatica, immutabatur dialectica . . . solam convenientiam sine ratione loquebantur . . . Indignantur ergo puri philosophi, et qui omnia præter logicam dedignantur . . . ut ait Seneca in I. Declam. *Nihil est odibilius subtilitate, ubi nihil aliud est quam subtilitas;* et ad Lucilium: *Nihil est acutius arista, sed hæc ad quid utilis? tale utile est illud ingenium, quod sola subtilitate lasciviens, nulla residet gravitate.*" (Metalogicus, Vid. *Lib. I., Cap. III.—Lib. II., Cap. VIII.*; see also the *Polycraticus*, which has much on the same point, *Lib. VII., Cap. VII—XIV.*) Of course, with all this, it is not denied that there were grave and learned professors, and attentive and well-behaved students in Paris. Here the question regards what S. Thomas had to correct, not what he had to perfect.

sudden coruscations that lit up the imagination for a moment, the gossamer net of syllogistic display, the clever retort, and the caustic rejoinder, as well as the brutal jest, and the rude voiceless swagger of shameless ignorance—anything that looked like power, victory, or force, was sure to find admirers and followers in the Paris schools. If a Master broached some novel subject, and defended, as Masters often did, some startling proposition, or advanced some pet blasphemy, he was sure of an eager following. Let him attack the dogmas of the Church, let him get into his chair and deny the immortality of the soul, or try to prove that all souls are one—that man is God, and that God is nature—or speak patronizingly of Christ and his Redemption: and hundreds of itching ears and glistening eyes will be found shoving their way through the crowd to get nearer to his chair.* Scores of burning imaginations will go home charred for life; hundreds of minds will carry away a seed within them which may eventually germinate, and burst into spiritual monomania, or hysterical fanaticism, or absolute madness. Did not pantheism grow out of the Paris University? Was not "Averroës" taught there? Was not the book "*De Causis*" explained there? Was not David of Dinanto a professor there, and Amalric as well?

* See the *Verbum Abbreviatum* of Peter the Cantor, *Cap. V.*, *n.* 11—12, *p.* 34—35; also, the letter (251) of Bishop Stephen of Tournay (1192—1200) to Pope Celestine III., beginning:—"Lapsa sunt apud nos," &c., quoted by Gieseler, *Vol. III.*, § 74, *p.* 295, *note.*

Then, see them disputing in the schools *—the Master in his great wooden chair, with its high carved back, the Bachelor close below him, hundreds of young fellows of all ages and complexions, indeed, middle-aged men, rich as well as poor, the sharp and the dull, the ragged and the spruce, filling the great hall, and fixing themselves, as best they can, on the benches or amongst the straw. All are staring in one direction. All fasten their bright eyes with expectation upon the Doctor, now that the Bachelor has just finished making his Commentary on the Lombard, and that the book is closed. A proposition is selected by the presiding Master for one of the young men in the middle of the hall to defend. The youth—with those earnest faces, those prying, curious, criticizing eyes intent upon him—deliberately repeats the proposition. If he be well drilled in intellectual fence, if he be brilliant after the fashion of Abelard, with the quickness of an expert, he proves—deftly and neatly, with his ready major minor and conclusion, with his authorities, and his arguments from reason, ever keeping his middle term well in hand—the thesis which is presented to him.† If he

* How well Tosti describes the temper and influence of school dialectics !—"S' incominciò ad entrare pian piano, ma con molta irriverenza di modi, nel santuario della filosofia. Ma i sapienti che vissero prima della metà del XII. secolo tanto fortemente stettero su la forma filosofica, che non pensavono alla cosa. Della forma abbisognavano, perchè volevano lottare, perchè volevano provare il piacere di un intoppo sormontato." *(Storia di Abelardo Prologo, p.* 13.)

† The love of "display" was so great, at least in the days of John of Salisbury, that, if what he says be true, a master of dialectics would stand a good chance of emptying his school if he taught with simplicity,

be a clumsy fellow—in the midst of expressions of noisy contempt, careless laughter, and rude scurrility which the Master can with difficulty suppress, he blunders and puzzles over his defence, and at length, perhaps, the students getting wearied of him, a physical argument, administered by some impatient Cornifician standing by, drives his thesis out of his head altogether: his brain becomes confused, he loses his presence of mind and subsides into sullen silence. Or, if he be of another disposition, suddenly leaving his intellectual combat for the moment, with the quickness of lightning he draws out his knife, or, in his passion, plants his clenched fist in the face of his rash disturber: the students begin shouting and hustling—and at once the whole school is thrown into indescribable uproar and confusion.*

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and made his lessons too plain :—"Deridebat eos noster ille Anglus Peripateticus Adam, cujus vestigia sequuntur multi, sed pauci præpediente invidia profitentur: dicebatque, se aut nullum aut auditores paucissimos habiturum, si ea simplicitate sermonum et facilitate sententiarum dialecticam traderet, qua ipsam doceri expediret." *(Metalog., Lib. III., Cap. III.—V.)*

* Prantl quotes some curious lines under the title of "*De Presbytero et Logico,*" which show the high feeling and excitement which existed between the reckless noisy logicians of the schools, and the more solid and serious section :—

"*Logicus.*—Fallis, fallis, presbyter, cœtum Christianum,
Abusive loqueris, lædis Priscianum,
Te probo falsidicum, te probo vesanum . . .
Presbyter.—Tace, tace, logice, tace, vir fallator,
Tace dux insaniæ, legis vanæ lator . . .
Logicus.—Peccasti, sed gravius adiicis peccare,
Legem hanc adiiciens vanum nominare ;
Sanum est, disserere vel grammatizare,
Si insanum putas, velim dicas quare.
Presbyter.—Deo est odibile vestrum argumentum ;
Ibi nulla veritas, totum est figmentum,
Logicus.—Audi, inter philalas quid philosopharis ;
Follus non philosophus, hinc esse probaris,
Stulto sunt similia singula, quæ faris,
Epicure lubrice, dux ingluviei
Cujus deus venter est dum sic servis ei."
(Logik, Zweiter Band, XIV. Abs., p. 231.)

But let us suppose that the disorder has subsided. The clever student first mentioned is suffered to develop his thesis. This being done, the intellectual tournament begins in earnest. Objections can be thrown out in syllogistic form by any of those present. The very talent of the defendant arouses the envy of the rest. They do not like to be beaten. All manner of clever subtle difficulties are proposed, discussed, defended, sifted. The minor is divided sharp as with a knife by the ever-prompt *distinguo*. The school's interest deepens. All watch with breathless eagerness to witness which of the two will eventually throw the other. In proportion as the audience is worked upon, the combatants grow warm and argue with rapidity. Fierce gesticulations, staring eyes, shrill and noisy accents, meet each other.* From time to time the excited youths—as they witness the quickening passages of arms, and as one or the other makes a more brilliant assault than usual—stamp with their feet and clap with their hands, and then, shouting to the echo, burst into a volley of applause, in which the Bachelor below joins heartily, and in which the Master can ill conceal his interest.† At length, one of the combatants slips

* What little sympathy these performers had with the monks comes out in these lines :—

"Quidquid tantæ curiæ sanctione datur,
Non cedat in irritum, ratum habeatur ;
Cucullatus igitur grex vilipendatur
Et a philosophicis scolis expellatur. Amen."
(Metamorph. Goliæ ; see Prantl, *Logik, Loco Citato.)*

† Lest I may be thought to exaggerate, see Peter the Cantor's *Verbum Abbreviatum*—for instance, *Cap. V., p.* 34, sqq.

in his heat, or does not cut the knot clean with his "distinction." He has severed truth from error —admitted the one and rejected the other—but he has not done so neatly; some small thread of error, it need be but the most attenuated thread, has, in the cutting, been left hanging as it were to the truth which he adopts and professes to maintain. His adversary perceives his advantage with the keenness of instinct. He seizes upon it instantly. A rapid series of distinctions passes and repasses between the two, till finally the defendant of the thesis—seeing the game is up, that the fallacy must be exposed—having lost his argument, now begins to lose his temper. High words ensue, and with burning faces and swelling bosoms, and hearts blistering with rage, the two young dialecticians subside, ruffled and panting, into the motley crowd.*—No species of excitement, except, perhaps, gambling for high stakes, could be imagined more trying to the nervous system than such displays as these.†

At times, the Doctor or Bachelor presiding

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* "Non era la verità che l'innamorava, ma la vittoria dell' opinione. Avevano mestieri di armi, dico della Dialettica, che è l'arma della disputa. Ove questa ferveva, i Filosofi di quel secolo combattevano; ove taceva, si ponevano alla pacifica sposizione del pensiero, ed anche combattevano, preponendo il dubbio, per entrare arbitri nella definizione de' contrarî." (Tosti, *Storia di Abelardo, Prologo, p.* 13.) Again:—"La moltitudine delle scuole e de' maestri, la libertà dell' insegnamento produsse la varietà delle opinioni, il desiderio di farle prevalere, il bisogno della disputa." *(Loco Citato, p.* 12.)

† "La grande ville," says De La Marche, "retentissait du bruit des vaines disputes et des querelles scholastiques." *(La Chaire Française, Troisième Partie, p.* 417; see also *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., p.* 353, *note.)*

would descend into the arena with a student, either to set him right, or to show him and the rest how to exercise the art in its perfection. Occasionally, some quick-witted youth, full of mischief, or fired with ambition, would enter the schools, ready primed, with the set purpose of tripping up the reigning Doctor, and creating confusion amongst his disciples. He would have nothing to lose, and might always have something to gain. There was plenty of arrogance, in young and old, in the thirteenth century. Not authority—but reason, talent, logical dexterity, ruled in the noisy world.* Not reverence—but audacity, combativeness, and recklessness in dispute was the order of that day. Sharp wits seemed for the time to carry more weight than long heads. What happened between scholar and scholar also took place between school and school; and each being eagerly supported by the Masters, great was the turmoil and disorder which ensued. From arguments, recourse was soon had to knocks and blows.

And it need not be imagined that passionate displays were strictly confined to students. The Professors themselves, the Doctor, the Licentiate,

* "Voyons donc comment on étudioit la philosophie, et commençons par la logique. Ce n'étoit plus, comme elle étoit dans son institution, l'art de raisonner juste et de chercher la vérité par les voies les plus sûres : c' étoit un exercice de disputer et de subtiliser à l'infini. Le but de ceux qui l'enseignoient, étoit moins d'instruire leurs disciples, que de se faire admirer d'eux, et d'embarrasser leurs adversaries par des questions captieuses, à peu près comme ces anciens sophistes dont Plato se joue si agréablement." (Fleury, *Disc. sur L'Hist. Ecclésiastique, Cinquième Disc.*, § *VII.*, *p.* 204—205.)

and the Bachelor, were very often hot-headed and violent men. Indeed, to check wrath and fierce emotion seems to have been a duty unheard of — certainly little thought of — amongst these disputants. Professors had little respect for pupils, and pupils little for their masters. De Vitry says that many who set themselves up as teachers had hardly any education, and few principles to guide them, though they had well-sharpened wits; and—as if in compensation for their slender acquirements—they were bloated with vain-glory, and sensitive as girls, through highly wrought self-consciousness and self-conceit.* No self-sufficient or vain-glorious man, it is clear to any one who thinks, can possibly keep his temper whilst he is playing a losing game. If victorious, with overbearing arrogance he can bully a helpless student, wrangle with a hardy Martinet, or take up the cudgels with a supercilious Cornifician; but if vanquished, his only resource is to storm against his victor, and beat his ignominious retreat, throbbing with disappointment and covered by the dust which he has raised around him. Judging

* So ignorant were some of the professors, that the students were warned against them by serious men:—"Le Cardinal de Vitry, les engageant à se défier des *néophytes*, c'est-à-dire des jeunes docteurs qui attirent la foule par l'attrait de la curiosité, et qui puisent tout leur enseignement, non dans leur mémoire ni dans l'expérience, mais dans les cahiers et les armoires *(in archis et quaternis)*; car certains élèves sont entraînés par eux a force de prières, de caresses, d'argent même *(pretio conducti)*, et gaspillent ainsi dans des futilités leur temps le plus précieux. Des disciples payés par le maître, n'est-ce pas là un joli trait de l'esprit d'intrigue et de jalousie qui agitait l'école? Et ce renversement des usages établis ne trouverait-il pas son pendant de nos jours?" (De La Marche, *La Chaire Française, Au Moyen Age, Troisième Partie, p.* 418.)

from such men as John of Salisbury, Comestor, De Vitry, John de Hauteville,* and others who have touched upon the condition of the University, and the character of its Professors up to the time of the Angelical—students and their masters, in respect of steadiness and character, seem to have been about upon a par. A great reform was necessary. Men may have learnt to argue, and to become sophists, but with all the trickery connected with dispute, they were in considerable danger of growing into intellectual charlatans; if they had any character to start with, they stood a great chance of parting with it. They wanted self-control; they wanted self-repression; they wanted love of truth, and desire after wisdom: and the Professors wanted seriousness; and all wanted calmness, gentleness, tenderness, and courtesy towards each other. The school of noisy vulgar disputants required transforming into a society of men, full of Divine fire it may be, yet also of holy self-control—seeking truth, not victory; God's glory, not man's renown; and using the instruments of discussion, not as means for carrying out some private end, or for ministering to some creature-

* De Hauteville, who, by the way, was a monk of our S. Alban's, expresses his opinion both on scholars and professors in no very measured terms, in a poem entitled *Architremius*. Architremius, the hero of it, is thoroughly disgusted with the Paris schools. The students are unfairly used and ill-treated, and the scholastics and doctors are full of vanity and conceit, and possessed of very little learning. On the whole, De Hauteville seems to have been utterly sickened by his experiences of the University. The mere fact of a law being passed that nobody should profess theology until he was twenty-five years of age, speaks for itself.

vanity or craving, but as tools, placed in man's hand by Providence, for working out the Truth and pushing forward the cause of God.*

The unspeakable damage done to mind, heart, and character, by such influences as have been described, need not be dwelt upon—it is patent on the face of it. And when it is recalled to mind that such was the training given to the vast majority of ecclesiastics, upon whom the grave responsibility of teaching and directing others would eventually fall, the case becomes a far more serious one.†

What power was there which could leaven that mass of thoughtless, vain, contentious humanity? Whence was the "salt" to come to purify that earth? What instrument or organism, what method or influence, could bring in God, and truth, and reverence, and self-distrust, and gentle noble courtesy of mind and manner amongst that boisterous throng? Who could sober the

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* The legend related of Erigena's tragical death shows anyhow the opinion held of students, even as early as the ninth century, by certain writers. The fact of his being a little man of vivacious and witty disposition—as is evident from his repartees with Charles the Bald—makes the story all the more telling. The legend is, that his scholars at Malmesbury set upon him, and pierced him to death with their writing instruments (883).

† There is no doubt also that the contests of the schools, as they were carried on at one time, helped to foster not only conceit, and to create restless spirits, but also were the parents of much crass ignorance. John of Salisbury, after revisiting S. Geneviève's, from which he had been many years absent, says of the men who had been his fellow-students there:—"I found them the same men, in the same place; nor had they advanced a single step towards resolving our ancient questions, nor added a single proposition, however small, to their stock of knowledge." The way they mixed up the teachings of Plato and Aristotle is known to all.

half-intoxicated mind, relax the tension of high-strung nerves, calm the senses, soothe the heart, reduce the fever of the brain, and bring the whole being into healthy equipoise?

Who of us could have devised a method? That some great change was brought about we know. How was it done? Who did it?—It was the great Angelical.

He was a vast system in himself, and appears to have been specially created for achieving such an end. He was one single, simple man—doubtless. But he was a "system," or the representation of a system—the highest type of what heroism can do in human heart and mind. Christ, in choosing him, had chosen the most majestic of human creations—converting it into a powerful exponent of the light, peace, and splendour which strike out from the Cross.* He, if any man, had rested on the bosom of his Lord. He, the great Angelical, with the golden sun flashing from his breast, and the fire of heaven scintillating round his massive brow—he, if any man, had broken the bread of the strong, and had refreshed his lips with the blood of the grape, and had been transfigured by the draught.

* The very conception of such a work as the *Summa*, is enough to show of what stuff the Angelical's mind was made:—"In Thomas' *Summa Theologiæ*," says Dr. Mettenleiter, "findet sich Alles vereinigt, was man von Gott, dem Menschen und ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen wissen kann. Da ist Alles hinterlegt, was die alte Philosophie geträumt und erstrebt hatte. Natur und Gesellschaft haben ihm ihre Schätze geöffnet; menschliche und göttliche Wissenschaft ist ihm hier auf gleiche Weise erschlossen; die Welt der Natur und Gnade ist seine Eroberung geworden; die Religion beleuchtet das Universum dieses gibt der Religion Zeugniss." (*Gesehichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin. Einleitung, p. XXVI.*)

There is a largeness about him, which, whilst it expands the heart seems almost to take away the breath.* We look up at him and say: "How great art thou! how gently courteous, and how tenderly true! Sweet was the power of God, and the grace of Christ, which made thee all thou art. O, gentle mighty sun, shine on in thy sweet radiance, spread thy pure invigorating rays amidst the deep sad shadows of the earth!"

If, after so many hundred years, the power of the Angelical is so great over those who know him simply through dry biographies and imperfect sketches, what must not have been his power—his wide encompassing influence—over those who came under his eye, and could look upon him in return, and were then subdued by so great a mastership? Simply on comparing his life, as Tocco gives it, with the lives of other men, it is clear, at once, that he was a man of a larger scale, built on a far nobler model than they.† Their range and calibre

* We can repeat with full heart those beautiful words, written under a painting of the Saint which was once in a church in the Piazza del Tempio del Gesù Nuovo, at Naples :—

"O sapientiæ cœlestis optatissimum auspicium!
O integerrimæ vitæ jucundissimum exemplum!
Salve Thoma sanctissime custos,
Salve sapientissime magister,
Salve benevolentissime pàter,
Macte gloria; macte laudibus; macte Virtutibus!"
(See *Vita*, *p.* 63.)

† After speaking of the might of the great defensive Orders of the Church, he says, for instance :—"De prædicto autem stellarum Ordine, id est Prædicatorum, oportebat luminare aliquod præ cæteris divinitus præfulgere doctius, et ideo de ipso præ aliis clarior Doctor præfulsit Ecclesiæ, et qui velut stella splendida et matutina in aurora prædictæ illuminationis apparuit, et quasi Hesperius serotini temporis usque in finem sæculi mundum illuminans in suis libris pro fidelium illuminatione remansit." (Tocco, *in Vita, Boll., Cap. I., n.* 2, *p.* 657.)

may have been considerable; one may have surpassed the other in this or that—each possessing his varied gifts; but the Angelical does not come in their category: he belongs to a higher class—a more heavenly order; he is solitary, and solitary from his very greatness—his orb, amidst the thousand stars, shines with its broad, steady, solar light.

Such was his character. And, prescinding from his natural gifts, how did he become so mighty? The cause has been touched on and partially developed already. The reader, adequately to realize it, would do well to study and master, with his heart as well as with his head, the monastic theology of S. Victor's—the Benedictine science of the saints.* Grasp the spirit of S. Anselm, S. Bernard, and the Victorines, weigh it as a whole, follow its drift, mark its salient points, learn to recognize the *aroma* of that sweet mystic life of tough yet tender service and self-forgetfulness, and you will have discovered that spring of living waters which ran into the heart and mind of the

* Those who are really anxious to master fully the "spirit" of our Saint, and to understand the secret of his great success, should study with thoroughness the "Monastic Theology" of S. Victor's. Some may, at first sight, have hardly understood why the author wrote two long and elaborate chapters (See *Vol. I., p.* 198—269), with so many references, upon what might appear a matter almost beside the point. Those two chapters are the burning light meant to illuminate the moral character of the Saint. Love, purity, reverence, adoration—approaching science with cleanness of heart, with humility of spirit, with self-distrust, with an intense conviction that "ubi charitas, ibi *claritas*"—"where love is there is light," and that *self* is darkness and shadow at best—such is the spirit handed down by S. Benedict, and filling the heart of the Angelical. To fully appreciate it, it must be studied and meditated on: its power cannot be realized all at once.

great Angelical, and lent to all his faculties—aye, and even to his very person and expression—a warmth and glow which seemed to have come direct from heaven. From the rock, which was Christ, flowed straight and swift into the Paradise of his soul four crystal waters: Love—fixing the entire being on the Sovereign Good, and doing all for Him alone; Reverence—that is, self-distrust and self-forgetfulness, produced by the vision of God's High Majesty awfully gazed on with the eye of faith; Purity—treading all created things, and self first, under the feet, and with entire freedom of spirit, basking and feeding in the unseen world; Adoration—love, reverence, and purity, combined in one act of supreme worship, as the creature, with all he has and all he is, bends prone to the earth, and with a feeling of dust and ashes whispers to his soul: "The Lord He is God, He made us and not we ourselves!" *

Was it not such high acts as these which made the Saint grow into the proportions of a sun? Was it not his having found a home so close to the Source of charity and tenderness which made him the gentle creature that he was? †

* *Psalm. XCIX.*, 4.

† How full of sweet fire was not the soul of Dante, when he exclaimed (in words that would fit the mouth of the great Angelical were he to tell what he experienced in his hidden life)—

"Ciò ch'io vedeva, mi sembrava un riso
Dell' universo, perchè mia ebbrezza
Entrava per l'audire e per lo viso.
O gioia! O ineffabile allegrezza!
O vita intera d'amore e di pace!
O senza brama sicura ricchezza!"

(*Paradiso, Canto XXVII.*, 4—10.)

Thus his mind was essentially Platonic, synthetic, monastic. He loved peace; it was sweet to him to be alone—undisturbed by tongues, he found his true companionship with "Wisdom." He was never really solitary: his mind and imagination, his whole intellectual and moral being, was ever so absorbed by the world of realities, that he often became estranged from our shadows, and forgot men—disappointed them, ignored them, and affronted them. As a courtier in the high presence of his king seems quite unconscious of all other presences, so was it with him—rapt in the mystic vision of his God.*

But inclination is one thing, the call of God and duty is another. If the Angelical, by nature and early associations, was Platonic and monastic—by duty and by vocation he was Aristotelian and scholastic. On the broad basis of Plato supernaturalized, and of the monastic principle elevated to its highest and its best, stood, firm-set in his splendid mind—the force of genuine science, the keen Aristotelian faculty of sharp analysis, and the scholastic gifts of symmetry and order. Springing from so wide and massy a foundation—the power

* See *Boll., Cap. VII., n.* 44, *p.* 671. "Wisdom" it was which inebriated him with love:—"Sic enim divina Sapientia, quæ melior est cunctis opibus, quam sibi a juventute sponsam acceperat, ipsum inebriaverat charitate, ut nullum mundanum ejus mentem alliceret, qui in uno bonorum omnium sufficientiam possideret. Qui cum concessa bona contempsit quæ habuit, non concupivit non habita; sed magnitudine animi despexit oblata, et oblitus eorum quæ retro sunt, cuncta reliquit, et ad interiora se extendens, quæ obtinuit, dilexit." (*Boll., Cap. VII., n.* 43, *p.* 671.)

of dialectics, of lucid statement, of cogent proof, of vigorous attack, of victorious defence, of high intellectual strategy, was lifted to its maximum.

Yet the Angelical hated logic-chopping.* The slums of science might find excitement in it; it had no charm for him. When he had to witness such like displays in Albert's school, he shrank back into himself silent, and remained as one benumbed to all around. All flaunting of *self* was odious to him. The gluttony of intellectual excitement, and the pride of mental power, love of applause, and thirst for fame, had no place in a nature such as his. Had he not by a supernatural gift been above all this, his solitary greatness and the majesty of his character would have secured him from the bitterness of jealousy and the strivings of emulation, which are the fruits of human rivalry. He himself declared that he never, in all his life, had so much as felt a temptation to indulge in one vain-glorious thought.†

It was such a giant as this that was brought into the schools. Comparing the character of the

* Love of truth, and love of intellectual excitement, create two quite distinct orders of pleasure. In modern days, running about after truth—as children chase a butterfly about a field, or as men and dogs hunt a fox or a hare—not taking hold of it, and possessing it, forms the great attraction. Men like the exercise; they love the pleasure of feeling themselves invigorated. In ancient days, amongst those who did not chop logic or did not care to do so, finding and possessing was the one desire—just as a man digs for a treasure, counting little of the spade-work, but much upon the prize. The former is the play of shallow, quick minds; the latter, the business of those that are deep and profound.

† See Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. V.*, *n.* 25, *p.* 666.

students and professors of the Paris University with that of the Angelical, no greater contrast could possibly be imagined.* Only in one thing he seemed to resemble that turbulent society—and that was in his quick logical mind, his swift intellectual vision. But even here, on their own strong vantage-ground, dialecticians were little better than untrained children in comparison with him; and they felt it—they were forced to acknowledge his superiority. He was undisputed master; he was the "Angel of the Schools." And when once his place had been secured—and it was universally admitted that no one could approach him in proof, or defence, or in accuracy of judgment, or in store of learning, or readiness of resource, or power of logic, or breadth of vision, or in any kind of mental or moral eminence—then, his influence in the University, which naturally adored great genius and unlimited success, became supreme.

Besides men knew that he was a saint. His high perfection of soul could not have been concealed.

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* "Ne cherchant dans les sciences que ce qui pouvoit nourrir la charité dans son cœur, ou élever son esprit à une plus haute connoissance des perfections de Dieu, il n'avoit que du mépris pour toutes ces connoissances stériles, qui servent uniquement, ou à satisfaire la curiosité des Sçavans, ou à flatter leur orgueil."

"Il pensoit si peu à s'attirer l'estime des créatures, par les lumières, dont il vouloit se remplir, que rien ne le mortifioit plus sensiblement, que les loüanges: et nous ne devons pas craindre d'assurer, que si le premier, ou le plus ardent de ses désirs, étoit de se rendre saint et sçavant, le second fut toûjours de cacher à ses propres frères, les progrès qu'il faisoit dans la science et dans la vertu. Par un genre d'humilité très peu connu, et plus mal pratiqué dans les Ecoles; l'attention la plus ordinaire de notre Saint étoit d'écouter, de se taire, d'obscurcir ses talens, ou de faire disparoître, tout ce qui auroit pû le faire connoître tel qu'il étoit." (Touron, *Liv. I., Chap. XIX., p.* 74—75.)

Those four rivers which made him what he was, made the students also what they were in relation to him—something not very far short of worshippers. Tocco does not say as much—but there is a thread running through his "Life" which witnesses, even at this day, to the vast impress of the Saint's character. When S. Antoninus writes of him, there is a fragrance about his whole tone which has to do with the *odor suavitatis* of the Blessed.

Fancy this great Angelical logician, whose one idea was to enlarge Christ's glory, sitting in the chair of science with those hundreds of youths around him—not only youths, but bearded men, and possibly prelates and bishops, and other persons of distinction!* Think of his familiar contact with them all—of his mighty gentle mind day by day pouring forth, from the vast chamber of his memory, "new things and old" for their instruction, and flooding them with light! He who as the merest child was ever asking: "*Quid esset Deus?*" he who as a stripling in the schools of the gay city of the South had surpassed his own professors; he who under Albert at Cologne had

* If such was the case with fainter lights, *a fortiori*, without much stress of imagination we may suppose that the Angelical had not less attractive power. "On the ancient tombs of doctors in the cloisters of Pavia," says Mr. Digby, "the master, like Nazario, is represented instructing scholars who are themselves bearded men; and at the college of the Jesuits at Rome, shortly after its foundation, Dr. Martin Gregory says that prelates and bishops, and other honourable personages, used to sit out of the press at lattice windows looking into the school, hearing and writing down the lessons in divinity." (See *Mores Catholici, Vol. I., Book III., Chap. VII., p.* 393.) Think of S. Camillus de Lellis, and S. Ignatius.

struck wonder into all by his profound defence of the Areopagite; he who had commented with such brilliant success upon the Lombard—now as a finished student in his early prime, leaving out all other reasons—was, as the natural consequence of his successes, King of the noisy schools!

He who has met a man of powerful intellect can make some estimate of the mysterious influence of mental power, and of the fascinating slavery of being enthralled by it. He may form a conception of how far-reaching it is. He may recollect how everything that drops from the tongue of such a man, or comes from his pen, has that indescribable sweetness and attraction about it which belongs to the temper of his mind; and how scores who have never seen his face, to whom he is an utter stranger, defend his cause with as much jealousy as they would the honour of their mother or the reputation of their dearest friend.* And if such be the effect simply of the writings of an able man, how paramount must not be his sway, when the glance of his eye, the accents of his voice, the charm of his manner, and the whole stamp of his

* Here are two examples of the sort of thing I mean. Speaking of Thomas Scott of Acton Sandford, Dr. Newman says:—"I so admired and delighted in his writings, that, when I was an undergraduate, I thought of making a visit to his Parsonage, in order to see the man whom I so deeply revered. I hardly think I could have given up the idea of this expedition even after I had taken my degree, for the news of his death in 1821 came upon me as a disappointment as well as a sorrow." (See the *Apologia*, *p.* 60.) Again: "I had hastened to the Tower . . . to receive the congratulations of all the fellows. I bore it till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and unworthy of the honour done me, that I seemed desirous of quite sinking into the ground." (*p.* 76.)

character and genius, combine in one harmonious influence to illustrate and recommend his doctrine, and to subdue and captivate the heart! How mysteriously great is not the force of intellect over the generous, confiding, impressionable heart of youth!

Yes, see the great Angelical in the midst of the thronging schools. Brilliancy, depth, tenderness, and eloquence—all the force he had of mind and manner, was exerted by him to further the one cause he had espoused upon the earth: to advance the imperial cause of Wisdom.* How he must have shamed many of those ungovernable Doctors! With what awe must not the shallow teacher have looked on him and heard him! What a lesson to the vain dialectician—the lover of intellectual display—to be constrained to beat his breast and say: "Verily, that man aims at one thing only—self-forgetting, to make Truth known and loved!" What a new sensation for the students when he serenely took his place amongst them, and held them spell-bound by his lucid, eloquent, simple exposition; by his brilliant, quick defence; by his modesty and gentle kindliness! No wonder Tocco

* "Or egli, che sì altamente descrisse la sapientia, più largamente ne fu di essa colmato per testimonianza del summo Pontefice Giovanni XXII. conforme ne attestò nella bolla della canonizatione addattandogli quelle parole dell' Ecclesiastio: *In medio Ecclesiæ aperuit os ejus, et implevit eum Dominus spiritu sapientiæ et intellectus.* Ammirossi dunque in Tomaso l'altissima sua sapientia, non come sola intellettuale virtù, dal filosofo chiamata *Philosophia* prima, ma come sapientia infusa, ed un sovrano dono dello Spirito santo da lui ricevuto per una sua connaturalezza ed affinità alle cose divine, da esso nutricata col pascolo dell' incessanti sue orationi." (Frigerio, *Lib. III., n.* 2, *p.* 124.)

declared his influence to have surpassed that of every other Doctor; no wonder that his school was crowded as no other;* no wonder that at last all recognized the Divine Hand which was upon him, and that he was finally declared, by the Holy See itself, to be "The Angel of the Schools."†

Several examples are given, in different lives of the Saint, of his remarkable gentleness and self-possession. On one occasion a young man was being examined before an imposing meeting of professors and a large assembly of students, for his Licentiate. During the course of the defension, he advanced a proposition which was decidedly unsound. The Angelical saw the flaw at once. He, in his own masterly way, entered into the lists with the young man. To him, of course, it was merely like the play of a child. However, the student, with that arrogance belonging to his class, thought to maintain his proposition: but the poor fellow was as a bird in the hand of the fowler. The Angelical pressed him, using as his lever a certain Council of the Church, which was wholly opposed to the proposition which the student had undertaken to defend. In vain the young man tried to extricate himself from the dilemma: his most artful efforts simply entangled him the more.

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* See Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., n. 2, p. 28.*

† "Onde se nel Baccellerato fù stimata da tutti maraviglioso, nel magisterio poscia accese con la maraviglia il stupore: perchè la dottrina, che da lui ascoltavano i scolari, non pareva humana, ma più tosto Angelica." *(Vita, p. 17.)*

The Angelical pushed him still further, till finally he was constrained by the sheer force of logic to own himself beaten : his pride was broken ; he sunk to his proper place ; and begged the Angelical, with a very different air and with expressions of genuine humility, to enlighten him upon the subject. "Now you are speaking properly," said the Saint sweetly to him : and then he began to unfold the true thesis to him, with such a store of gentleness and sympathy, that all the Masters were carried away with admiration of him : "*Magistri omnes*," says Tocco, "*admirati sunt de tranquillitate mentis ejus et verbi*"—showing, by the very fact of their being so much surprised, that he was introducing a new element amongst them.*

Another time he had occasion to engage in a formal defension with the Minorite friar John of Pisa, who eventually became Archbishop of Canterbury. Great was the concourse to witness this passage of arms. It was what Frigerio calls a *solenne congresso*, and no doubt there were

* Tocco relates this case in full, beginning thus :—"Aliud humilitatis exemplum ad prædicti Doctoris perfectionis indicium fuit ab his, qui fuerunt cum ipso Parisiis, juridica assertione relatum. Qui cum quidam Religiosus Parisiis deberet per Cancellarium examinari ad magisterium, in vesperis, sicut est moris, licentiandus de objectis quæstionibus opinionem contrariam tenuit veritati, quam in suis scholis prius Doctor determinaverat. Cui cum vir ille patientissimus non reputans : sibi præjudicatum, in quo ei fuerat a magistro adhuc novitio contradictum, quasi vere humilis, qui sui contemptum magnanimus contemnebat, quietus mente et verbo tranquillus, cum Fratribus sociis rediit ad conventum. Studentes vero, et prædictus socius ejus, non ferentes talem injuriam dixerunt : magister, nos graviter in vestra persona sumus offensi." (*Boll., Cap. V., n.* 27, *p.* 666.) This suffices to show how he was numbered amongst the best and the highest masters of self-control.

many eager Franciscans with their picturesque rough habits, and many Black Friars, as well as Augustinians and Trinitarians, seated in the great hall of discussion, waiting to see the issue between S. Francis and S. Dominic. To hear Br. Thomas of Aquin defend a public thesis, even in great intellectual Paris, was a treat which no man who had a taste for exquisite dialectic art, or for displays of crushing power, would be willing to throw away.* Even to look on that man, with his meek princely bearing, and his finely developed brow and serene countenance, would have been enough delight. Well, the assembly met and the contest began. We are not told the subject of dispute, but—which is more interesting—we know what was its issue. John of Pisa, though a keen and learned man, had no chance with the Angelical. It would have been folly for any one, however skilled—yes, for Bonaventure, or Rochelle, or even Albert the Great himself—to attempt to cross rapiers with Br. Thomas. He was to the manner born. Br. John did all that was in him—used his utmost skill—but it was useless: the Angelical simply upset him time after time. The Minorite grew warm; the Angelical, bent simply on the truth, went on completing, with unmoved serenity, the full discomfiture of the poor Franciscan. John of Pisa at length could stand it no longer. In

* See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XVII., p.* 429, *note.*

his heat he forgot his middle term and forgot himself, and turned upon the Saint with sarcasm and invective.* The Angelical, in his own gentle, overpowering way, giving not the slightest heed to these impertinences, went on replying to him with inimitable tenderness and patience; and whilst teaching a lesson which, after so many hundred years, men still can learn, drew on himself, unconsciously, the surprise and admiration of that vast assembly. †

Such was the way in which the Angelical brought the influence of Benedictine *quies* and *benignitas* into the boisterous litigations of the Paris schools. ‡

And what is more, Frigerio tells us that the Saint taught the great lesson of self-control, not only by the undeviating practice of his life, but

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* "Ma non meno argomentar si può questa virtù nel santo Dottore da un suo solenne congresso, c'hebbe in Parigi con Giovanni di Pizzano dell'Ordine de'frati Minori, che fu poi assunto all'Arcivescovado di Conturbia, che benchè nel fervore della disputa maltrattasse il Santo con parole ampollose e pungenti, ei nondimeno con altrettanta mansuetudine gli corrispose: dimostrando in quella improvisa occasione, quanto altamente radicata fosse nel suo cuore la massima christiana, che lasciò scritta: *Sicut honor est separare se a contentionibus, sic ignominia est in contentione os suum convicio maculare.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n.* 5, *p.* 109—110.)

It may be well to remark, that Frigerio takes for granted what some doubt—that the "*De Eruditione Principum*" was written by the Saint. (See Feugueray, *Essai sur les Doctrines Politiques de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. I., p.* 25—26. Paris, 1857.)

† It was notorious in the schools that the Angelical *never*, under any provocation, lost his sweetness and his tenderness. (See *Boll., Cap. IX., n.* 77, *p.* 710.)

‡ "E con tale religiosa modestia ugualmente e con la penna ammaestrò altrui, dover essere sbandite dalle Academie le risse, l'immoderate contese, e le vane ostentationi di sapere confonder l'emulo co'sofistici argomenti. Il che sovente costume è (egli dicea) de' dialettici; commendava però le discrete conferenze e le quiete disputationi, dicendo, *Utilis est autem humilis collatio, et pacifica disputatio.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n.* 5, *p.* 109—110.)

also by his writings; that he looked upon it as an "ignominy" *(ignominia)* to soil the mouth with angry words;* and contended that "quarrels, immoderate contentions, vain ostentation of knowledge, and the trick of puzzling an adversary with sophistical arguments—such as is often the practice of dialecticians—should be banished from the schools."† Still he did not at all object to argumentation when carried on pacifically: "*Utilis est autem humilis collatio, et pacifica disputatio.*"‡

It may be imagined by some that the singular grace of the Angelical proceeded simply from a happy gift of natural character. To take that view would be to misunderstand his life altogether. A man may naturally be of a graceful and amiable disposition—doubtless: and such was the Angelical; but to bear affronts meekly, to be patient under bitter injury always, under all circumstances to be the same—cannot be nature, such stability as this

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* As far as "reverence" for dogma is concerned, the change was very remarkable as compared with the days of Amaury and David of Dinanto:—"Il n'y a pas un philosophe du treizième siècle," says Hauréau, "qui ne commence par établir, en paraissant en chaire, qu'il laissera les mystères en dehors de sa controverse, et qu'il traitera seulement les questions dont l'autorité n'interdit pas l'examen." *(De La Philosophie Scholastique, Tom. I., Chap. I., p.* 5.)

† What wisdom is there not in the following:—"Duo sunt maxime contraria consilio; scilicet festinantia, et ira . . . Zelus justitiæ, qui est quasi ignis, ardere debet in oleo misericordiæ. Ignis absque oleo lampadem destruit; sic zelus justitiæ, si desit oleum misericordiæ, nocet homini. Salvator destructionem Jerusalem, quam ex justitia facturus erat, prius flevit. Super illud Matth. 5: '*Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam*,' sic habetur: 'Justitiæ lumen est misericordia; justitia sine misericordia caecus furor est.' Princeps qui locum Dei tenet, Deum judicando imitari debet." (See *De Eruditione Principum, Opusc. XXXVII., Cap. V., Vol. XVI., p.* 473.) The whole of the chapter is well worth meditating on.

‡ He could not have selected more apt or concise words for expressing the intellectual follies of the schools.

can only come from grace—can only proceed from having conquered nature, by practising it in virtue and treading it under foot. Had the Angelical not been a mortified man, he certainly never would have been a meek one.*

Those who have not been behind the scenes, but simply gaze on the results of heavenly labour—on the issue of heroic suffering and heroic love as it manifests itself abroad in the world, will most assuredly wonder at it, but they cannot possibly comprehend it. An outside carnal man looks on a saint as some strange foreigner, whose ways perplex him, and whose character he cannot understand. He looks on him as a species of moral enigma, of which he has no attraction to discover the solution.

But let him, after looking on the sweet Angelical fascinating the crowded schools, take the trouble to follow him, as silently, after the day's work, he retires to his cell, seemingly to rest; let him watch him bent in prayer; see him take from its hiding-place, when all have gone to

* I have greatly insisted on the tenderness and gentleness of the Angelical. His very greatness throws these into bold relief, and they belong to his monastic training. Speaking in reference to Abbot Easterwine, Dr. Newman says :—"This gentleness and tenderness of heart seems to have been as characteristic of the monks as their simplicity. . . Bede goes out of his way to observe of Ethelbert, on St. Austin's converting him, that 'he had learned from the teachers and authors of his salvation that men were to be drawn heavenwards and not forced.' . . Wolstan, when the civil power failed in its attempts to stop the slave trade of the Bristol people, succeeded by his persevering preaching. In the confessional he was so gentle that penitents came to him from all parts of England. This has been the spirit of the monks from the first." *(Atlantis, Vol. I., Art. I., The Mission of the Benedictine Order, p.* 30.*)*

sleep, that hard iron chain; see him—as he looks up to heaven and humbles himself to earth—without mercy to his flesh, scourge himself with it, striking blow upon blow, lacerating his body through the greater portion of the sleepless night: let the carnal man look upon this touching sight; let him shrink back in horror if he will—still let him look on it, and he will learn how the saints laboured to secure a chaste and spotless life, and how a man can so far annihilate self-seeking as to be gentle with all the world, severe with himself alone. If in human life there is anything mysteriously adorable, it is a man of heroic mould and surpassing gifts showing himself great enough to smite his own body, and to humble his entire being in presence of his Judge.*

And whilst S. Thomas punished the flesh, our Lord, who desired him to advance from glory to glory towards his reward, allowed him continually to be molested in the spirit by the enemy of man.†

* Possibly some amiable persons, when they read of the Angelical scourging himself, will feel horrified at the idea, or imagine, in their fond minds, that all the "suffering" for their sins has already been borne by Christ, and that they now may take their pleasure. S. Paul, as well as our Lord Himself, speaks too clearly on this point for delusions. It is *pleasant*, doubtless, to make out that we have no need of penance. But it is not wise. The flesh must be curbed, trained, broken in, and mortified. If we do not hurt it, it will hurt us. We feel no horror at cutting and sawing off a limb to save our body; why then be horrified at an earnest man striking his body in order to help in the saving of his soul?

† "Ma perche il sostenere, come pur'hora dicemmo, è della fortezza l'atto più pregiato, saranno per conseguente più illustri dell' heroica sua patienza gli esempj, che appresso recheremo. In questa virtù ei medesimo si tenne sempre esercitato con le continue afflittioni che procurava al corpo suo; poiche leggiamo in una Vita antica manoscritta di lui, che flagellandosi con una catena di ferro, era solito di convertire gran parte del notturno riposo in fierissimo suo tormento." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n. 5, p.* 104.)

It seems that most of the mighty men of God—those men of awful soul, those abysses of passion, and those flames of fire—like Hilarion and the giant Fathers of the Desert—had it as their lot to wrestle with the frightful powers of hell, to see the fiend, to strike at him, to strive with him, to be worried, and even smote by him. Our Lord Himself, in His gracious mercy, allowed His sacred Person to come in contact with, nay, to be pressed in the foul arms of the arch-fiend, and to be borne through the air by him.* The greater the stake, the more terrific the battle. To destroy a rational creature, which is a whole *cosmos* of love and heroism, to drag it down and plunge it into the burning lake as a damned soul for evermore, is the highest ambition of Satanic enterprise. No trouble is too great; all arts must be practised to secure that end; no years are too long for perseverance in the struggle.—Did the Angelical escape this trial of lofty souls?

Satan had made, as has been seen, one great assault upon him when a boy-prisoner at San Giovanni,† and he had been victoriously repulsed;

* Mr. Lecky, with his usual accuracy for dates, says:—"Thomas Aquinas was probably the ablest writer of the fourteenth [!] century, and he assures us that diseases and tempests are the direct work of the Devil; that the Devil can transport men at his pleasure through the air; and that he can transform them into any shape." (*Rationalism in Europe, Vol. I., p.* 72.) Now, considering S. Thomas, who wrote so ably in the fourteenth century, not only died before the end of the thirteenth, but also wrote rather voluminously, it is a pity we should be kept quite in the dark as to *where* he made those statements.

† As men get misty in their notions of the God-man, they become vague regarding their belief in him whose power that God came to crush. Some wholly disbelieve in a Spirit-tempter. Let such meditate on

nor was he again permitted to try to enter by that door. One of his three great weapons was thus struck from him. What of the Concupiscence of the Eyes ?—Here Satan was powerless again. The Angelical had grown up from youth to manhood with so keen a vision into the Unseen, that deception was impossible. His heart and intellect had no part with what is made of clay, or falls to dust and quickly perishes. Pride ?—The monastic principles on which his life was fixed, out of which grew his moral man, were so firmly set in him that the suggestions of pride simply created a jar in his intellect, which shook and resounded in his heart. The ring of light around a life of purity and love kept the polluted fiend at bay. However, if Satan could not touch the Saint, he had the power to annoy him; and his spiteful and venomous hatred at being foiled and rendered helpless, expressed itself in all manner of frightful apparitions. "Satan," says Frigerio, "often appeared to him in horrible shapes in order to terrify him." But the Angelical feared him not: directly the Saint

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the words of a great man, Bossuet :—"Qu'il y ait dans le monde un certain genre d'Esprits malfaisants, que nous appellons démons, outre le témoignage éclatant des Ecritures divines, c'est une chose qui a été reconnue par *le consentiment commun de toutes les nations, et de tous les peuples.* Ce qui les a portes à cette créance, ce sont ces effets extraordinaires et prodigieux qui ne pouvraient etre rapportés qu'à quelque mauvais principe, et à quelque secrète vertu, dont l'opération fut maligne et pernicieuse." (*Premier Sermon sur les Démons, Tom. VIII., p.* 38—39. *Paris,* 1845. See the *Conférences* of P. Ventura de Raulica, *Tom. III. Paris,* 1855. Görres, *Die Christliche Mystik, B. III., IV.* See also Delrio's celebrated work, or Schram's *Institutiones, Tom. I.,* § *CXCIV.,* § *CXCV., p,* 344—349.)

cried out to him and made the sign of the Cross, he instantly disappeared.*

John of Blase, a judge in the courts of Naples, and attached to Queen Mary of Sicily, gave his testimony on oath respecting a fact which came within his observation as to the terrible spiritual trials which the Angelical had to undergo. This learned judge does not appear to have been a man of imaginative mind; his evidence speaks of clear, hard common sense—and he knew the Angelical well; he seems to have been quite familiar with his habits of life; he speaks of his great piety, uprightness, and sobriety. He had attended his sermons for upwards of ten years, and had lived with him as an intimate friend for more than five. He was the same who had watched the Saint during his Lenten discourses preaching on the simple text "*Ave Maria*," † with his eyes ever closed, and his face directed towards the heavens.

His evidence was as follows. ‡ The Angelical

* "Conciosiacosache se presumeva d'accenderlo di libidinoso ardore, era vana l'impresa, trovandosi in lui il fomite estinto, o almeno mitigato mercè del suo angelico cingolo di castità; se di superbia il tentava, egli con la sua profondissima humiltà ne pure i stimoli in contrario sentiva; se finalmente d'avaritia, egli col cuor suo nobile disprezzando quanto il mondo brama, la ribatteva. Il nemico per tanto contra di lui di fervente ira acceso, sovente gli appariva in forme horribili sotto mentite larve per ispaventarlo. Alla cui vista il fortissimo campione di Christo armavasi del segno della Croce, e lo necessitava, o con solamente sgridarlo, o con farsegli animosamente incontro, a prender' impetuosa fuga: *Audite fortitudinem*, leggesi nella vita antica di lui, *omnes diaboli fraudes superavit.*" (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. VII., n.* 3, *p.* 103—104.)

† See *Boll., Cap. VIII., n.* 70, *p.* 708.

‡ If in any examination there is a severe sifting of evidence, and a careful analysis of facts, it is in the process which precedes the canonization of saints. Any one wishing to convince himself that the saints—to whom the Angelical is no exception—had to struggle against the worrying

was staying in the convent of his Order at Naples, and it seems to have been the habit of the judge to pay him visits in his cell. Now, not far from his cell there appears to have been an open place or verandah, such as is often seen attached to foreign convents, where the friars, after the toils of the day, could meet in the pleasant evening air, and edify each other in holy conversation. The judge declares that whilst he was engaged in the cell of the Angelical, the Saint went out, intending to go to this verandah, and that whilst on his way, Satan suddenly appeared to him in the shape of a negro, dressed in black.* Immediately S. Thomas saw him, he knew it to be the arch-fiend, and at once rushed upon him with his arm raised ready to strike at him with his fist, exclaiming at the same time : "Why dost thou come here to tempt me!" But as the Saint came upon the apparition, Satan vanished, and never again appeared to him there.

Being asked by the commissioners how he acquired this information, the judge answered on oath : "*Quod interfuit et vidit*"—that he was

apparitions of Satan would do well to peruse such processes. Read for instance the Bull of the canonization of S. Catherine of Sienna, S. Philip Neri, the "process" of S. Francis Xavier, of S. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi, or of S. Frances of Rome ; or look at the older saints—at Job ; read the life of S. Anthony by S. Athanasius, or that of S. Hilarion written by S. Jerome, and dip into the lives of the Fathers of the Desert.

* "Et dum esset [ipse Judex] cum eo [S. Thoma] quodam die in cella sua ad quoddam solarium discoopertum, apparuit illi visibiliter dæmon in figura cujusdam hominis nigri, et induti pannis nigris : et dum idem Fr. Thomas adverteret, et videret illum esse dæmonem, cucurrit contra eum cum pugno elevato ; et cum percuteret eum ipso pugno dicendo : Quare venisti huc ad tentandum me ? Et cum appropinquaret ad eum, dictus dæmon evanuit, nec ibi ultra apparuit. Interrogatus de causa scientiæ, dixit, quod interfuit, et vidit." *(Boll., Cap. VIII., n. 70., p. 708.)*

present, and witnessed the occurrence with his own eyes.

The biographers of the Saint declare that this was the only occasion when he was ever known to have been roused to anger. Not like the old sailing ship, which, whilst it can be steered, yet depends upon the wind, but just as one of those mighty vessels of modern construction, propelled through the dancing ocean with a strong steady course, taking its own line, and going on its own way, in spite of the heaving troughs of the sea and the treachery of the wind—so the Angelical seems to have had within him a force so mighty that it bore him through the lifting ocean of life, with its storms and currents, cutting through them all, ever bearing up swiftly and grandly in one direction, towards the lights flickering in the distance at the entrance of the port of the Spiritual City. What man in history, saint or not saint, has ever shown, in the midst of so many trials, from infancy up, so marvellous an equanimity, so unruffled a self-command ? *

And, in point of fact, an event took place about

* Bareille expresses the principle which ruled his soul thus :— "L'inaltérable sérénité de son intelligence, le calme profond de son cœur, en avaient fait le séjour propre de cette vérité qui n'habita jamais dans l'agitation et dans le trouble. Dieu lui-meme parut s'incliner vers cette grande âme, et la favoriser dans ce travail d'un secours tout particulier ; en sorte qu'on a pu dire de Thomas ce que l'évêque d'Hippone avait dit du Prophète, que le feu divin, allumé dans son intérieur par le rayon céleste, avait passé dans ses écrits. Ajoutons que ses paroles conservent encore aujourd'hui ce feu caché, que l'indifférence de nos jours peut seule laisser enseveli dans la poussière des âges." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XVII., p.* 179.)

this period, which perhaps gives the most telling witness to the chivalrous bearing which was so noble a trait in his many-sided character.

When the great contest which had drawn the Saint from his life of study, prayer, and preaching, to take a prominent part in defending the Religious Orders in Italy, had come to a close, he received instructions from his Superiors to return once more to France. The deputies who had been sent by King Louis, as well as the representatives of the University, who had been mixed up in the affair of William of S. Amour, appear to have started about the same time.* Whether they travelled with S. Thomas, does not appear. It is very probable that the Angelical went on foot, begging his way, as he had been accustomed to do from his early religious life, accompanied by his *socius*.

Before he set out on his journey, he was admitted to an audience with the Holy Father. With what marks of deep esteem and admiration he was received, may be left to the imagination of the reader. In the first place, Pope Alexander had ever been a friend to literature and men of letters; he himself was an author, and he freely promoted

* "Les affaires ayant été terminées en Italie, de la manière qu'il a été dit, les Députés du Roi saint Louis et ceux de l'Université, partirent pour la France: notre Saint se disposa aussi à faire le même voyage, selon la volonté des Supérieurs. Honoré de la bénédiction du Pape, qui lui donna mille marques d'estime et de bonté; et non moins regretté de tous ses frères, qu'il en avoit été admiré, lorsqu'il parloit pour leur défense, il monta sur un vaisseau, pour se rendre à Paris avant le commencement de l'Hyver." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 148.)

learned men. Henry, Cardinal of Ostia, who had been a renowned lawyer and a deep divine, was placed by him in the Sacred College; whilst his royal munificence to the great Canonist, Bartholomew of Brescia—who wrote so much on the Decretals—might be remembered.* If such was the bias of the Sovereign Pontiff, what an exceptional interest must he not have felt for the great Angelical! Even quite recently he had reason to look on him with unfeigned tenderness and regard. His fame, his name, the work he had already done for the Church, his last brilliant victory—so modestly yet so crushingly achieved—all this, no doubt, filled the mind of Pope Alexander, as the Angelical knelt down at his feet, and received, with the loving reverence of a little child, the Apostolical benediction.† It is a touching picture to paint in the imagination—the great light and pillar of the Church bending down with all humility, whilst he to whom the care of all the Churches is confided, spreads his hands over him, looks up to heaven, and invokes the Spirit of God upon his head. These acts of reverence and of authority are not without their intrinsic efficacy as well as their external worth.‡

* (See *Lives of the Popes*, by Baptista Platina, *Alexander IV.*, *p.* 272, *English ed. London*, 1685.) Schulte, however, denies that Alexander favoured Bartholomew, and says that it was Urban IV. who made Henry of Susa a Cardinal. (See *Lehrbuch des Katholischen Kirchenrechts*, *B.I.*, *Abs. IV.*, § 16, *p.* 53—§ 17, *p.* 16.)

† Gibelli, *Cap. XIX.*, *p.* 74.

‡ The destruction of all forms and ceremonies is one of the miseries of the present day. In themselves, they are of little worth perhaps, but as

Then he had to take leave of those loving beings who had watched him with such longing when he was being commissioned by the General of the Order to defend their holy cause. They too had much—indeed, it may be said, *all*—to thank him for. He had saved them. They were still to live in honour. They were still to keep possession of their privileges. In fact, he had raised them up, and given them a position, and lent them a *prestige* which they did not possess before. See them there, all around him, with their shaven heads and circling crowns of hair, the gentle novice and the deep-eyed professor ;—there they are in their neat white habits, pressing about him, as he stands, higher, greater than the rest, a larger man, one of themselves, but yet, in spite of himself, a King amongst them all. Sweet is the sorrow that they feel—for religious men know nothing of the world's bitterness in parting.* They are persuaded, as they look on him with their mild, pure, loving eyes,

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barriers against forwardness and arrogance, and as methods of keeping order and asserting just position, and of snubbing the self-sufficiency of vulgar ambition, they are of inestimable value. When the mob has once succeeded in breaking up the *form* of social life, anarchy soon steps in and takes its place.

* The men who have ventured all for the Unseen, to secure it without fail, have simply realized more intensely than others what Hettinger expresses so forcibly in these words:—"Was heisst das, Mensch sein? Was ist das Eigenthümliche seiner Natur, das Auszeichnende seines Wesens? Das ist der *Gedanke* seines Geistes, der freie *Entschluss* seines Willens. Und was ist das Tiefste seiner Gedanken, das Mächtigste, das seine Seele bewegt? Der tiefste Gedanke seines Geistes, das Mächtigste Gefühl seines Herzens, das stets bleibende, nie übertroffene Ziel seines Strebens—das ist der Gedanke des Ewigen, des Unendlichen. Nun, nennen wir das mit *einem* Worte—das Ewige, das Unendliche—das ist *Gott*." (*Apologie des Christenthums, Erster Band, Erste Abt., Achter Vortrag, p.* 343—344.)

that they will surely see him once again, whatever happens, come the worst. They know that life in reality is not life; but after death is Life—and then comes joy and calm repose, with all pangs of parting over. Such is their gentle, firm conviction, lending a light to the darkest shadows and touching earth with a ray from heaven. And they embrace, and say: "*Addio Carissimo*," sadly, perhaps, but hardly sorrowfully. And so he parts with them, they accompany him, it may be, to the convent door, as he and his *socius*—most likely Reginald—start on their journey; and then the "Brethren," having watched him out of sight, after saying to each other all manner of loving things of him—retire, one to his study, another to his cell, all to their work, to their labour till the evening-tide.*

One of the reasons why the Angelical and his companion left Italy so soon, was in order to get settled down in Paris before the severity of the winter should set in. Besides, they had to make part of their way by sea. But their forethought did not save them from trouble here. The treachery of the ocean can be trusted in no season

* It was the very same principle which held them so serene during all the changes on the stage of this world, which wrought in the martyrs that heroism for which even their persecutors were constrained to admire them. Think of S. Justin Martyr, S. Polycarp, of holy Blandina, Epipodius, Symphorian, Appollonia, and others. Death, parting, bereavements—all these, with men who realize the "hidden things of His wisdom," mean: "I will follow, you have gone before. We are all on the journey, we shall repose, and meet again, at the end of it. Have patience, wait a little." How different from the yawning darkness into which the pagan looked!

of the year. The Angelical embarked. There appear to have been many passengers, and a good ship's crew on board the boat, such as boats were—poor craft for sailing, in the middle ages. After a favourable run out to sea, the wind suddenly shifted, and became violent and contrary.* Black murky clouds spotted the horizon, and gradually bulging out into all manner of fantastic forms, blended, and spread themselves like a curtain over the sky, whilst a violent tempest, with shock and flash, burst across the waters, carrying the ship bodily upon a girdle of thundering breakers, which were madly bursting and seething over the half-hidden rocks which seemed to guard an island beyond. Every moment that island became more visible through the darkness as the boat was hurried along; every moment the passengers could hear more distinctly the deafening agony of the waters, as they threw their spray and spent themselves against the rocks, or rose and fell around the island; every moment the details of their awful position revealed themselves with all their varied noisy horrors. The sailors had done their utmost—they could not stop the boat; she

* "Fuit virilis robore, cum se ad aliquos actus virtutis, corpore exercebat: qui etiam virtute animi nihil timuit, nihil abjectum pia humilitate despexit; et propter hanc causam in coassistentia divina confidit: de quo etiam dicitur, quod vadens Parisios, cum in mari, horrendum pateretur ex aere tempestatem, nautis etiam mortem timentibus, ipse imperterritus in tota tempestate permansit: ut videretur Deus tam nobile corpus et organum præparasse, quod ad actus virtutum serviret obediens, quod numquam esset rationis judicio contradicens." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. VII.*, *n.* 39, *p.* 670.)

was borne away towards the reef in spite of sail and helm,* in spite of master and sailor, in spite of the shrieks of the women, and the prayers and the curses of the men. It is but natural, when all seems lost, when all has been done, and all has failed, that terror and despair should take the place of hope and courage. So was it here—captain, crew, and passengers, seeing that their doom was sealed, became petrified with terror. There was, however, one exception; there was one calm self-possessed being, whom no power on earth or in the waters seemed capable of ruffling, and who—when the ship was being carried away violently by the hurricane to inevitable destruction, when the ship's company as well as the passengers were altogether paralyzed with fear, when the agonies of death seemed already to be at hand—turned gently and confidently to his Lord, as he would have done in his little cell at Anagni or at Naples, and begged of Him to stay the tempest and save the foundering ship.† His prayer was heard at

* Touron supposes that the tempest spoken of by Tocco must have occurred at this time. He is the safest guide. He describes the event thus:—"On croit que ce fut en cette occasion qu'il essuya cette horrible tempête, dont parle Guillaume de Tocco. Après quelques jours d'une heureuse navigation, le vent changea tout à coup; il devint impétueux et contraire: Le Ciel se couvrit de nuages les plus épais, l'orage fut si violent, que tout sembloit annoncer un naufrage prochain, et une mort inévitable. Le Patron-même et les Matelots, aussi-bien que les passagers, après d'inutiles efforts contre la violence des vents et des vagues, qui poussoient continuellement le Vaisseau vers une montagne, s'abandonnoient aux cris, ou à des gémissemens encore plus inutiles; et la frayeur augmentant le danger avec la confusion, ils se croyoient déjà ensevelis sous les flots." (*Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 148.)

† "Parmi tous ces objets d'horreur, la présence de Dieu, et la soumission à ses ordres soutenoient le disciple de Jesus-Christ; sans rien perdre de la paix de son âme, il redoubloit la ferveur de ses prières,

once, the wind changed, the boat was borne away from the breakers, the awful island diminished gradually to a speck, and at length was lost in the distance, as the craft ran quickly along before the wind, and sailed gaily and gallantly into port.*

O how deeply set in the centre-soul of the Saint must not have been his trust in the power of the World Unseen! How great a gift, in real peril, to have Christ for one's stay, and His Cross for one's support—to be ever one, in storm or shine, like the great Angelical! †

Tocco tells us that he had his own way of meeting "the terrors of the air." He doubtless remembered how narrowly he had escaped, when the fork of lightning searched out and killed his little sister sleeping by his side at home in early childhood. His sword was the sign of the Cross; and the shield which covered him, the words: "*Deus in carnem venit: Deus pro nobis mortuus est!*"—"God came in the flesh; God has died for

attendant toujours avec une pleine conscience le secours et le salut de celui, à qui la mer et les vents obéissent: *Nautis etiam mortem timentibus, ipse imperterritus in totâ tempestate permansit.* Ses vœux furent exaucés: le calme succéda enfin à la tempête, avant que le Vaisseau eût été porté contre les rochers; et un vent favorable s'étant levé, on fit heureusement le reste de la navigation." (*Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 148.)

* For many curious instances of the power of saints over the elements, open the lives of B. Mary d'Agreda, S. Agnes of Bohemia, S. Dominic, S. Peter of Alcantara, S. Bernardine, Blessed Giles, and others—see Görres, *La Mistique* trad. par Charles Sainte-Foi, *Tome Deuxième, Chap. XXI., p.* 273—291.

† The Angelical, whilst being a high contemplative, and a severe dealer with himself, whilst the tenderest of creatures –had the heart and courage of a lion. He was a thorough "man" in the highest and noblest acceptation of the term. What was mean, crawling, or cowardly, found no place and no sympathy with him. He had the courage of steel, and a nerve of iron. Religion did not stunt, but it fostered all that was true and great in him. *True* religion *truly* practised would do the same for others."

us!"* as if he should say: "I fear you not either for life or death. He who bore our clay and died our death, He will be the shield of my help and the sword of my glory, whilst underneath are the Everlasting Arms."†

Great must have been the excitement in the University on the return of the two parties which had been sent forth to fight their respective battles. Great the sadness of the one, great the exultation of the other. Irreverence and rationalism had not for many years, perhaps never since Remigius started the Paris schools, received so severe a check. The battle had been a bold, open, uncompromising contest. Both sides did all that was in them to overset the pretensions of the other. Both were sanguine. And had not the Holy See been the arbiter, things might have gone very differently.‡ But her principles are fixed; her laws are sure, definite, and easily understood by those who care to read. The secular party had been blinded through conceit, and had lost them-

* "In terroribus autem aeris, tonitrui et tempestatis, quasi pro scuto opponendo se muniens Crucis signo, dicebat: Deus in carnem venit, Deus pro nobis mortuus est." (*Boll., Cap. VII., n.* 39, *p.* 670.)

† *Deuteronomy, Chap. XXXIII.*, 27, 29.

‡ What governing power on earth can be compared with that of Rome, taking its duration, the wide area over which it is exercised, the multitude and variety of the subjects with which it has to deal, and which it cannot dally with, but is obliged to settle—remembering the great diversity in times, customs, and nationalities? And then also bearing in mind that while the world may change, and fashion its creeds and morals at caprice, she must ever start from the same point, and ever return on the same principle. To a man who can grasp a broad view of a complex action, the history of the Church as a directing and controlling power, from the first to now, offers food for serious reflection. Is she not more than human?

selves through insubordination, and therefore did not rightly interpret the signs of the times : they had played a losing game, and their champions returned to them simply to relate how Bonaventure, Albert, and Br. Thomas of Aquino, by their learning, keenness, and moral weight, had carried everything before them at the Court of Rome.

The Angelical meanwhile found his way through the narrow crowded streets of the great city—streets he had travelled along years before, when quite a stripling, with the venerable General—and no doubt was glad, after the turmoils and excitements of discussion, after the perils of the deep, and the fatigues of a long land journey, to shut himself up in his cell in S. James's, and enjoy, away from tongues, some of the sweets of holy solitude.* But it is hardly probable that he was allowed to have much repose. He was the hero of the triumph which had been achieved. He was looked upon, by that powerful body representing the party of discipline and order, as having, by his extraordinary gifts, saved from destruction those

* His love of solitude and distaste for gossip and small-talk and the useless pouring out of insignificant trivialities, is thus touched upon by Tocco :—"Nullum vitæ tempus esset vacuum, quod non esset sacris actionibus occupatum. Ita quod si aliquando pro consolatione Fratrum vel aliarum venerabilium personarum cogeretur dimisso studio in locutorio considere, a profectu virtutis et studii, etiam illa hora modica, non vacabat. Nam expeditis his quibus oportuisset propositis respondere, aliquod historiale aut morale ad ædificationem breviter disserebat, reliquum si superfuisset tempus, priusquam ad cameram suam completa locutione redisset, surgens a loco cum quibuscumque sedisset, sicut non advertens divinis intentus, discurrens per claustrum vel hortum, consuetum tempus suis meditationibus et speculationibus expendebat." (Tocco, *Cap. VI.*, *n.* 30, *p.* 668.)

principles for which they would readily have sacrificed their lives. He had left Paris on his high errand, followed by the admiration and blessing of all who loved religious life and desired order to be preserved. They knew from his antecedents that he was a great and powerful reasoner, and a pure and spotless man of God. The crowded convent itself to which he belonged, the grave Cistercian, the solemn Carthusian, the ascetic Bernardine, the active Trinitarian, the children of S. Augustine, and the meditative Benedictine, all with any interest in the maxims of perfection, must have welcomed the Angelical as citizens welcome the return of a chief from battle—from a war on which their all was staked, and in which he, through his superior generalship and presence of mind, had been victorious. And in proportion as they realized the benefit he had conferred upon religion, so much the more fully did he gain an influence over their hearts. It was no small matter, in days when Religious Orders were so powerful, to have achieved a position which secured to him their united countenance and support.*

And whilst the Regulars were congratulating one another on the favourable outcome

* "It is advisable to bear in mind the position acquired by the Angelical—not merely in order to form a just idea of his successes, but also that the great sway which he undoubtedly exerted later on, over the whole University, may be accounted for to the reason. He, like a sun, gradually and steadily rose in the theologic heavens, lighting up more and more of the face of the earth as he ascended, till finally, when at the zenith, he threw the flood of his intellectual light—in his splendid *Summa* —over the entire expanse of the catholic world.

of their common trials, the Holy See, with that sagacity which sees too far for human eyes, was preparing to follow up strenuously the action it had from the first determined on. Pope Alexander felt that there would be very little use in issuing decrees and fulminating anathemas at Anagni, very little profit in burning heretical books there, and severely punishing their composers, unless something were done to secure the realization of the Pontifical wishes in the theological capital of the intellectual world. If Paris still walked in the old courses, all the energy of the Italian Doctors would be simply thrown away. If the Dominicans and Franciscans were still to be insulted, ridiculed, lampooned, starved, cudgelled, and driven out of the seats of learning; if the ground-principles of religious life were still to be scorned and scouted—things would not simply be as bad, but they would be absolutely worse, than they had been before.*

To save all possibility of cavil, therefore, the Holy See directed a Bull to the University of Paris, requesting the members of that distinguished

* It is but necessary to open *Fleury* to see how much a firm and determined bearing was called for on the part of the Holy See. The pique of the Doctors and scholars against the Mendicants had not been extinguished by the successes of the friars. Like most vain learned men, they thought they could explain away the orders of the Holy See, and thus escape the humiliation which was a portion of their just punishment. It was to meet the subterfuges of these men that the Pope addressed a third Bull to the Bishop of Paris, declaring that those who, within fifteen days, did not admit the friars to their rights, were struck with an excommunication reserved to the Holy See. (See *Hist. Eccles., Tom. XVII., Liv. LXXXIV., p.* 640—641.)

body to carry into effect the commands which had been issued at Anagni. Any one who has a curiosity to see this instruction and a host of others, will find them drawn out in the *Bullarium* of the Dominicans.* The Holy See was excessively active. It felt the enormous power of the Paris University for greater good or evil. The only chance of putting and keeping so large a concourse of learned, acute, and turbulent men in the right way, was to persevere till all those improvements had been effected which seemed called for by the nature of the case: for the Paris Doctors still shrank from admitting the Mendicants to their chairs. It is said that, counting from the beginning to the end of these disturbances, no less than forty Briefs connected with an adjustment of the subject were issued by the Holy See.† Bulls were directed to the Chancellor; Briefs were written to the Bishops; Briefs were sent to the Professors and to those connected with the University; three Briefs were sent to the Ordinary of the city; King Louis himself was addressed at length on points concerning difficult questions bearing upon uni-

* See *Constitut. CCXXXIX., Cancellario Parisien, ne quis Licentiæ, p.* 375; *Constitut. CCXL., Ne Parisienses, p.* 375; *Constitut. CCXLI., Nonnullorum, p.* 376; *Constitut. CCXLII., Episcopus,* 376; *Constitut. CCXLIII., In Guillelmum, p.* 377; *Constitut. CCXLIV., In Turbatores, p.* 378; *Constitut. CCXLV., In Guillelmum, p.* 379; *Constitut. CCXLVI., Ne Fratres, p.* 379; *Constitut. CCXLVII., idem. p.* 379.

† Cependant le Saint Pere, pour achever ce qui étoit déjà bien avancé, adressa une Bulle à l'Université de Paris, pour inviter tous les membres de cet illustre Corps à se conformer à ce qui avoit été réglé en Italie. Sa Saintété donna encore plusieurs autres Brefs pendant le cours de l'année suivante, toujours sur le même sujet." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 148—149.)

versity discipline and education; some Bulls were issued forbidding any one to be promoted who refused obedience to the *Quasi Lignum;* others to check dangerous communications between that firebrand, William of S. Amour, and certain impressionable Doctors; others giving instructions that the pestiferous Book on the "Perils of the Last Times," together with all other publications which had scandalized the faithful during the great dispute, should be burnt publicly in Paris. And indeed so carefully did the authorities of Rome enter into detail — so anxious were they to annihilate, once for all, the seeds of disaffection, that a special Brief was published, punishing, with exile and excommunication, Guillot, that wretched beadle of the Picards, who had so brutally interrupted, with his insulting document, the preaching of the Angelical during the previous Lent.*

Though there were many turbulent spirits in Paris, and many subtle minds which could always frame a plausible excuse for refusing to perform a patent duty, still, the energy and determination of Pope Alexander in the end prevailed. The

* "Quelques Historiens assurent que depuis le commencement de cette affaire, jusqu'à son entiére consommation, il y eut quarante Bulles envoyées, ou à saint Louis, ou à différens Evêques, ou au Chancelier, et au Corps de l'Université; tantôt pour défendre d'accorder la licence à ceux qui ne promettroient pas d'obéir à la Bulle, *quasi lignum vitæ;* tantôt pour faire rompre le commerce de lettres, que plusieurs Docteurs entretenoient encore avec Guillaume de Saint-Amour. . . . Le Pape porta ses attentions jusqu'à vouloir faire punir par l'excommunication, et par exil, le nommé Guillot, Bedeau des Ecoliers de la Nation de Picardie, pour avoir causé du scandale, et interrompu la prédication de Thomas d'Aquin, le Carême précédent." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 149.)

doctors, bachelors, and scholars of the secular party found themselves firmly met at every point; they found that resistance and subterfuge simply brought Bull upon Bull and Brief upon Brief upon them from the Roman Curia; and that, in proportion to their efforts to shake themselves free, was the vigour with which the Italian authorities bound them, by excommunications and anathemas, to carry out the law.* Finding that opposition was useless, they submitted with a generosity and manliness which did great credit to their hearts and to their heads. Though turbulent and obstinate, though many of them were as conceited as well could be, and stone-blind with the crassest species of prejudice, still, they were not openly contumacious. They had studied history enough to be convinced that opposition to Peter is as truly intellectual, as it is moral suicide. They had read the fate of many men more learned than themselves, and the lesson had not been thrown away. They believed in the authority of the Holy See: they might

* Great weights move slowly, but when they do move, they carry all before them. So it is with the practical action of the Holy See. She is never in a hurry, never impetuous or inconsiderate in her movements. Her light to see is always bright, she has never to search for or make her principles to order; her theory or system of legislation is as clear to her in all its complicated bearings as a web in the sunlight. Her prudence and tact comes in when these principles have to be applied to the ever-recurring and ever-varying conditions of men and of the social fabric; whilst they, chameleon-like, are ever casting themselves into different shapes, and throwing out divers hues—she, like Truth, is stationary; whilst with her practical wisdom she measures out from her *nova* and *vetera* that which will exactly fit the occasion and tend towards reducing the contradictions and errors of men into something like harmony and order.

try to evade it, but they would never question it, and when once fully confronted by the vision of just, though it may have been sometimes stern authority, they turned round, and did their best to follow its commands.*

Very possibly the tact and piety of the king, S. Louis, who took the liveliest interest in the prosperity of the University, and who did his utmost to bring the contending parties to a peaceful understanding, helped materially to create a more charitable and generous tone of mind. Whatever the causes may have been, the authorities of the University determined to prove, by an act of largeness which was as gracious as it was noble, that all the past had been forgotten, and that they had made up their minds for the future to live with the Religious Orders in the city on the most friendly and harmonious terms. They consequently invited the two great champions who had not only fought against them, but had moreover utterly defeated them, to prepare themselves forthwith, and by a public Act, before the assembled

* And in this is seated the great distinction between the darkness of those days and the darkness of the present. Then, men fell away in detail, they denied this or that truth, or fanatically set up as teachers of novel doctrines, or were cruel, or superstitious, or fond of dress, or of excitement, or of self-display. The East had introduced luxury and gaudy colours and choice tapestries and silks; the Crusades had put fire into the blood of many. But they held to the master-principle of order and of Salvation—they did not reject the authority of the teaching Church, or presume to call in question the directive power, and controlling office, of the Sovereign Pontiff. Some of the crystals in the great chandelier may have been damaged, but the cord which held it up on high had not been severed. Now-a-days, the cord has been rudely cut, and authority breaks upon the ground.

doctors, bachelors, and scholars, to earn the highest grade which a seat of learning can bestow upon its children—that of Doctor of Divinity.* By this, not only would the Mendicants stand before the world in their due place of honour, but the very men who had been contending, and contending successfully, in defence of their privileges, would be the two first persons to enjoy them.

This well-timed and noble act on the part of the University gave an almost universal satisfaction. The king, who loved Thomas very tenderly, and who seems to have drunk at the same spiritual fountain, had long ardently desired to see him and Bonaventure in a leading position in the schools. He knew what two men of deep mind and saintly life can effect, and how such characters as theirs would act as a leaven amidst the crudities and freedoms of scholastic life. How earnestly the See of Rome longed to place S. Thomas and Bonaventure as leaders of thought, as *candelabra lucentia*, in the metropolis of theologic learning, is evident from many Bulls and Briefs;—and by degrees the public opinion of the noisy city worked in the same direction. The general feeling recog-

* "L'autorité, le zèle et la douceur du Roi saint Louis ne contribuèrent pas moins, que les lettres et les sentences du Souverain Pontife, à l'entier rétablissement d'une paix, qui édifia et consola tous les gens de bien, à proportion qu'elle avoit été long-temps désirée. L'Université, pour donner une preuve publique de sa parfaite réconciliation, fit inviter Saint Thomas et Saint Bonaventure, dont le Doctorat étoit retardé depuis deux ans, à faire incessamment leur principe selon l'usage, et à prendre le bonnet de Docteur." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 149; also, Bareille, *Chap. XVIII., p.* 197; Gibelli, *Capo XIX.*, 74; Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., n.* 12—13, *p.* 33.)

nized the merit of the men, and possibly also the splendour and soundness of the principles which they represented. In proportion as light fell upon the people, they became zealous, and, at length, even clamorous, for the appearance of Thomas and Bonaventure in the *Aula.** The Mendicants had had a hard battle to fight. But they had fought and had won it. Irreverence, for the time at least, had to retire. William of S. Amour ceased to be the idol of the hour. A reaction had set in. The friars were in favour. They had succeeded, and—with the herd of men at all events, even in the thirteenth century—nothing was so successful as success.

It was said just now that the action of the University "gave an *almost* universal satisfaction." There was, however, one notable exception. There was one man who did all that lay in him to hinder the champion of the Dominicans from being raised to the high honours of the Doctorate, and that one solitary man was the great Angelical himself.

We have seen, on more than one occasion, how his gentle sensitive mind withdrew with spontaneous horror from anything that looked like honour to himself. Not even to soothe his mother after all

* "Les Supérieurs de l'Ordre en firent un commandement exprès à notre Saint : les vœux du Public n'étoient ni douteux, ni partagés sur ce point : la Cour de Rome et celle de France désiroient avec ardeur, de voir ce grand homme dans la place d'honneur, où son mérite l'appelloit depuis long-temps : nous avons vû que le Pape s'en étoit expliqué plusieurs fois, jusqu'à mettre cet article parmi les conditions de la paix, qu'il vouloit accorder à ceux, dont la conduite lui avoit déplû." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 149.)

she had gone through, nor to please his brothers, nor his friends, nor even the Pope, could he be brought to accept the high dignity of Abbot, and to maintain the family traditions on the mountain.* When made Bachelor, it was against his will. He had to be forced into his Licentiate. How then could he, who had been shrinking back all his life from titles and positions, make up his mind to the dignity and the responsibility of Master in Theology ?† And here there was something besides honour from which he fled—he thought he was too ignorant ; he felt he was too young. With his heart all on fire, he went to his Superiors. He explained to them his case. He spoke of his slender parts, his lack of knowledge, his inexperience, and urged how difficult he found it to bring himself to take the dreaded step. There is something almost awful in the way he was overpowered by the consciousness of his own unfitness, and in the sickness which crept over him when he thought he was going to be made something of. "Leave me," he

* For the privileges of Monte Cassino, see as early as A.D. 741, the "*Constitutio*" *(III.)* of Pope Zachary I., *n.* 6—7, *p.* 4 ; again, in 1123, the "*Constitutio*" *(XI.)* of Pope Calixtus II., *n.* 3, *p.* 14 ; then, in 1208, the "*Constitutio*" *(XXIII.)* of Innocent III., *n.* 1, 2, 3, 4, &c., *p.* 28—29. (See *Bullarium Casinense, passim. Venetiis, MDCCL.)*

† "Thomas étoit le seul à s'affliger d'un ordre, qui lui paroissoit moins conforme, sinon à son etat, du moins à son attrait particulier. Tout occupé du désir de faire triompher la Religion du mensonge et de l'erreur, il oublioit toujours ce qui pouvoit le regarder personnellement ; et il vouloit être oublié de tout le monde. Tant qu'il n'y avoit eu que des mortifications et des contradictions à essuyer, dans le poste où l'obéissance l'avoit placé, on l'y vit tranquille : et il ne demanda la permission de le céder à un autre, que lorsqu'il fut question de recevoir une espece de récompense, et de recueillir le fruit de ses travaux." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 150.)

seems to say ; "let me serve God in peace : drag me not out into the sight of men : let me have Him alone for my reward!" *

But his Superiors, in spite of his earnest representations, went quietly on their way. They listened to all he had to say, and ended by telling him to prepare for his degree.

Here is evident the wisdom of living under the authority of religious life. Though a saint, the Angelical was no fit judge on practical matters in his own case. As the reader feels full well, he was neither too ignorant nor too young. This manifestation of his deep humility proves his worthiness all the more, and the whole of his action in this affair evinces the profound character of his mind. He did not arrive at his conclusion because he compared himself with other men. Saints are not in the habit of weighing themselves against their neighbours. But he weighed himself as he knew himself—against his duty to our Lord, and against his view of the requirements and offices of a leader of thought in the schools of Paris at that day.† And

* "L'honneur et l'estime, que les hommes ont attaché à la qualité de Docteur, offençoient d'autant plus sa modestie, que par une humilité sans exemple, avec toutes les grandes qualités qu'on admiroit en lui, il étoit réellement persuadé qu'il n'avoit ni la capacité, ni le mérite nécessaires, pour remplir dignement tous les devoirs d'un Docteur. Voyant donc les Supérieurs, qui avoient de lui une idée différente, toujours fermes dans leur résolution, il s'adressa à Dieu, pour lui dire avec un saint Roi : *Vous sçavez, Seigneur, que je souffre violence : répondez pour moi.*" (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 150.)

† How well Frigerio speaks :—"Or per cominciare dall'humiltà, egli hebbe un perfetto conoscimento di se stesso, ch'è il fondamento necessario di tal virtù, ed è la somma filosofia da' Santi la più alta, e la più utile scientia sopra le altre stimata ; essendo questa la strada più sicura per arrivare alla notitia di Dio ; sicchè profondamente penetrando fino

as it is the case that in proportion as a man's soul is illuminated with supernatural light, in that same proportion he sees vividly, and appreciates keenly, his own shortcomings and imperfections; and in proportion as he is gifted with a master-mind, in that proportion he grasps the full weight of responsibility, and the full significance of the word *position*—so it follows that the Angelical, being exceptionally illuminated by grace, and exceptionally gifted by nature, recoiled from that which common minds are ever craving for, and craved for that which they would do anything to escape. His humility was no foolish, mawkish, sentimental effeminacy; not the result of a weak constitution or of a softening brain; no hollow pretence or unreality—but the issue of deep supernatural vision into self, and of the workings of an exalted mind upon the lofty theory of human obligations.* Men of this class, when directed by the light of super-

all'abisso di se medesimo, potè di se stesso dir parimente coll'Ecclesiastico: *Profundum abyssi penetravi*; giacchè l'abisso secondo la di sopra allegata esplicatione di S. Girolamo viene interpretato Tomaso." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. IX., p.* 113.)

* His views on humility were thoroughly scientific, and based, not upon delusion of any kind, but upon unadulterated Truth:—"Egli parimente in questo proposito insegnò, che la virtù dell'humiltà per sua natura alla virginità s'antipone, e che l'infinta humiltà è una fina superbia, e che questa virtù tutte l'altre indirettamente stabilisce, tenendo essa lontana la superbia; e che il conoscimento della verità all'humiltà dispone, e questa alla sapientia; e che l'humiltà alle virtù teologali s'avvicina; mentrechè l'anima a titolo di riverenza a Dio si soggetta, e per rispetto di lui agli altri ancora; e che l'humile non maggiormente si maraviglia, che quando viene il proprio merito commendato, e per contrario il superbo desideroso di honori non più si contrista, che quando viene dispregiato." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. IX., p.* 117; see also *Summa Theologica, Vol. III., Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. CLXI., Art. I., II., III., IV., V., VI., p.* 538—543.)

natural obedience, are led to the highest heroism before God, and become the greatest champions of the good, the beautiful, and the true, in the sight of men.

This fear of being made something of, which was the one great anxiety of the Angelical through life, seems to have grown upon him as he grew in years. It was the fruit, as he teaches himself, of that "Reverence" which is one of the great pillars of the Benedictine temple of perfection.* Frigerio says that in his tender infancy at Monte Cassino, the Saint manifested this ruling sentiment. Under Albert at Cologne it was the same. He drew back quite wounded and sad; a cloud would come across his brow if it were hinted to him that he ought to be noticed or placed in some position. The Benedictine love of retirement, of being left alone, of being permitted to live to God undisturbed by the worry of men, seemed, at times, almost to have borne upon him with too powerful a sway. It is the mightiness of his modest, loving, contemplating character that makes him so deep a mystery of moral loveliness, and that

* "In homine duo possunt considerari, scilicet id quod est Dei, et id quod est hominis. Hominis autem est quidquid pertinet ad defectum; sed Dei est quidquid pertinet ad salutem et perfectionem, secundum illud Oseae, 13, 9: *Perditio tua, Israel, ex te est: ex me tantum auxilium tuum.* Humilitas autem, sicut dictum est art. 1 huj. quæst., ad 5, et art. 1 ad 3, proprie respicit reverentiam, qua homo Deo subjicitur; et ideo quilibet homo secundum id quod suum est, debet se cuilibet proximo subjicere quantum ad id quod est Dei in ipso; non autem hoc requirit humilitas ut aliquis id quod est Dei in seipso, subjiciat ei quod apparet esse Dei in altero." (*Tom. III., Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. CLXI., Art. III., p.* 540.)

ranges him so far above the category of ordinary men.*

Even the commands of his Superiors, who marvelled at his soul the more they knew of it, did not relieve him from any of the pain—did not break the cloud, or dispel the terror, with which his whole being was encompassed. The very thought of what was coming seemed utterly to prostrate him. Strong and brave as he was, chivalrous as the noblest of knights, knowing no fear, and fearing no danger, he could not find the nerve to bear up against the thought that *he* was to be dragged from his quiet resting-place, and to be thrust into a public position of grave responsibility, and to be held up before the eye of intellectual Paris, as one worthy of high dignity. As the bat, when being drawn out of its dusky hiding place into the light of day, shrinks away further into its obscurity, terrified and scared by an overpowering sensation —so did the Angelical shrink, or so would he have shrunk, as S. Anselm did before him, had he not been steadied by the express wishes of his Superiors.†

* No better explanation of the frame of mind of the Angelical could be suggested, than by studying the teachings of S. John of the Cross regarding Charity. The soul which truly loves "looks upon itself as unprofitable in all it does, and on its whole life as worthless. Another most wonderful effect is, that it looks upon itself as being in truth the very worst of all, for two reasons—first, because its love continues to show it what God deserves at its hands; and secondly, because it acknowledges to itself that even the great things it does for God are imperfect and faulty. Hence, confusion of face and affliction, when it compares the meanness of its own conduct with the Majesty of God." (*Complete Works, Vol. I., Book II., Chap. XIX., p.* 435—436.)

† What an extraordinary contrast to the genuine scholastic spirit of intellectual tournament! What scholastic Doctor, or clever youth, would

What did he do? He knew whence alone he could draw comfort. He knew where alone, if he did not get comfort, he was certain, at all events, to find strength.

It had been his custom ever since he came to S. James's, when all had retired to rest, to slip out of his cell, and to steal quietly among the shadows of the empty church to pour out his spirit before our Lord. Christ was his one great Love—the seat of all his "Wisdom." Our Lord fired and warmed him, and made his whole soul glow with a heroism which alone can spring from the Sacred Heart.* The thought of our Lord humbled him to the dust, when he turned to the Agony and the Death. It broke him utterly to think of *his* being honoured, being made the object of the admiration of hundreds, and in so emphatical a manner, when his Love was smitten with a reed, and stood crowned with thorns! He could not endure to

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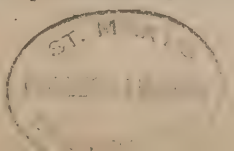
refuse to make himself a name by his dexterous displays of intellectual fence? Who would think of refusing the Doctor's cap, or be made ill with the idea of being the object of the admiration of learned men? S. Bernard, and S. Anselm, or Hugh, and Richard of S. Victor's, or the gentle meditative Lombard—unquestionably, but they belonged to the monastic school of quiet. What is said of S. Anselm, applies with equal force to the Angelical—that he was "disgusted when he was suddenly brought into contact with the world, and made to look it in the face." (See Hook, *Vol. II., Chap. III., p.* 274.)

* "Erat præterea prædictus Doctor nocturno tempore, humanæ deputato quieti, post brevem somnum in sua camera vel ecclesia, ad quam sibi de nocte patebat accessus, in loco, quem sibi ad orandum elegerat, in oratione prostratus; ubi orando mereretur addiscere, quæ oportuisset post orationem scribere vel dictare. Sic enim tempus vitæ suæ, sibi concessum ad meritum, distribuit ad profectum, ut præter illud tempus modicum, quod somno vel cibi receptioni pro valetudine corporis sibi perfunctorie indulsisset, reliquum orationi, lectioni, prædicationi, meditationi, vel scribendis vel dictandis quæstionibus expendebat." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VI., n.* 30, *p.* 668.)



feel that he was to be rewarded for a service which, when compared with what was really his Master's due, was, at the best, but the effort of an unprofitable servant. How could he put out his hand for recompense, how could he consent to receive the applause of men, when his whole life was but one act of selfishness, compared with the outpouring love of Christ for him? How could he be bright and gay, and highly placed, when his Master was broken and sorrowing, and reputed with the wicked?* No; he could not stand so terrible a stroke as that. His large, throbbing, sensitive heart, worked upon by his vast intelligence and glowing imagination—the one drawing out before him the mysterious scheme of Christ's self-annihilation, the other imaging the Passion with the vividness of light—seemed filled like a fountain, as he threw himself before the Crucified, and gazed fixedly upon the Cross.† There he looked, and knelt, and prayed; there he held himself half-stunned in the presence of his Lord, till the large tears gathered to his eyes, and flowed down

* *Isaias, LIII.*, 12.

† Tocco gives the account of S. Thomas's being ordered to take his degree thus:—"Post decursum studii fructuose completum, cum tempus instaret, quo Bacellarii Theologiæ erant Parisiensi Cancellario præsentandi; non servato ordine secundum anticipationem temporis consueti, mandavit prædictus Cancellarius Priori Parisiensi Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, ut ex parte sua mandaret prædicto Fr. Thomæ, ut ad recipiendum Magisterium in Theologia, non obstante consuetudine qua erant sibi alii præferendi, sine contradictione aliqua se pararet. Qui humiliter suscipiens onus impositum, ad locum orationis se contulit; in quo prostratus cum lacrymis oravit Deum, ut ad suscipiendum et exequendum Magisterium, scientiam et gratiam dignaretur sibi infundere, quem dignatus adhuc fuerat indignum multis gratiis prævenire." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. III.*, *n.* 17, *p.* 562.)

copiously, as he prostrated himself at full length upon the ground, crying his heart out like a little child, before his Saviour, and begging of Him for the knowledge and grace necessary for acquitting himself of the duties which were to be thrust upon him. Then, as if overpowered by a consciousness of the immense work which was to be done, and calling to mind the terrible condition of the schools,* and his own weaknesses, he broke out into the Psalm which begins: "Save me, O Lord, for there is now no saint; truths are decayed from among the children of men."† And so he prayed and wept for a long time, praying till he could pray no more, and weeping till he had no more tears to shed; till finally, thoroughly exhausted, he fell into a deep sleep, as he had done once before after the excitement of temptation at San Giovanni. And behold, as he lay upon the pavement before the altar, an old and venerable-looking man, dressed in the habit of S. Dominic, appeared to him in vision.‡ And the old man said to him: "Brother

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* "Clerici nostri temporis potius sequuntur scholas Antichristi quam Christi, potius dediti gulæ quam glossæ, potius colligunt libras quam legunt libros, libentius intuentur Martham quam Marcum . . . ." (Alanus de Insulis, *De Arte Prædicand., Cap. XXXVI.* See, if you require more authority, Hampden's *Bampton Lectures, Lect. I., p.* 39. *Third Edition.*)

† *Psalm XI.*

‡ "Et incipiens Psalmum: Salvum me fac Deus, quoniam diminutæ sunt veritates a filiis hominum, diu orans cum lacrymis obdormivit: et ecce ad eum nuntius cœlitus missus est Frater quidam ejusdem Ordinis antiquus, admodum reverendus, et dixit ei: Fr. Thoma, quid Deum oras cum lacrymis? Respondit: quia impositum est mihi onus Magisterii, ad quod scientia mea non sufficit: et quod proponam pro meo principio, non occurrit. Cui senex dixit: Ecce exauditus es, suscipe onus Magisterii, quia Deus tecum est. Pro tuo autem principio nihil aliud proponas, nisi hoc: Rigans montes de superioribus tuis: de fructu operum tuorum satiabitur terra." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. III., n.* 17, *p.* 662—663.)

Thomas, why do you sob, and for what are you praying to our Lord?" And he answered: "Because they are going to make me Master in Theology, for which I am quite unfit; nor do I even know how to choose a thesis for my public act." The old man replied: "Behold, thy prayer is heard; accept the office, for God is with thee; and for thy thesis, take no other words than these: 'Thou waterest the hills from Thy upper rooms: the earth shall be filled with the fruit of Thy work.' * Upon this, the Angelical awoke from his sleep, rose up, and thanking our Lord for having heard his prayer so speedily, retired, strengthened and comforted, to his little cell. † Such are the dealings of Wisdom with the elect soul: "She will bring upon him fear, and dread, and trial; and she will torture him with the tribulation of her discipline, till she try him by her laws, and trust his soul. Then, she will strengthen him, and make her way straight to him, and give him joy." ‡

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* *Psalm, CIII.*, 13. For a good explanation of this, see Schegg, *Die Psalmen, Zweiter Band., p.* 134—136 *(Zweite Auflage).*

† "Quo dicto Frater Thomas evigilans, Domino gratias reddidit, qui eum velociter exaudivit. Quod verbum non solum thema fuit principii, sed totius sui sufficientiam studii indicavit: quia ex his, quæ de montibus divinæ speculationis accepit, totam Ecclesiam, quasi agrum divini seminis complutum sapientiæ pluviis satiavit. Est enim omnibus manifestum, quod in toto mundo inter fideles Catholicos in Philosophia et Theologia in omnibus scholis nihil aliud legitur, quam quod de ejus scriptis hauritur: quamvis multi alii Magistri ejus stylum scribendi, quo potuerunt studio, imitantes, quasi ex ejus scriptis clavem habentes scientiæ, ingressi sunt divinorum secreta cellaria: et multa volumina scripserunt, suum exercitantes studium supra positum dicti Doctoris fundamentum." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. III., n.* 17, *p.* 663; see Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 150—151; Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., n.* 6, *p.* 31; Gibelli, *Cap. XIX., p.* 73—74.)

‡ *Eccli., IV.*, 19. See *Grammar of Assent, Chap. IX.*, § 1, *p.* 345. Dr. Newman forcibly expresses all that the Angelical felt, when he says:— "And especially . . . shall we learn, as regards religious and ethical

The Angelical that night had crept into the church with a dead weight upon his spirit, and oppressed with an indescribable anxiety; he returned a strong and valiant man, with his whole heart expanding towards his work, with his mind free with a Divine elasticity, "rejoiced as a giant to run the way." * In proportion as he distrusted self, he reposed confidence in God. When he felt that he was fighting our Lord's battle, at our Lord's desire, and enlightened and held up by His Holy Spirit, no power could stand against him—he knew not what it was to fear. Self, even his fear and horror of self, sunk away out of sight—vanished—as the splendid vision of Wisdom, beautiful and strong, seated as a queen securely amongst men, fastening herself on their hearts, and sealing herself on their intelligences, seemed to rise up before him, and occupy his mental vision. Could he but draw aside the veil, and make men, once for all, gaze upon the majesty, the constraining loveliness, the entrancing beauty of the world in which he himself habitually lived—could he but show them the Face of his Christ—then would his

enquiries, how little we can effect, however much we exert ourselves, without that Blessing; for, as if on set purpose, He has made this path of thought rugged and circuitous above other investigations, that the very discipline inflicted on our minds in finding Him, may mould them into due devotion to Him when He is found . . . Certainly, we need a clue into the labyrinth which is to lead us to them; and who among us can hope to seize upon the true starting-points of thought for that enterprise, and upon all of them, to understand their right direction, to follow them out to their just limits, and duly to estimate, adjust, and combine the various reasonings in which they issue, so as safely to arrive at what it is worth any labour to secure, without a special illumination from Himself?" (*Grammar of Assent, Chap. IX.*, § 1, *p.* 344—345.)

* *Ps.*, *XVIII.*, 6.

life not have been spent in vain; then he would, perhaps, have achieved a work not unworthy of a recompense.*

But the Saint now had little time for reveries, or for indulging in anticipations of the future. As the grey morning broke into his little cell, as he entered it on coming from the church, he felt that before that day was out his great public Act would have been made, and that he would have been invested with the *insignia* of a Master in Divinity. He had been all confusion, he could not collect his thoughts, even a subject upon which to speak would not suggest itself—so much was he upset, so crippled and bewildered were all his faculties—till our Lord lifted him up, and the old man said to him in the dream—"Take no other words than these: 'Thou waterest the hills from Thy upper rooms: the earth shall be filled with the fruit of Thy work.'" Now all was changed.† The powers

* One of the great results of living to God, of abandonment of earthly ties, when He calls for such a sacrifice, is a clear vision of the relative worth of things. Men who have made the venture themselves—who have deliberately come to the conclusion that earth and shadow is worth little, compared with heaven and light—if they possess any generosity, must yearn to make others feel as they feel, and to open the eyes of the blind to see—not vapour and cloud, but the true, lasting happiness of man. How the saints longed to drag others from the pit! How they laboured to open heaven's gates, if but for a moment, that men might take one look, and never more forget! Their love of Christ manifested itself in their tenderness towards the creatures for whom Christ died.

† It is so contrary to the spirit of "the world" to mistrust self, and to confide in the power of God, that it is very possible men who do not study characters differing so much from themselves, will hardly be able to take in the temper of mind which belongs specially to the great men of God. Where they see weakness, or want of confidence—men mistrusting their own abilities, and shrinking from great undertakings, they will simply put them down as persons wanting in character or courage. But when they see that character or courage springs up in them as it were suddenly after prayer, they are taken aback, and feel a certain disgust. The run of events has not followed the ordinary worldly law, and they are affronted, and look upon the action of grace as a kind of personal insult to themselves.

of his vast intelligence were summoned by his commanding will to carry out each its allotted task, and they willingly obeyed the order. So rapid was his mind, so powerful his grasp, that in a few hours he had thoroughly prepared himself to expand, and then defend, against the keenest intellects in Paris, a subject so large that it may be said to have included the greater portion of the theological teaching of that day. Doubtless, on account of his vast memory, and his exquisite gift of order, and the far reach and piercing force of his intellectual vision, embracing the widest range, whilst fixing itself on every detail—mastering the parts together with the whole—he was enabled to study his thesis mentally, as ordinary men study a map rolled out ready-made before the eye, with every minute river and tributary, with every sea and bay, with every town, village, and hamlet, with the very nature of the soil, and character of the vegetation, fixed and marked in its proper form and colour.* He took in, and adjusted,

* A master-mind seems to be one which can grasp the whole system, and at the same time view its parts;—which can possess truth together with its relations. He who can take the longest range, and enter into detail with the minutest accuracy, is the most powerful thinker. "All that exists, as contemplated by the human mind, forms one large system or complex fact, and this, of course, resolves itself into an indefinite number of particular facts, which, as being portions of a whole, have countless relations of every kind, one towards another. Knowledge is the apprehension of these facts, whether in themselves, or in their mutual positions or bearings. And, as all taken together form one integral object, so there are no natural or real limits between part and part; one is ever running into another; all are viewed by the mind, are combined together, and possess a correlative character one with another, from the internal mysteries of the Divine Essence, down to our own sensations and consciousness . . . from the most glorious seraph, down to the vilest and most noxious of reptiles." (Newman, on *University Education, Disc. III.*, *p.* 69—70.)

and retained the entire plan, without effort and without confusion; and, through his accurate appreciation of the whole, and of the mutual value and relations of its component parts, he was ready to defend, with sound and incontrovertible arguments, any portion of his thesis which might be assailed by an opponent. It was the gift and genius of his mind to see no portion of philosophic or theologic truth in isolation. He saw each member in its relation to the entire organism, and he knew how to bring the power of the whole to bear on its defence. Aristotle and Albertus had but fostered in him a gift which was a splendid natural endowment, now developed in its range, and multiplied in its power—not only by constant exercise, but also through the abiding influence of grace; and sealing itself, eventually, upon the recognition of the world, for all time to come, by the glorious synthesis of the immortal "*Summa.*" * But the world as yet had only witnessed him display some small portion of his power; it had reason to remember him as a boy; it had not forgotten his brilliancy as

* It is doubtful as to when the Angelical formed in his mind a distinct determination to write a *Summa Totius Theologiæ;* most probably from a very early date. The *Quid esset Deus* of his infancy points to the centre-point of all Divine science: then his profound study of the Scriptures, of Aristotle, and of the "Sentences," which was tantamount in those days to a study of the Fathers—for the Lombard lived upon them—could not have been a better preparation for his Encyclopædic work. Then living under the eye of Albertus Magnus, and being swayed by his genius for collecting theological materials, must have had its effect. The writings, *De Ente et Essentia*, and *De Principiis Naturæ*—point to a deep philosophy, whilst in his other early pieces a distinct unity can be traced. The *Commentary* on the "Sentences," the *Compendium of Theology*, are a still nearer approach—real preparations for the architectonic task which the Saint began, but was never able to accomplish.

Bachelor and Licentiate; it was now full of his masterly defence of the principles of evangelical perfection: but the sun in its meridian splendour had not yet burst through the surrounding clouds, though it was sufficiently strong to draw an immense concourse to the episcopal *Aula* where the Angelical was to make his Public Act for his degree.*

And, in point of fact, not merely the talents and reputation of the Saint, but a series of circumstances which was inseparably bound up with this defension, created an interest, and kept up an excitement, which could not have been produced by any ordinary occurrence. It was the grand act of triumph of the Regular party. It was the crowning victory of the Dominicans and Franciscans. The University had sworn to oust them from its chairs; and now that same University, in the most public and emphatic manner, was about to reinstate them therein, and to confer the highest academical honours upon those two very men whom it had been specially bent upon excluding.†

* Remember how great his fame was, even in his early Bachelor days. Frigerio says:—"L'anno dunque 1246 giunse Tomaso in Parigi, e fu contra a sua voglia promosso al grado di Baccelliere, ivi leggendo il detto maestro delle sentenze con tal'altezza di concetti, con distintioni non più udite, con acutezze di nuovi argomenti, facendo anche nascere altissime quistioni, non meno utili, che sottili, che anzi l'autore, ch'espositore pareva. Onde da tutte le parti d'Europa concorrevano studenti in tal numero alla sua scuola, che in vece di scolari, sembravano esser più tosto un ordinato squadrone di soldati, molti de' quali intendendolo e attendendolo quasi divino oracolo, divennero poscia grandi maestri, autenticando la sublimità del lor comune precettore." *(Lib. I., Cap. V., p. 27—28.)*

† Bareille speaks thus:—"La prudence et la bonté de Louis IX. aident au rétablissement de la paix; l'université elle-même y mit le sceau, en appelant à soutenir leur thèse de docteur, Bonaventure et Thomas.

Let the reader imagine for himself the agitation which prevailed in Paris on the morning of that day. If he know anything of academical life, of doctors and professors, of students and religious, of those whose energies are devoted to literature or learning, and of the texture of their minds—he may draw for himself a picture of many a preliminary gathering in the narrow streets of the University town, as men formed in groups and knots to discuss the general question of the Regulars, or to canvass the relative merits of the two candidates for the degree. He can see the troops of Black Friars proceeding from the Convent of S. James's, with an elastic step, and an unmistakable expression of satisfaction, as they wind their way through students, professors, and gaping crowds, towards the Episcopal Palace, where they are off to see their brother Thomas receive his ring and cap.* The children of S. Francis,

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Cet honneur avait été retardé de deux ans, par suite de troubles ; par cette résolution, les cœurs se trouvèrent comme soulagés du poids d'une injustice aussi éclatante que les talents de ces deux illustres amis. Mais ce sont eux maintenant qui reculent devant un honneur si bien mérité ; les éloges que notre saint avait tant de fois reçus, la gloire dont il avait été si souvent couronné, n'avaient rien fait perdre à son humilité de sa délicatesse virginale." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XVIII., p.* 197.)

* For a picturesque sketch of Paris life, see Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris, Tom. I., La Grand Salle, p.* 1—30.

" Il faudra faire un feu de joie ce soir dans le champ-Gaillard, poursuivit l'autre, avec les livres de maître Andry.

— Et les pupitres des scribes ! dit son voisin,
— Et les verges des bedaux !
— Et les crachoirs des doyens !
— Et les buffets des procureurs !
— Et les huches des électeurs !
— Et les escabeaux du recteur !

A bas ! reprit le petit Jehan en faux-bourdon ; à bas maître Andry, les bedaux et les scribes ; les théologiens, les médecins et les décrétistes ; les procureurs, les électeurs et le recteur ! " (*Ibidem, p.* 23.)

too, with their coarse brown habit and their knotted girdle—men who look as if they knew what a rough life was—move their pink sandaled feet somewhat more briskly than is usual, as they thread through a herd of staring citizens who seem bent on feeding their eyes without stint to-day, and turn out of sight amongst the streets—evidently working in the same direction. They, too, feel a special interest in this occasion. If Br. Thomas was to do honour to S. Dominic, Br. Bonaventure—of whose birth they had heard strange tales, who was ever tending the leper when he was not attending the schools, who had amongst them the reputation of a saint—was to maintain their credit as learned men, and to do honour to the seraphic S. Francis of Assisi.* And if the other Orders had not so immediate an interest in the Public Act, they all must have felt that this day was their day, inasmuch as it was to inaugurate the solemn triumph of those fundamental principles on which their religious life depended. No wonder then

* The Life of S. Bonaventure has yet to be written. He had no biographer after his death. Bartholomew of Pisa, who wroté on S. Francis, hardly dedicates two pages to him ; Gerson, who was so charmed with his writings, does not touch upon his life ; the Abbé Berthaumier brought out, in the *Bibliothèque Franciscaine*, a *Histoire de Saint Bonaventure*, in 1858 ; but, like many ordinary French lives of saints, it contains a store of pious platitudes, but very few facts. One interesting point he mentions respecting the Saint's constant practice of tending the lepers (see *Chap. III., p.* 55—56): "Deux mille maisons avaient été élevées en France," says this writer, "seulement pour les lépreux, et les personnes qui aimaient à les visiter et à les servir tenaient souvent le rang le plus distingué dans la société. On compte parmi elle notre glorieux saint Louis, Henri III., roi d'Angleterre, sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie, et une foule d'autre personnages illustres." (*p.* 43—44.) And this fact he takes from Emile Chavin de Malens, *Histoire de S. François ;* see how the Saint is treated by the Bollandists, *Vol. XXX., p.* 776—822. *Die* 14 *Julii.*

that the children of S. Bernard, of S. Augustine, and of S. Norbert, that the black Benedictine and the gay Trinitarian, and even, perhaps, some lonely hermit attracted from his solitude by the din of the city—no wonder that all men who had abandoned earth for heaven should be astir this day, and that hundreds should be pressing in the same direction, following S. Francis and S. Dominic into the great hall of the Bishop's Palace. S. Martin's and S. Germain's, S. Victor's and Clairvaux, have emptied themselves into the busy streets of the city, and all seem animated by one dominant idea.

Nor were the great Orders alone in their interest in the coming pageant. Doubtless there was many a gallant knight and many a goodly citizen, many a thriving merchant and many a grasping Jew, many an honest artizan and bright minstrel and noisy *jongleur*, who would willingly throw himself into the motley stream which flowed steadily towards the Palace, feeling that his trouble would surely be well repaid before the day was done. As to the students themselves, crowds of them from the four great nations had hung charmed on the lips of Thomas of Aquino, when in times past he had poured forth his wealth of learning in the Convent of S. James's.* His novelty of proof, his calm

* See Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. I., p.* 98 ; Gibelli, *Vita, Cap. XIII., p.* 50—51 ; *Vita, p.* 16 ; Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. V., n.* 2, *p.* 27—28. Bareille says of him when Bachelor :—" L'enceinte du collége Saint-

eloquence, his divine fire, his inimitable simplicity, had filled the schools as they had never been filled before, and the students had not forgotten it:—and, now, what would not be their joy, their curiosity and unfeigned delight, knowing that they were about to witness the great master make his solemn Act—to see him perform a *tour de force* in which he would be almost obliged to display, what he ever tried so modestly to conceal, the wide circumference of his knowledge, the matchless grace of his dialectical skill, and the full swing of his gigantic intelligence!* Doubtless, on this day, Sainte-Geneviève, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Nicolas-du-Louvre, Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre, and many other colleges besides, sent forth, each, its contingent of joyous students to take their places, if places they could contrive to find, in the large public room where the Faculties were assembling.

At length, the great hall is full. On a raised position, in sight of the whole multitude, sit in their chairs the solemn and august authorities

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Jacques ne put bientôt plus suffire à la multitude toujours croissante d'auditeurs qui se pressaient autour du jeune bachelier dominicain; l'infériorité de ce titre avait complètement disparu sous la supériorité de l'enseignement. Le génie a-t-il donc besoin d'un habit ou d'un nom? Qu'on lui laisse un champ libre, et soudain il exerce son ascendant et sa souveraineté!" *(Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XV., p.* 153.)

* Speaking of the way in which, in spite of himself, the talents of the Angelical became known, Frigerio says:—

"Per questa via cominciò ad iscoprirsi il divin lume dell'intelletto di Tomaso, per qualche tempo sotto l'ombre di silentio e dell'humiltà ecclissato: ma quanto egli era innalzato con gli encomij, più s'abbassava, gratie rendendo al suo Signore, come viva fonte d'ogni sua lode; onde in questo proposito dir soleva, che s'egli era instromento della divina gratia, della celeste sua gloria anch'esser dovea." *(Vita di S. Tomaso, Lib. I., Cap. IV., n.* 8, *p.* 26.)

of the University — the highest exponents of learning in the then civilized world—decked out with the various robes representative of their office, and the different *insignia* of their several degrees. Bishops and Doctors of Divinity, Jurists and Canonists, Rectors and Provosts, Bachelors and Licentiates, heads of religious houses and Generals of Religious Orders, the secular element and the regular, the hood and the gown, all are represented here. There, at a convenient distance from them, yet full in the public gaze, is the chair, that centre of attraction, in which the Licentiate is to defend his thesis before the assembled fathers. On taking his place, he perceives that the authorities of the University are behind and partly around him, whilst below him moves a sea of eager faces and curious eyes—the bright, quick-witted audience, ever ready generously to applaud a brilliant pass, but still more ready it must be owned to catch the Licentiate tripping, and with noisy laughter and sharp and caustic words, to afford merriment to the whole company at his expense.*

To defend a wide field of theological and philosophical truth, before such an assembly, and against the longest and keenest heads, and the most skilful and practised dialecticians—against the *élite* of every faculty—required a stout heart, a

* Dr. Hampden would probably have taken a darker view of the probable conduct of students during the excitement of a Public Act. "The same spirit of irregularity and violence," he says, "of which Augustine complains as disgracing the schools of his day, at Carthage, Milan, and Rome, seems to have descended to those of the subsequent ages." *(Bampton Lectures, Lect. I., p. 39.—Third Edition.)*

clear intellect, and an imperturbable coolness and self-possession.

But the Angelical had no cause for apprehension. Whatever his own humility may have thought, there was no man in Paris, Naples, Bologna, or Cologne who could have stood against him for one moment. The mastery of his genius alone would have protected him against the efforts of the keenest of antagonists. Besides, it was not simply with the power of a gifted man, but through the inspiration of the Spirit Himself, that he was about to address the meeting.

Some authors relate that before the Seraphic Franciscan and the Angelical Dominican began their defensions, a holy rivalry of modest courtesy took place between them. Thomas could not be brought to take precedence of Bonaventure; whilst Bonaventure of the *Ordo Parvulorum*—belonging to that society which called itself "the least of all"—shrank from the thought of being foremost in accepting an honour which ought by right to be first conferred on a child of the chivalrous S. Dominic.* What they were unable to arrange

* "Die Disputation fand am anberaumten Tage (23. Octob. 1257) in einem Saale des bischöflichen Pallastes statt. Im edlen Wettstreit frommer Herzensdemuth wollte keiner der beiden Candidaten des academischen Loorbeers als der Erste zum Redekampf sich stellen; endlich gab sich Bonaventura darein, als der Aeltere den Vorrang anzunehmen, Thomas trat auf, als sein Freund geendet hatte. Er erklärte die erhabene Stelle des Psalmes, indem er sie auf die göttliche Heilsöconomie anwendete, und sprach von der Erleuchtung der menschlichen Herzen durch die himmlische Gnade und Wahrheit. Nachdem er geendet, wurde er feierlich als Doctor der Universität proclamirt, und mit Insignien dieses Ranges angethan." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, *Vol. I.*, *Cap. III.*, *p.* 212—213.)

between themselves, was settled for them by their friends. Since S. Bonaventure was older than the Angelical, it was determined that he should be the first to occupy the post of honour.

We can see him in imagination, as, with modest self-possession, he advances to take up his position in the chair, feeling that the attention of that great assembly is concentrated upon him. He, too, has had his antecedents. Favourite child of the great Alexander of Hales and of Rochelle, he must already have earned a reputation for fiery eloquence, for scholastic lore, and for Platonic elevation of intelligence. Representing the sweet, soaring, passionate mysticism of the seraphic S. Francis, he knew how to control love's darting flames, and to bring theologic science to bear upon the highest aspirations of the heart.* His intensely affectionate nature, his warm Italian fantasy, and his yearning love of the wounds of the Crucified; his tenderness and compassion to the suffering and the poor, and the poetical bent of his mystic mind, which made him love and defend Plato as a father, all this

* "Il y avait une singulière affinité entre le séraphique franciscain et le chef de l'Académie. Parmi tous les philosophes de l'antiquité, il n'en citait aucun avec plus de prédilection. Il le défendait avec une sorte de piété filiale contre ses adversaires. (S. Bonav. in *Magist. Sentent.*, *Lib. II.*, *Dist. I.*, *P.* 1, *Art. I.*, *Quæst.* 1.; *Serm.*, *I.*, *VII.*, in *Hexaemer*;—'Aristotoles incidit in multos errores . . . exsecratus est ideas Platonis et perperam.') Mais, surtout, le mysticisme par des liens nombreux se rattachait à l'idéalisme . . ." In Bonaventure, "une grande puissance était donnée au cœur sur l'esprit, et l'imagination avait les clefs du cœur : de là un besoin réel, une habitude constante des expressions allégoriques et des allusions légendaires." (Ozanam, *Œuvres Complètes, Tom. Sixième, Partie III., Chap. III., p.* 289—290, *Ed.* 2.) See the sort of titles he gave to his writings :—*Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum—Formula Aurea de Gradibus Virtutum—De Septem Itineribus Æternitatis.*

there is little doubt, had, before this day, stamped his true image on the plastic and appreciative mind of the Paris University.

Look at him as he sits there in the sight of all. If it resembled the picture drawn of him by Galesinius, the very appearance of that man—the dear familiar friend of the Angelical *—must have caused for the moment a quickened beating in the hearts of those who beheld him for the first time. He is above the middle height, and of noble personal bearing; and, unlike most men of ascetic habits, his frame gives indications of strong health and a robust constitution. His garb is the brown picturesque costume of S. Francis, the tunic of coarse serge, the sharp-pointed hood, the white twisted cord, the wooden sandals. He is shaven, save a circle of hair over the ears, running around the head. His face is grave, yet so tender an expression beams forth from it, that men when they once come under its influence are seized with a feeling of indescribable sympathy. There is one special mark upon him which seals a supernatural impress on the whole character of the man—his cheeks are furrowed with the

* Galesinius compares their friendship to that of S. Gregory and S. Basil when at Athens :—"Li ambo Parisiis caritatis vinculo, vitæ moribus, doctrinæ pietatisque studiis itidem conjunctissimi, ut Athenis olim fuerunt illi duo, Basilius et Nazianzenus, quorum aliquam, si cuncta recte perpenduntur, imaginem tunc referre videbantur. . . . Tertio post anno, quam Parisios venit, idoneus ac dignus Bonaventura habitus est, qui Theologiæ illic interpretandæ munus publicum susciperet, ac sustineret." *(Boll., Vol. XXX., in Vita, Auct., Petro Galesinio, Cap. III., n.* 41, *p.* 809.)

courses made by frequent tears, springing from his burning love of the wounds of his Saviour. To live in those wounds, to make them his one meditation, was the joy of his life; and the flames of a burning compassion, and the fires of a consuming charity, raging within his soul, caused those waters to well up from his heart which were constantly gushing to his eyes and flowing in streams down his corrugated cheeks. Men did not see the furnace that was kindled within him, they only saw what others had perceived, in the days of Abelard, on the face of Bernard—signs of compassion and the marks of tears.*

It was men of high character like him—men of large, loving, tender hearts; men of mighty, soaring aspirations, who knew no selfishness, no littleness; men lifted above the world—who were made to raise up earth and make it pure. Though perhaps the students in that hall—the Englishman and the Frenchman, the German the Norman and the Picard, the Burgundian and the Lombard, the

* "Fuit igitur Bonaventura corporis habitu procero, beneque constituto, usque adeo ut numquam, aut certe raro ex adversa infirmaque valetudine laboraverit . . . Vultu autem gravi, et aspectu angelico, ut homines raperet in admirationem sui: facie lacrymis aliquando irrigua, cum soleret (quemadmodum de se ipse testatur) divini amoris ardore flagrans, jucunditatisque dulcedine perfusus, in Christi vulneribus fixus meditatione inhærere; ea denique corporis forma, vel potius dignitate, eaque animi indole summa, ut nemo illum non vereretur, nemo item, qui se ab eo moneri non pateretur, vel libentissime. . . . Hæc vero libuit universe præfari; ut aditum tandem mihi faciam ad earum præstantissimarum rerum narrationem, in quibus, cum pietatis, religionis, sanctitatis, sapientiæ, eruditionis, doctrinæ, ac virtutis præcellentis splendor eluceat maximus, etc." (*Boll., Vol. XXX., in Vita, Auctore Petro Galesinio Protonotario Apostolico, ad Sextum V. Pontificem Maximum, ex editione Henrici Sedulii, Cap. I., n. 23, p.* 805.)

Roman and the Sicilian, the Brabantine and the Fleming—did not realize that they were looking on a saint, still, there is little doubt that there was neither boy nor man there present who was not impressed by Bonaventure, whose heart did not respond to his countenance or eye, and whose nerves were not touched by the accents of his voice. It is but the natural effects of love, and sacrifice, and high humility, to win and captivate the open heart of man.

What subject the Saint selected as his thesis, history does not tell us; how he acquitted himself, biographers do not relate. But it may be safely said that his lofty mind—which loved to soar with Anselm, and with Bernard, and with Denis—defended, with true Platonic subtlety and elevation, the thesis he advanced. There is little doubt that, when the occasion offered, he held his audience riveted by what Trithemius designates as his "*flammantia verba*"*—his "flaming words"—whilst he was borne along in the lucid course of his high argument.

After this beautiful mediæval figure, this seraphic friar, who eventually became a Prince,

* "Tertiam conditionem præcipuo doctori Ecclesiæ idem [Bonifacius Octavus] ascribit, ut facundus sit. Certe quidem eloquentiæ laudem sancto Bonaventuræ tribuit Trithemius præclaris his vocibus: 'Fuit enim is clarus eloquio, subtilis, disertus, flammantia verba proferens' . . . Is certe totam pene sacram Scripturam ac Theologiam dilucide explicando docuit, docendo quadam spirituali suavitate delectat; et quod perfecti oratoris est, delectando movet atque accendit; ut satis dictum est." (*Boll., Tom. XXX.*, in *Vita, Auct., Petro Galesinio, Cap. VI., n.* 73—74, *p.* 816.)

and then a Doctor of the Church, had been clothed with the *insignia* of his new degree, he was at once conducted to his place amongst the Masters of Divinity, thence to watch, with loving admiration, his dear familiar friend go through a trial similar to his own.

See him then, our great Angelical, as with calm and princely bearing he advances—a mighty-looking man, built on a larger scale than those who stand around him—and takes the seat just vacated by Bonaventure. His portrait as a boy has been sketched already.* Now, he has grown into the maturity of a man, and his grand *physique* has expanded into its perfect symmetry and manly strength, manifesting, even in his frame, as Tocco says, that exquisite combination of force with true proportion, which gave so majestic a balance to his mind.† His countenance is pale with suffering, ‡ and his head is bald from intense and sustained

* *Vol. I., Chap. II., p.* 23.

† "De naturali etiam dicti Doctoris dispositione corporis, sicut et mentis, dicitur, quod fuit magnus in corpore et rectæ staturæ, quæ rectitudini animi respondet: coloris triticei, ad temperatæ ejus complexionis indicium: magnum habens caput, sicut virtutum animalium perfectiones, quæ rationi deserviunt, organa perfecta requirunt: aliquantulum calvus. Fuit tenerrimæ complexionis in carne, sicut aptitudo ejus intelligentiæ indicabat in mente. Fuit virilis robore, cum se ad aliquos actus virtutis corpore exercebat: qui etiam virtute animi nihil timuit, nihil objectum pia humilitate despexit." (Tocco, *Boll. in Vita, Cap. VII., n.* 39, *p.* 670.) Fr. Nicolaus de Piperno testified on oath thus:—"Interrogatus cujus staturæ esset dictus Fr. Thomas, dixit, quod fuit magnæ staturæ, et calvus, et quod fuit etiam grossus et brunus. Interrogatus cujus ætatis erat, dixit, quod secundum suam existimationem, videbatur sibi, quod fuerit quinquagenarius vel sexagenarius." (See *Boll., Processus Inquisitionis, Cap. III., n.* 19, *p.* 690; see also *Cap. V., n.* 42, *p.* 697.)

‡ He used to suffer acutely from indigestion, brought on by fasting and study—like S. Gregory the Great—but, unlike S. Gregory, he never swooned away for want of food.

mental application. Still, the placid serenity of his broad lofty brow,* the deep gray light in his meditative eyes, his firm well-chiselled lips, and fully defined jaw, the whole *pose* of that large splendid head—combining the manliness of the Roman with the refinement and delicacy of the Greek—impress the imagination with an indescribable sense of giant energy of intellect, of royal gentleness of heart, and untold tenacity of purpose. That sweet face reflects so exquisite a purity, that noble bust is cast in so imperial a mould, that the sculptor or the painter would be struck and arrested by it in a moment;—the one would yearn to throw so classical a type into imperishable marble, and the other to transfer so much grandeur of *contour*, and such delicacy of expression, so harmonious a fusion of spotlessness with majesty, of southern loveliness with intellectual strength, to the enduring canvass. †

Perhaps, too, the simple Dominican habit adds a charm to the grandeur of the picture. It seems, when worn by saints, to blot out all idea

* He might have been called "Plato," which means the "Broad-browed,"—but, unlike Plato, the Angelical was neither intensely melancholy nor wrinkled. "As sad as Plato" was a proverb or a phrase among comedians.

† "Questa sua cordial carità se gli leggeva nella fronte sempre lieta e serena, e singolarmente da chi seco conversava; mentrechè questi in solamente rimirarlo confessava sentirsi sgombrar subito dal cuore ogni tristezza e di gaudio spirituale riempirsi. Come fra gli altri Eufranone della Porta di Salerno, dell' Ordin de' Predicatori, huomo per dottrina e pietà illustre attestò di non haver mai parlato con Tomaso, che non sentisse nell'anima una singolarissima consolatione, la quale non gli occorreva per veruna altra cosa del mondo. E ciò seguir non potea senza speciale assistenza dello Spirito santo habitante nel cuore di Tomaso." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. I., n.* 14, *p.* 71—72.)

of mere sensual admiration; it carries the mind into a higher range of thought, and into a more elevated sphere, in which a beauty of a nobler sort finds its natural habitation—a loveliness which excludes all touch of carnal taint, and which, chastened by a flame of hallowed fire, seems to transform the coarseness of human clay into a vision of supernatural gracefulness and of illuminated purity.*

Such, anyhow, must have been the impression produced by the "Angel of the Schools." And who at this hour would make so bold as to deny that, as he sat there in the midst, his majestic beauty fell upon the eyes and melted into the hearts of those who, Tocco says, could not look on him without loving him? Who does not perceive that all must have been drawn towards him? † Men

* "Et quia conveniens satis erat, ut qui tot beneficia a Divina largitate abundantius aliis suscepisset, se omnibus caritate diffunderet; fuit etiam prædictus Doctor caritate et pietate diffusus, ut alios a se ipso præveniret in gratiis, quibus datus erat divinitus ut splendesceret in doctrinis. Erat miro modo benignus in animo, qui totus suavis erat in verbo et liberalis in facto: ut ostenderet omnibus quis Spiritus habitaret in ejus mente, cujus tanta suavitas procedebat ex ore: ut unusquisque, qui totius conversationis ejus vidisset effigiem, mentis ejus potuisset legere sanctitatem." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VI., n.* 37, *p.* 669.)

† "Ex qua benignitate caritatis mirandus affectus ex solo ejus corporali aspectu videbatur oriri, ut nemo ipsum aliquamdiu alloquendo et conversando potuisset aspicere, a quo non contingeret gratiam specialis consolationis haurire: unde Frater Eufranon de Salerno, in toto Ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum celebris opinione et fama, consueverat pluries dicere, quod quoties prædictum Doctorem cum affectu devotionis aspiceret, toties ex ejus aspectu et locutione gratiam lætitiæ spiritualis hauriret, quod sine Spiritus sancti præsentia esse non poterat, de quo tanta gratia procedebat." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VI., n.* 37, *p.* 669.) Of course, even holiness does not always manifest itself in an engaging manner. There were parties who opposed S. Martin's election to Tours, alleging, as Sulpicius tells us, "that he was a contemptible person, unworthy of the Episcopate, despicable in countenance, mean in dress, uncouth in his hair." (Newman's *Church of the Fathers, Chap. XII., p.* 328.—*Fourth Edition.*)

knew enough of him to be aware that he was supernaturally helped. The history of his youth was no secret at Paris. He had been known to cure, in an instant, a woman who had but touched the hem of his garment. The students themselves, ten years ago, had decided that he was inspired by the Holy Ghost. His torrents of tears, his frequent ecstacies, which increased as he grew older, his raptures, his liftings in the air, were talked of, and awfully remembered. Thus he appeared to them, as he sat there, not so much a citizen of earth as a friend and confidant of the Everlasting King, a high interpreter betwixt earth and heaven, an angelic man who kept Divine secrets, and was assisted by that mysterious power which issues from the upper world.* Men were not startled in those days as they are in these, by the unusual deeds and privileges of chosen men. They took God's work for granted. They believed what they saw: they did not pry, and test, and examine, and lose

* Gibelli pictures him thus :—"Esso fu alto e ben composto della persona, bello di volto, ma di una belleza che tenea del maestoso e del celeste ; ebbe grande il capo, ampia la fronte, un po' calvo dinanzi ; il suo portamento fu grave e venerando ; trasse nel pingue ; alle sublimi speculazioni, agli spessi rapimenti, alla vita tutta tutta spirituale la vigoria del corpo non bastò ; strematosi a poco a poco delle vitali potenze toccò appena il quarantottesimo anno lasciando in dubbio il mondo se e' fosse stato il più dotto de' Santi o il più Santo de' dotti." *(Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Capo XXXII., p.* 121.)

Werner speaks thus :—"Der Eindruck der äusseren Erscheinung des Verblichenen wird von den zeitgenössischen Schriftstellern als ein sehr edler und gewinnender geschildert. Thomas war von hoher Statur, sehr wohl gebildet, sein Kopf von vollendeter Schönheit, sein Angesicht hatte südlitalische Färbung (coloris triticei), seine Züge drückten Sanftmuth und Würde aus, die erhabene Stirne war frühzeitig vom Haupthaar entblösst worden." (Werner's *Der Heilige Thomas von Aquino, Sechtes Capitel, p.* 850—851.)

their souls. They got nearer the truth than we do. Their minds were not corroded by false science. Anyhow, the natural thought, the spontaneous feeling, of that vast concourse, when looking on the great Angelical as he began to unfold his thesis was, that he lived more amongst the secrets of the Unseen World than in the midst of men; and that he wielded, like a giant, the strength he gained from God, for the sake of perishing humanity. Love, awe, admiration, enthusiasm—these were awakened in the breasts of those in that assembly who had hearts to feel, and brains to reason withal.*

And especially would it have been so on this occasion. The audience was ignorant of the supernatural instruction which the Angelical had received. Men did not know, as he sat there "with the striking elegance of ease," that in the dark night, amidst the shadows of the church, he had wept his heart out prostrate before the altar. They were not aware of the fact, but for all that,

* Bareille thus draws his picture of the Angelical:—"Le Docteur angélique était d'une taille haute, droite et majestueuse; son corps semblait répondre à la hauteur, à la rectitude, à la noblesse de son esprit. Il avait une tête grande et belle, admirablement disposée pour toutes les fonctions intellectuelles. Son front était chauve avant le temps, comme la plupart des fronts où le génie a passé. Thomas fut d'une organisation tendre et flexible, qui se ployait aisément au plus léger mouvement de la pensée; cette délicatesse, toutefois, n'excluait pas la force et l'énergie. Le long exercice de toutes les vertus avait communiqué aux organes mêmes un caractère de mâle fermeté, dont, à première vue, ils n'eussent point paru susceptibles. De même que cette grande âme ne reculait jamais devant un acte d'humilité, de même son corps était devenu comme impassible en présence des plus terribles épreuves." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXVII., p.* 372—373; see also Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. XIV., p.* 258.)

they were impressed by its effects. The supernatural power which was in him spoke to them. And when he began and gave out his thesis, with his deep commanding voice: "Thou waterest the hills from Thy upper rooms: the earth shall be filled with the fruit of Thy work," a tremor must have passed across every heart in the great concourse, and men must have looked at each other with awe, admiration, and an unconscious feeling of surprise.

The text was worthy of so great a master of theology, and he used it to advantage. He took a broad and lofty view, befitting the greatness of the occasion, and the learning of the Doctors. His whole plan lay clear before him. His central idea was Christ as the Redeemer and the Restorer of mankind. The "eternal hills" represent the everlasting Church of God; the "upper rooms" are the mansions of the blessed—the heavenly Jerusalem; and the "waters" which are poured out from thence—the waters of the Paradise of God—are the supernatural graces and unctions which proceed from His life-giving Spirit.* And as the mists and waters which fall upon high

* "Thomas revenu à lui-même, se trouva fort consolé: et dès le lendemain il fit son Principe, ou Acte public, dans la Salle de l'Evêché de Paris, avec l'admiration de toutes les Facultés. Il ne manqua pas de mettre à profit les paroles du Prophête, pour expliquer de quelle manière Jésus-Christ, le chef adorable des hommes et des Anges, arrose les montagnes célestes du torrent de ses graces, et rassasie l'Eglise militante du fruit de ses travaux, par les Sacramens qu'il a établis pour nous communiquer les mérites de sa Passion." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 150—151.)

mountains, unite, and break, and tumble through a thousand rents and fissures, working their way down, and forcing their way on, till they reach the spreading plain, clothing it with verdure, and fruitfulness, and colour; making it vocal with sheep and with cattle; filling it with fragrance and with flowers, with song of birds and with sunny life—so the streams of the Grace of God, descending on the Church, flow through the channels of the Seven great Sacraments of the New Dispensation, and carry into the parched clay of the souls of men elements of life and strength, of supernatural goodness and of Christian beauty, turning winter into spring-tide, and quickening that with life which before was dead.*

Such is an outline of the subject which the Angelical had to develop and defend before the assembled University. It included the entire range of theology—it treated of God, and man, and their relations. Of how he expanded it, how he spoke and looked, how he replied to the arguments adduced against him, his biographers say but little; still, enough has already been suggested to

* See how the Angelical speaks of the Sacraments in relation to Christ, in his *Commentary* on the "Sentences," when he takes these words as his text:—"Misit verbum suum, et sanavit eos, et eripuit eos de interitionibus eorum." (*Ps., CVI.*, 20.) God "sends His Word," that is to say, the Saviour, "to heal them;" that is to say, to deliver them by His grace, conveyed through the Sacraments; "and He delivered them out of their distresses;" that is, by means of the system He established, He lifted them up out of darkness and death into the light and life of His grace. This simply shows that the Angelical's mind ran in the same direction when making his public Act, as it did when commenting on the "Sentences" of the Lombard. (*Cf. Opp.*, S. Thomæ Aquinat., *Tom. VII., Pars Altera, Prologus* S. Thomæ, *p.* 1.)

convince the reader that he was gifted with surpassing mastership, and that there was not a single man, in any one of the Faculties there assembled, who would have dared to measure his strength against him.*

When he had made an end, amidst enthusiastic applause he was declared by acclamation worthy of the Doctorate in Theology, and was invested with the *insignia* of his office. The head of the theological faculty brings the Doctor's ring, and places it upon the finger of the Angelical, in token of his being espoused to "Wisdom" as a Bride. Next, the Saint lays his right hand on a closed Bible, as a sign that he is master of the wisdom contained in the Sacred Books. Then one of the Doctors present advances, opens the Book, and delivers it over to him, saying: "*Accipe potestatem docendi ubique terrarum*"—"Receive power to teach all nations." The Angelical now rising, the authorities lead him between them to a seat ready prepared amongst the Masters in Divinity, and place him by the side

* Touron says that the text of Scripture on which the Angelical based his public Act contained a prophecy regarding his own influence in the future:—"L'événement a fait connoître que ce texte de l'Ecriture, qui fut inspiré à notre Saint, contenoit une espèce de Prophétie, qui sembloit le regarder lui-même, et qui devoit le faire considérer dès-lors comme une nuée féconde, qui déchargeant tous les jours ses eaux, arrosoit les montagnes, et commençoit à rassassier la terre; puisque ses sçavans ouvrages, . . . n'instruisent pas moins les plus habiles Docteurs, et les génies du premier ordre, par la grandeur des matières qu'il traite, et par la beauté des principes qu'il établit, que le peuple-même, et les plus simples d'entre les Fidèles, par la facilité de la méthode, et par la clarté admirable qu'il répand partout, sur les vérités de notre Religion." (*Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Lib. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 151.)

of Bonaventure, with the words: "*Sede inter Doctores*"—"Be seated amongst the Doctors." * After having received the ring, he now receives the cap. It is first placed upon his head, and then immediately removed with the words: "*Te discoöperio*"—"I uncover thee;" as a mark that he is not to use the power to teach in his own name, but in the name of the Catholic Church, which alone is the guardian of the truth contained in the Sacred Scriptures. He is then invested with the cap once more; and there, in the august presence of the most learned assembly in the world, the great Prince of Theologians sits by the side of the seraphic Bonaventure, with all eyes fixed upon him, the ring sparkling on his hand, and the Doctor's cap encircling his placid brow—a type of the boundless power of supernatural eminence and of intellectual sway. †

* "Er empfieng den Ring zum Zeichen seiner Vermählung mit der Wissenschaft; dann berührte er mit der Rechten eine verschlossene Bibel, zu Zeichen, dass er die Wissenschaft dieses heiligen Buches besitzt. Einer der anwesenden Doctoren öffenete nun das Buch, und reichte es ihm dar mit den Worten: Accipe potestatem docendi ubique terrarum. Hierauf führte er ihn zu einem Sitze in Mitte der Doctoren: Sede inter Doctores. Endlich wurde ihm das Doctorbarret auf das Haupt gesetzt, aber wieder abgenommen: Te discoöperio, zum Zeichen, dass er die Macht zu lehren nicht in eigenem Namen, sondern in Auftrage der Kirche übe, der alleinigen Bewahrerin der in dem heiligen Buche niedergelegten Wahrheit." (Werner, *B.I. Drittes Capitel, p.* 213.)

† I follow Allodi (*See Opp. S. Thomæ, Tom. I., Ellogium Historicum, p. XXI., Ed. Parmæ.*), though well aware that some doubt is cast on the assertion of several biographers of S. Thomas, that S. Bonaventure took the cap at the same time as our Saint. Werner states that he did (*B. I. Drittes Capitel*), so does Butler (*Lives, July 14th*), so does Ozanam (*Œuvres Complètes, Tom. VI., Chap. II., p.* 83, *Ed.* 2), so also does Frigerio (*Lib. I., Cap. V., n.* 12, *p.* 33). On the other hand, neither Touron, nor Gibelli, nor Bareille make any mention of the fact, whilst the Bollandists argue against it (*Acta SS. Die Decima Quarta Julii, § III., nn.* 28, 29, 30, *p.* 781—782). Yet Berthaumier, with their arguments

When this ceremony has ended, the meeting breaks up. The great Act has been accomplished. The hall is emptied by degrees. The streets hum again with a noisy crowd, and men retire to their ordinary occupations, their hearts soothed with tenderness and warmed with admiration, as they bear away, imprinted on their imaginations like a picture, the graceful and majestic image of the Angel of the Schools.*

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before him, prefers to take the opposite view in company with "plusieurs historiens;" and finishes with a blow at modern chronologists:—"Tout ce qui tient à cette époque de l'histoire de Saint Bonaventure," he says, "est fort embrouillé, quant à la chronologie; et les auteurs accoutumés à reprocher au moyen âge ses tenèbres, n'ont guère fait preuve de grandes lumières." (*Histoire de Saint Bonaventure, Chap. VI., p.* 130—131.)

* It may be felt that the picture drawn is rather a fancy portrait than a sketch from reality. But cannot a writer be allowed to do what is permitted to scientific men, who from one bone or fossil build up a whole organism? Is not the principle of *ex pede* admissible in biography? Indeed we have far more than a fossil or a foot of the Angelical. Tocco, Malvenda, and S. Antoninus, give quite sufficient material out of which he who feels inclined to study, and to compare part with part, may form a fairly just picture of the Saint. It is a great help and pleasure to form a picture of *some kind;* if that attempted by the author is in any way distasteful, the reader will find material in the notes out of which he may conceive one for himself.

CHAPTER II.

THE POPES ON S. THOMAS.

It may easily be imagined by those who admit S. Thomas of Aquin to have been a blessed Saint, and a great Doctor of the Church, that it is quite possible for a fervent admirer of his—one who has for any length of time lived upon his life—to grow gradually into an enthusiast, and to draw a picture of him which is to some extent coloured by warmth of imagination, and represents, at least in part, a perfection and a beauty which an unbiassed judge would not be able to detect in the original.

There is no question at all that such a danger exists in writing the biography of any heroic man. The spirit is drawn to him, and feels lifted and invigorated by him; his presence seems to cheer the heart, and to expand the higher powers of the soul; a familiarity and sweet friendship seems to have been commenced; and just as a true friend fights the battles of his friend, whilst each

screens the other's faults, so the writer of a "Life" may naturally be tempted to indulge the weakness of a similar generosity towards one who can say no word in his own defence, and whose fame and honour are treasures confided to his keeping.*

Yet at the same time he will bear in mind that violent action is followed by violent reaction; and that it is one of the undeviating tendencies of man's nature to resent all hollowness or unreality, in whatever shape it may be presented, and to drag the scale down on one side with the same force with which it has been unduly elevated on the other. Good intentions, simplicity of purpose, an indiscreet zeal on the part of a writer who has unwittingly cajoled mankind, may perhaps save him from severity of treatment; but it will not prevent that result being practically brought about with regard to his labours, which was the one thing above all others those labours were directed to avoid.† He will feel, after all is

* This seems to be one of the great advantages in reading the lives of the saints in preference to other books, viz., that a personal affection springs up in the heart for the saint whose life is under consideration. His human history has always much in it touching upon our own; he has his sorrows, pains and joys, his temptations and darknesses—and he may have had falls. Then his purity and confidence, his love of his kind—so generous and unselfish, are all sweet to think upon; whilst his image becomes even more bright and distinct within the mind. He becomes a dear and trusted friend: he can cheer our sorrow, and point the way lovingly to the Cross. How many saints have not been made by thinking on the saints!

† Still, it is true that there is a difference between writing the life of of a sinner—however gifted he may be, however great a hero he may have shown himself—and writing the life of a saint. The very fact of a human being having been canonized by authority, gives him a title to a veneration which the world's heroes cannot claim. And this is at once reasonable and intelligible. For what mere human ingenuity or sagacity can compare

said and done, that true friendship and wise service consists in endeavouring to discover the truth; and having found it, to put it without shrinking, clearly and uncompromisingly before the world. He will be convinced that there is no abiding loveliness without veracity; and that real goodness, like genuine coin, must exhibit the royal figure of Truth stamped on the one side, and the graceful form of Beauty on the other.*

And if there has ever been a man, the just description of whose life and labours has, at first sight, the appearance of exaggeration, that man is emphatically the "Angel of the Schools." His greatness does not, like that of renowned ecclesiastical rulers, impress itself upon the world in legislative deeds. He has been looked upon generally from a distance. The details of his career have often been drawn out in an uninviting form. He is admitted to have been a good man, and an eminent theologian—and there men leave him. As to

with the instinct of the Church which, after sifting with the most searching scrutiny the lives of holy men, declares whether or not they are to be held in veneration, to be looked upon as models, and to be invoked by Christian people? That solemn voice of authority is as a sure guide not only to the external actions, but also to the hearts of men. When she speaks within her province, rash is he who would neglect her voice!

* And such would not be the case were there not a deep metaphysical truth implied in what has been said:—"La *bontà* poi è il perfetto accordo dell'attività volitiva coll'esigenza dell'essere; la volontà che aderisce all'essere come in sè bono e se ne compiace, si dica bona. Ciò posto, il *vero* e il bene esprimono la relazione dell'ente con un'intelligenza e con una voluntà. Ma poichè l'intelligente e il volente è anch'esso un ente; perciò il vero e il bene, o la verità e la bontà sono relazioni intrinseche e necessarie che l'ente ha seco stesso. Queste relazioni si riducono alle forme stesse dell'essere considerate nel loro rapporto. La forma reale in relazione logica coll'ideale è *verità*, la forma reale in relazione attiva coll'ideale o col *reale conosciuto* è *bontà*." (See Pestalozza, *Elementi di Filosofia, Vol. III., Ontologia, Cap. VI., p.* 251.)

his system, it is dismissed as a method hampered by an ignorance which was unavoidable, and suffering from the inevitable lameness of a one-sided analysis.*

But no intellect, however gifted, can, all at once, adequately realize any grand idea or great creation. Who, without considerable mental effort, can comprehend the beauty of a simple blade of grass, or the variegated loveliness of a wild forget-me-not? Or take a mountain range: does not its majesty proverbially grow upon the mind—just as the starry night, or the first sight of the boundless sea? Or go to Rome—enter S. Peter's; it seems a massive pile with its towering pilasters; and the eye travels far before it reaches the Confessional over which expands the dome; and again it is carried beyond to the distant window with the historic chair below. It is, indeed, an enormous Basilica, yet an impression hangs about the mind that accounts have been exaggerated. Byron was drawing on his imagination; even the guide-books, which have little poetic elasticity, are calculated to lead astray and disappoint;—so it seems during the

* Of course, the only quality in the Angelical which could bring him before the English world, would be his philosophical or theological gifts. How far he is appreciated as a *philosopher* is evident from Mr. Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, which has already reached a third edition. Though it is a fact known to all who have made a study of mediæval philosophy that the Angelical held, in his own age at all events, the first place—were it only for what he did for Aristotle's text—still, Mr. Lewes, whilst he devotes *ten* pages to Roger Bacon, "cannot pause to sketch the portrait of the Angelic Doctor." He devotes just six lines and a half—with a short *note*—to the most philosophic mind of the thirteenth century. (See Lewes' *History of Philosophy, Vol. II., Chap. III., p.* 75.)

first few days.* But give the mind time to enlarge, and gradually man's contracted eye will open to the genius of the place, and will, by degrees, become sensible to its vastness, and realize its marvellous proportions; the stranger will begin to find something colossal even in those four mosaics in the dome, and in those golden letters running round it. He will be amazed to find that those white marble angels which hold the enormous holy-water shells are, in point of fact, not cherubs of the size of infants, but infants of the size of stalwart men. He will now appreciate the poet's imagery, and hold that no description of that vast House of God can adequately express, not so much its beauty, as its overpowering immensity.†

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* Byron puts it in this way :—

"Enter : its grandeur overwhelms thee not,
And why ? it has not lessen'd ; but thy mind,
Expanded by the genius of the spot,
Has grown colossal, and can only find
A fit abode wherein appear enshrined
Thy hopes of immortality ; and thou
Shalt one day, if found worthy, so defined,
See thy God face to face, as thou dost now
His Holy of Holies, nor be blasted by His brow."
(*Childe Harold, Canto IV., Stanza CLV.*)

† It is not too much to say that the same impression is produced upon the mind when, through study, it comes into contact with such a saint as S. Thomas, as is produced by what Dr. Newman calls "an enlightenment or enlargement of the mind. For instance, let a person whose experience has hitherto been confined to the calm and unpretending scenery of these islands, whether here or in England, go for the first time into parts where physical nature puts on her wilder and more awful forms, whether at home or abroad, as into mountainous districts ; or let one, who has ever lived in a quiet village, go for the first time to a great metropolis —then I suppose he will have a sensation which perhaps he never had before. He has a feeling not in addition or increase of former feelings, but of something different in kind. . . . He has made a certain progress . . . he does not stand where he did ; he has a new centre, and a range of thoughts to which he was before a stranger." (Newman's *Discourses on University Education* [delivered in Dublin], *Lect. VII., p.* 209.)

And if such be the case with a material building planned by man's intelligence and placed in its order and symmetry by his genius, how much more vast and unapproachable must not be the mind of him who has the power first to conceive it and then to draw it out! If the one cannot be realized all at once, neither can the other; if the creature of the brain requires study, thought, time, to be adequately seized, how much more the creative mind itself! *

And if this be true of an intellect skilled in designing architectural forms, with how much more force may it not be said of a still higher order of intelligence! Take Isaias and Jeremias amongst the prophets; Plato and Aristotle amongst the philosophers; Homer, Dante, Goethe, and Shakespeare amongst the poets; Kepler and Newton amongst mathematicians: or even such different men as Pythagoras, or Thales, or Socrates, or Bacon, or Porson, or Elmsley:—who could do these justice without a store of mental labour? Or take names more closely connected with our subject. Who, however quick, can,

* The view given by Dr. Newman, of "a truly great intellect" in the following words, is sufficient to enforce the truth just stated:—"A truly great intellect," he says, "and recognized to be such by the common opinion of mankind, such as the intellect of Aristotle, or of S. Thomas, or of Newton, or of Goethe . , . is one which takes a connected view of old and new, past and present, far and near, and which has an insight into the influence of all these one on another; without which there is no whole, and no centre. It possesses the knowledge, not only of things, but also of their mutual and true relations; knowledge, not merely considered as acquirement, but as philosophy." (*On University Education, Disc. VII., p.* 214.)

impromptu, realize the whole force, the richness and the fire, of S. Chrysostom, or the sweet lovingness of a S. Gregory *Theologus*, or the hard vigour of a S. Basil, or the indomitable and almost rude determination of a S. Cyril? * Can the character of the rugged S. Jerome, in his cave at Bethlehem, be comprehended at a glance?—Or consider the great Church rulers, men who in their day swayed the stormy world of ecclesiastical politics, and have left their mark within the Ark as a memorial for all time—the courageous S. Athanasius, the majestic S. Ambrose, the imperial Hildebrand or Boniface, the heroic S. Leo, that tender large and placid light S. Gregory the Great: or to come to our own day; take that venerable man, so mighty in faith, Pope Pius IX.;—who could, without long study, draw into the mind, and paint on the imagination, and then intellectually possess, the noble images these represent?

Or even select one brilliant out of the setting of each life—the stern S. Chrysostom expiring in the hands of his persecutors, or S. Gregory preaching upon S. Basil's death, or S. Basil answering

* It is proverbial that those who know least, and are most crude intellectually, dogmatize most, and have far less reverence than men who possess a wider knowledge and have been matured by experience and age. The young and inexperienced have no standard by which to measure. They unconsciously judge all to be more or less like themselves, and hence, do not know how to give others credit for qualities of which they are ignorant, and perhaps an accurate notion of which could not be conveyed to them. The really learned and enlightened will take long to judge, and still longer to condemn; and do not think they can wholly grasp, without care and thought, what would be seized, tried, and condemned by others without remorse.

Modestus, or S. Cyril at Ephesus, or S. Jerome tempted in the fierce wilderness of Chalcis, or S. Augustine struggling with grace,* or S. Paul embracing S. Anthony in the desert, or S. Athanasius† triumphantly entering Alexandria, or S. Ambrose defending the Church against Justina, or Hildebrand and Boniface resisting the arrogance of princes, or S. Leo with a glance subduing Attila, or S. Gregory the Great waiting on the poor, or Gregory XVI. rebuking the proud Emperor of the Russias ‡—any one of these events belongs to so high a moral order, and grows out of such deep and simple principles, bearing with it so much sweetness, strength, and light, that it is only by patience that the mind is able to appreciate its full significance,

* What event in the history of man contains more food for deep thought than the Eighth Book of S. Augustine's *Confessions?* Here comes out in giant proportions the wild passion of human nature, and the subduing influence of grace :—"I threw myself down under a fig-tree," says S. Augustine, "I know not how, and allowing my tears full vent, offered up to Thee the acceptable sacrifice of my streaming eyes. And I cried out to this effect—'And thou, O Lord, how long, how long, Lord, wilt Thou be angry? For ever? Remember not our old sins!' for I felt that they were my tyrants. I cried out, piteously: 'How long? how long? to-morrow, and to-morrow? why not *now?* why not in this very hour put an end to this my vileness.' While I thus spoke, with tears, in the bitter contrition of my heart, suddenly I heard a voice, as if from a house near me, of a boy or girl chanting forth again and again, '*Take up and read, take up and read!*'" (See Newman's *Church of the Fathers, Chap. X., p.* 275.) Who could all at once, without long meditation, grasp the full idea of S. Augustine's position?

† See his *Life of S. Anthony*, S. Athan. *Opp., Vol. II., p.* 835—975. *Patrol. Græc., Vol. XXVI.*

‡ "He [Nicholas] had entered with his usual firm step and royal aspect, grand as it was from statue-like features, stately frame, and martial bearing. . . . 'with plumes unruffled, and with eye unquenched.' . . . He came forth again, with head uncovered, and hair, if it can be said of man, dishevelled; haggard and pale . . . It was the eagle dragged from his eyrie among the clefts of the rocks. . . . 'from his nest among the stars,' his feathers crumpled, and his eye quelled, by a power till then despised." (Wiseman's *Last Four Popes—Gregory XVI., Chap. VI., p.* 513—514.)

and to detect that delicate moral aroma which always clings to noble deeds.

If, then, so much is required for fully comprehending an isolated act of heroism; if nature, art, and man, cannot be adequately realized except by dint of patient thought—how much labour should not be expended on the life of a Saint like the Angelical, who through natural endowment was a man of gigantic mind, and under the influence of grace possessed far higher gifts than can possibly be discovered in the noblest creation of the natural order? *

It is of marked importance, before advancing any further in this Life, that we should locate our Saint in that position amongst the religious benefactors of mankind to which, in justice, he is entitled. When his place has been determined, then, both his personal history and his public teaching will command an attention and create an interest which possibly they may not have possessed before; whilst that vagueness will be avoided which invariably accompanies a notion of the great

* Dr. Mettenleiter gives a very pleasing hymn at the commencement of his *Geschichte des heiligen Thomas von Aquin*, which brings out the greatness of the Saint with much felicity. Here is a specimen :—

"Dem Lichte gleich am Himmelsbogen,
Bricht siegreich er der Wolken Macht,
Die durch der Wahrheit Bahn gezogen :
Er spricht : und gleich die Sonne lacht !

Er tauchet in des Meeres Tiefen
Und steiget in des Abgrunds Schoos,
Für ihn die Himmel '*Weisheit*' triefen,
Sein Geist reisst alle Bande los."

(Hymnus auf den heiligen Thomas, p. III.)

and the sublime before it has, by means of judgments and comparisons, been crystallized into shape and thrown into distinct position.

For this end a few preliminary remarks will be in keeping, after which the opinions of eminent and authoritative judges shall be given, and comparisons shall be instituted which will issue, it may be hoped, in conveying a clear idea of the *status* which the Angel of the Schools appears to occupy in the temple of Catholic fame.

The soul of a man is simple, yet it can be considered to have two sides — the intellect, and the will. All intellectual and moral greatness proceeds from one or other of these faculties, modified by the heart, and influenced by grace.* The great champions of the Church have exhibited themselves, either as predominantly mighty in intellect, or singularly masterful in will, or as unusually great in the combination of the two:† Christ, in His Transfiguration, was attended by Elias and Moses. If the intelligence predominate,

* "The instruments raised up by Almighty God for the accomplishment of His purposes are of two kinds, equally gifted with faith and piety, but from natural temper and talent, education, or other circumstances, differing in the means by which they promote their sacred cause. The first of these are men of acute and ready mind, with accurate knowledge of human nature, and large plans, and persuasive and attractive bearing, genial, sociable, and popular, endued with prudence, patience, instinctive tact, and decision in conducting matters, as well as boldness and zeal." (Newman's *Church of the Fathers, Chap. III., p.* 49, *Fourth Edition.*)

† Which is very exceptional:—

"No: all Heaven's gifts may not be thine at once.
Jove gives to one man skill in feats of war;
One in the dance, one with the lyre excels,
While upon others the far-seeing god
Bestows a prudent mind, whereof the gain
Is reaped by many; and oft it saveth cities;
Yet chiefest gain is his who owns that one
Inestimable gift."

(See Wright's *Iliad, Vol. II., Book XIII., l.* 820—828, *p.* 40.)

we have the great thinkers, the prime-movers of religious thought; if the will be paramount, then we see the man of legislative and practical ability —one who, with instinctive readiness, knows how to seize upon the principles thrown into shape by others, and to turn them sharply to account. Thus two distinct classes of agents are perceptible in the course of ecclesiastical history, sometimes seeming to mingle into one, sometimes standing apart and displaying their distinctive characteristics, but always guiding, with a strong hand, the world in which their lot is cast.*

Thus, on the one hand, we have an Elias, an Origen, a Gregory, a Jerome, a Damascene, a Peter Lombard, a Richard of S. Victor's, a Bonaventure, a Thomas of Aquino—men working out great problems, and creating the thoughts of future generations; on the other, there is a Moses, an Ambrose, a Leo, a Gregory the Great, a Hildebrand, a Boniface—applying those problems and thoughts to the practical realities of active life, and using the principles thrown into shape by the contemplative for advancing, amidst the turmoils of society, the highest interests of the

* The second kind of instrument is described thus :—"Again, there is an instrument in the hands of Providence, of less elaborate and splendid workmanship, less rich in its political endowments, so to call them, yet not less beautiful in its texture, nor less precious in its material. Such is the retired and thoughtful student, who remains years and years in the solitude of a college or a monastery, chastening his soul in secret, raising it to high thought and single-minded purpose; and when at length called into active life, conducting himself with firmness, guilelessness, zeal like a flaming fire, and all the sweetness of pureness and integrity." (Newman's *Church of the Fathers, Chap. III., p.* 50.)

Church. Or if these gifts be combined in unusual proportions, we have, amongst the pagans we may perhaps say, a Thales, an Anaximander, and a Socrates; amongst Christians, a S. Athanasius, a S. Ephrem, a S. Anselm, a S. Chrysostom, and an Albertus Magnus.*

He whose intellect is supreme would seem to belong to the higher order of human greatness; he in whom the will is paramount comes in the rank below. For surely he who fashions the thunderbolt is on a sublimer eminence than he who hurls it: Solon is greater than Crœsus, Pindar is greater than Hieron, Plato is greater than Dionysius, Aristotle is greater than Alexander.

It was not amidst the noise and whirl of secular politics that the great illuminations of the natural order have been given to the world. Look at those centres of philosophic thought which have revolutionized systems as well as states. They were mostly the creation of men who shrunk away from the din of life. The Pythagoreans dwelt in lonely and deserted places; Epicurus taught not

* Thales, at all events, seems to have manifested these two qualities to so great an extent, that some writers deny he was so active, on account of his having been said to have spent his life in solitude, and *vice versa*. "His immense activity in politics," says Lewes, "has been denied by later writers, as inconsistent with the tradition, countenanced by Plato, of his having spent a life of solitude and meditation; while on the other hand his affection for solitude has been questioned on the ground of his political activity. Yet the two things are perfectly compatible. Meditation does not necessarily unfit a man for action; nor does an active life absorb all his time, leaving him none for meditation. The wise man will strengthen himself by meditation before he acts; and he will act, to test the truth of his meditations." (*History of Philosophy, Vol. I., Chap. I.*, § 1, *p.* 4—5. *Third Edition.*)

in the town, but in his famous garden; the Cynics in the Cynosarges; whilst the Stoics frequented solitary groves and silent porticos. If you would hear Aristotle, you will find him walking amidst the gardens, shrubberies, and avenues of the Lyceum.* There you will come upon him, surrounded by the elegant and polished youth of Athens, pouring out amongst them, under the pleasant shade of overhanging boughs, a portion of that lofty wisdom which has since become the common heritage of the civilized world. Or would you listen to the "old man made eloquent," to the austere and melancholy master of the Stagyrite? You must leave the brilliant and shallow sophists in the city, and betake yourself to

> "The olive grove of Academe,
> Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
> Thrills her thick-warbled notes the summer long." †

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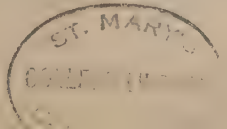
* How love of solitude and nature showed itself in those who devoted themselves to God, in the Church under monastic rule, need not be dwelt upon. S. Basil, S. Benedict, S. Jerome, might be mentioned. Even S. John Chrysostom, who mixed so with men, calls the mountains and woods "the tabernacles of the saints." Hugh of S. Victor's lays down the divine rule thus: "Scrutemur Scripturas, et inveniemus vix unquam Deum in multitudine locutum, sed quotiescunque hominibus innotescere voluit non gentibus et populis, sed vel singulis, vel admodum paucis, et a communi frequentia hominum segregatis, vel per nocturna silentia, vel in campis, vel in solitudinibus et montibus se manifestavit." (*Patrologiæ, Tom. CLXXVI.*, Hugo de S. Victore, *Vol. II., Pars. II., De Arca Morali, Lib. IV., Cap. IV., p.* 668. *Migne.*)

† Cicero thought the groves of the Academy the best place in which to discourse with his friends upon philosophy. The monastic principle points in the same direction:—

> "Semper enim valles, silvestribus undique cinctas
> Arboribus, divus Bernardus, amœnaque prata
> Et fluvios: juga sed Benedictus amabat, et arces
> Cœlo surgentes è quarum vertice latè
> Prospectus petitur, secessum plebis uterque;
> Sacrarum scripturarum studiosus uterque
> Musarum et Phœbi: non quem colit ethnica turba,
> Sed quem Christicolæ natum de virgine credunt."

And such, as a rule, has been also the case with the great scientific minds of the Catholic Church. They have worked out their destiny in solitude. Leaving out of the question natural aptitude—in all large undertakings, if they are to succeed, there must be a division of labour; and even then, after a man has slaved all his life long, he has often to leave his work incomplete, to be finished, like the great cathedrals of the middle ages, by other hands, and by men with other tastes and views. Besides, no great achievement is possible without going through an apprenticeship. Genius does much; but genius without time, opportunity, and unwearying industry, can do little lasting good. Many men who have possessed high qualities for speculation have had few opportunities of displaying them. Many—who would have left to posterity volumes of untold value, full of trains of thought conceived with exact precision and worked out with scientific accuracy—because they have been detained in active occupations, have done little else than record, to the regret of those who came after them, just sufficient evidence of their transcendent talent to make it clear, that had they only had the chance, they would have proved themselves mighty benefactors to the human race.*

* What might not Minutius Felix have done had he been thoroughly trained! yet it must be true that men are placed by Providence in their own special work. Each has his day, and his work to do in it. S. Athanasius, had he had more leisure to write, would not have given to the world so splendid an example of patience and unwearied fortitude; S. John Chrysostom, had he dedicated himself to the severer and more scientific



He then would be fairly considered the king of men who, inheriting high intellectual power combined with indomitable will, should be so fortunate as to find both time and opportunity for bringing to perfection, in the first place, his own intellectual and moral gifts; and, then, that scheme, or work, which he proposes to himself as the one labour of his life.

It is obviously quite possible that a man might possess both time and ability, and yet lack the courage, generosity, or self-sacrifice requisite—first, for initiating some great achievement, and then for carrying it into effect. Many men who had been destined to do some master-work have failed in its accomplishment through sloth, cowardice, or want of perseverance, or from some other moral imbecility.* But with such as these we are not concerned at the present moment. They are only brought forward to be dismissed. We have nothing to do

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methods of teaching, might have lost the beautiful personality of his sermons, his rhetorical and glowing style, which gave him so powerful a sway over Christian minds; S. Jerome, had he not wandered here and there as he did; and S. Ambrose, had he not had to rule in a turbulent time—both these great Fathers, had they been differently placed from what they were, would, in all human probability, have lost rather than have gained.

* In order to do great deeds, men require great gifts. Doubtless nothing is certain on this side the grave, but when men seem to perceive great promise, when the trees of the spring-time are laden with beautiful blossom, they look to a golden harvest. And if blight or frost comes, and eats or shrivels up the fragrant earnest of future gifts, a beautiful design seems to be wantonly destroyed. So with some classes of men—they begin full of lofty aspirations, and often with mighty gifts, but the blight of pride and of the passions brings upon them a premature decay; or they become pinched by the sharp frost of a freezing world, and all their rich covering falls prone to the earth. They have not strength of constitution to bear up against the atmosphere in which they live, or they abuse the measure of grace dealt out to them by the hand of heaven.

with clever cowards, or with the torpidity of intellectual men. We are dealing here exclusively with grand master-minds who take a wide survey over the world's history, who love humanity through their love of God, and who have generously determined to spend, and to be spent, in one life's-work namely: in lifting up man out of darkness and bearing him nearer to the Light.*

And thus we seem to possess a measure by which to guage the height, depth, and breadth of human excellence; a sort of moral and rational machine, by means of which we may discover, not only the absolute weight of one individual, but also the relationships in which many individuals stand towards each other; and, consequently, the different degrees of ethical and intellectual precedence to which each individual is entitled.

But before comparing the great Angelical with "men of renown," it would be well to bring forward the opinions of persons of the highest authority in the Church with regard to his

* What would have become of S. Anselm, had he not possessed a divine courage and stability? or of Boniface VIII. in the days of his trial? or of Gregory VII.? or of S. Thomas of Canterbury, when he had to resist a king? Who does not see a patience fitting to the dark hour in a Paschal, a Gelasius, an Innocent III., and an Innocent IV., in Benedict XII., and Clement VI.? Such are the men who were equal either to encountering or to bearing with their evil day. Or think of Sir Thomas More before Henry VIII., or of S. Athanasius before Julian, S. Ambrose before Theodosius, of S. John Chrysostom before Arcadius! These are the sort of men who do their great work in their day, and by one noble example fix themselves upon the minds of future generations as patterns of heroism and of heavenly nobility and patience.

position.* He who confidently and thankfully follows the verdict of the most illuminated and most august of the Church's servants, indeed, of the Church herself, and simply desires to throw that verdict into clear expression, and to adduce reason for its justice and its truth, will stand little chance of being ensnared into subjective views, or of being carried away by mere emotion.

When a Sovereign Pontiff bears public testimony to the greatness of any man, that testimony carries with it an especial weight. And when his utterance has to do with an eminent teacher; when he who is the shepherd of the flock points out the field, and declares it wholesome food and excellent, then his words, uttered within the limits of his own special illumination, carry with them a conclusiveness beyond those of all other men.

Bacon says that "the mind is not like a plane mirror, which reflects the images of things exactly as they are; it is like a mirror of an uneven surface, which combines its own figure with the

* It has been the practice of biographers of the Angelical—of Touron, Bareille, Werner, and others, to place the portrait of the Angelical in the latter chapters of their *Lives*; and also to treat of the position of the Saint in the order of teachers—inasmuch as they do touch upon such a point at all—at the conclusion of their works. It seems to the present writer far more pleasant to conceive a picture of the Saint *early* in the *Life*, and also to acquire some knowledge of his "position," before coming close to the end, or quite to the end of the Biography; and for this reason: because thus the reader, having as it were seen the man, and knowing who he is, will feel greater interest in him, and will entertain that respect for him which he deserves: as in reading the life of a well-known friend, his image is sweet to the mind, his fame is rich in the heart—not simply at the *end*, but from the *beginning* to the *end* of the volume.

figures of the objects it represents."* And the remark is worthy of the sagacity of such a philosopher. Men are ever mixing their own subjective moods with the objective reality which they contemplate, and a partial distortion is the inevitable result. But if there are any classes of men who reflect the simple truth, and not themselves, those men are emphatically the Roman Pontiffs. Like great polished mirrors, they can be followed by the mind's eye, from Pius up to Peter, through the darkest portions of human history—receiving from above, and ever reflecting upon the world below, a four-fold ray: not that of the Tribe, or the Den, or the Forum, or the Theatre; but of the Good, the Beautiful, the True, and the Just.† And perhaps their reflection has

* Bacon's "distinguishing characteristic is a large opulence of mind, at once massive and florid, wide-sweeping and subtle; and the main source of his influence has been the dignity with which he invested the objective mode of looking at things, a mode liable to degenerate into a creeping prosaism and trivial love of detail, a mode also wanting in the attractions of a facile, though illusory, subjective tendency, but the only mode of reaching truth, and consequently, of securing the solid grandeur of permanent results . . . The splendour of his style gave irresistible power to his ideas. 'Il se saisit tellement de l'imagination,' says M. Rémusat, 'qu'il force la raison à s'incliner, et il éblouit autant qu'il éclaire.'" (Lewes' *History of Philosophy, Vol. II., First Epoch, Chap. II., p.* 121, *p.* 136. *Third Edition.*)

† Bacons' four "Idols" signified the four sources of human error:—The *Idola Tribûs*—Idols of the Tribe, those errors which proceed from a subjective craving after *system*; *Idola Specûs*—Idols of the Den, those errors which spring from individual character; *Idola Fori*—Idols of the Forum, errors which spring from words, and social intercourse; and *Idola Theatri*—Idols of the Theatre, the errors which arise from the contradictory dogmas of different schools. Of these errors most men are more or less guilty, except those whose lofty position secures to them from heaven a corresponding grace and assistance. How little the Pontiffs of Rome have been affected by them, in promoting or eulogizing their subjects, history clearly tells. (For a lucid account of Bacon's theory of errors, see Lewes' *History of Philosophy, p.* 126.)

never been thrown upon the world with greater force than when the thick darkness which encompassed them seemed to lend, by its intensity, an additional lustre to their solitary shining. What then do the Popes, against whom in doctrine there is no appeal, say of the Angelical ?

Pope Clement XII., in a Bull beginning with the words " By the Word of God," makes mention of fourteen Sovereign Pontiffs who, in solemn decrees, have passed magnificent eulogiums on the Angel of the Schools.* It may be remembered in what terms Alexander IV. spoke of him to the Chancellor of the Paris University, when declaring him possessed, through the grace of God, of a treasure of heavenly wisdom. Urban IV. (1261) † and Clement IV. (1267) made use of him as their greatest champion of truth. Gregory X. (1274), in calling him to assist, by his mature experience and theological ability, at the Council of Lyons, declared that the glory of his holiness and wisdom had already spread itself abroad widely in the

* " Un des plus saints, et des plus sçavans Papes qui ayent conduit l'Eglise dans ces derniers siècles, assure que la doctrine de saint Thomas est devenue recommandable à toutes les nations Catholiques, par le témoignage constant, que les souverains Pontifes n'ont cessé de lui rendre : *Constanti summorum Pontificum testimonio orthodoxis commendatum Populis.* Pour se convaincre de la vérité du fait, il suffiroit de jetter les yeux sur la Bulle du Pape Clément XII., qui commence par ces mots, *Verbo Dei.* On y lit d'abord les noms de quatorze Papes, dont les Décrets Apostoliques, et les magnifiques Eloges dont ils sont remplis, doivent etre considérés comme autant de monumens, ou de preuves d'une tradition suivie, et toujours invariable, en faveur de la doctrine de S. Thomas." (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. II., p.* 519.)

† See the *First Volume of this Work, Chap. XXI., S. Thomas made Licentiate, p.* 578, *note ;* also *Bullarium, FF. Ord. Prædicat., Tom. I., p.* 298.

Church of God.* So far for those Sovereign Pontiffs who were contemporaries of the Saint, and who, through their own practical experience, had learned how mighty a power was invested in him. †

But there are other mirrors which reflect with still greater brilliancy the form of truth. Take, for example, some of those Pontiffs who occupied the chair of Peter from the death of S. Thomas to his canonization, that is to say, during a space of nine and forty years.

Innocent V. (1276), a man of high education and a Dominican, who had, as Professor at S. James's, lived in intimate familiarity with the Angelical, and who successively became Archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and, finally, successor to Gregory X., reverenced him as the profoundest master of human thought. The works of S. Thomas were always in his hands. They were his one delight. He made an abridgment of them with his own pen. He defended them with vigour and warmth; cast

* "Le Pape Alexandre conçut dès-lors une telle idée du mérite, de la capacité, et de la doctrine de ce grand homme, qu'il aimoit à en donner des preuves publiques dans toutes les rencontres. . . . Historiens ont remarqué que dans l'espace de peu d'années, ce Pape fit expédier en faveur des Réguliers plus de quarante Bulles, ou Brefs; et nous pouvons ajoûter qu'il n'en est presque aucun, où il ne relève par des louanges particulières la science de Thomas d'Aquin, et la pureté de ses sentimens. . . . Urbain IV. et Clément IV. étoient persuadés que l'intérêt de la Religion, et le bien public qu'ils avoient en vûe, les obligeoient de placer cette grande lumière sur le chandelier." (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. II., p.* 519—520.)

† "Sanctus vero Thomas, quem Pontifex ad concilium acciverat, dum Lugdunum proficiscitur, ultimo correptus morbo in monasterio Fossæ Novæ Ordinis Cistérciensium decumbere coactus est, ibique fato concessit, vitamque mortalem æterna commutavit." (Cabassutii, *Notitia Ecclesiastica Sæculi XIII., an.* 1274, *p.* 516. *Coloniæ: MDCCXXV.*)

his thoughts into the same mould, and studied to acquire their method and their style.* Blessed Benedict XI. (1304), who was also a Dominican, a man in character similar in many ways to our Angelical—gentle, courteous, and refined, and who was beatified by his namesake Benedict XIV.—was in the habit of calling S. Thomas "My Master," and "My Doctor." Pope John XXII. (1323), when some persons, referring to the canonization of the Saint, ventured to suggest that his life had not been illustrated by numerous miracles, exclaimed: "*Tot fecit miracula, quot scripsit articulos*"—that he had worked as many miracles as he had written Articles! and though this expression may be looked on as rhetorical, still it emphatically testifies to the high opinion which he entertained of the Angelical.† His Holiness solemnly declared to Tocco himself (and we have Tocco's own

* "Devenu [Innocent V.] ensuite Archevêque de Lyon, bien-tôt après Cardinal-Evêque d'Ostie, et enfin successeur immédiat de Grégoire X., sous le nom d'Innocent V., il avoit toujours les ouvrages de notre Saint entre les mains. Sixte de Sienne dit qu'il en fit un abrégé. Léandre Albert ajoute qu'il faisoit ses délices de la doctrine de cet Ange de l'Ecole, dont il fut un zélé défenseur, et un Disciple fidèle: *Strictim Thomæ Aquinatis doctrinam complexus est; maximus enim fuerat propugnator et affectator ipsius doctrinæ, qua apprimè delectabatur.*" (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. II., p.* 521.)

† See *Summa Theologica (Edit., Rom., MDCCLXXIII.), De Altitudine Doctrinæ Thomisticæ, p. XIII.* Frigerio puts it thus:—"In prima ci s'offerisce l'encomio singolarissimo, che Giovanni Papa XXII. le diede nella detta Bolla della Canonizatione, quivi asserendo: *Non absque speciali Dei infusione perfecit:* come nella medesima Bolla si legge. E lo stesso così ispirato da Dio raffermò in pieno Concistoro de'Cardinali per testimonianza del celebre Dottore e Cancelliere di Parigi, che quando Tomaso non havesse operato altro miracolo, per riporlo nel catalogo de'Santi, ciascuna quistione di quante egli nell opere sue n'haveva scritte e determinate, che al numero di più migliaia si contavano, era per se stessa un grande e segnalato miracolo dicendo: *Tot miracula fecit, quot quæstiones determinavit.*" *(Lib. I., Cap. VII., n.* 11, *p.* 44.)

testimony to the fact) that the knowledge of S. Thomas must have been miraculously acquired. "He alone, said the Holy Father, has cast greater light within the Church than all other Doctors taken together." And again: "a man would make greater progress in science were he to apply himself to the writings of S. Thomas for a single year, than he would were he to study the teachings of other Doctors during the whole course of his mortal life."

These were not words uttered in private, or in the heat of generous enthusiasm; but gravely, and with caution. They were solemnly pronounced by the supreme judge of doctrine in full consistory; they were applauded by all the Cardinals; and they have since been confirmed by the express testimony of many Popes. And what the Holy Father had said in presence of the Sacred College, he afterwards, in a still more formal manner, promulgated to the Universal Church. In the Bull of canonization, he declares that the Angelical could not have written what he did write without having received a special assistance from on high.*

* See how Frigerio gives the encomiums of different Pontiffs:— "Poscia più altri Pontefici con lor solenni, e bollate lettere, e'l santo Dottore, e la sua dottrina non meno celebrarono; conciosia cosa che Clemente Papa VI. chiamolla eccellente e singolare, Urbano V. benedetta, cattolica da seguirsi e dilatarsi, Pio V. certissima regola della Christiana dottrina, ed approvata dalla Chiesa, come la più sicura, Clemente VIII. celeste, e scritta senza veruno errore, Paolo V. scudo inespugnabile della Chiesa contra degli heretici; ed Alessandro VII. in un suo Breve indirizzato all'Università e teologi di Lovagno, confortagli a seguire gli stabili e sicurissimi dogmi, e come parla la Bolla *inconcussa tutissimaque dogmata*, degli Illustrissimi Dottori Agostino e Tomaso." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. VII., n.* 12, *p.* 44—45.)

Clement VI. (1344), who is said to have been a man of profound learning, and (like S. Thomas) never to have forgotten anything he once had read, and to have had a singularly tender conscience, compares the teaching of the Angelical to the rays of the sun which light up the whole earth; or to a mighty spiritual sword, with which men of powerful arm can slash to pieces the vices and errors of the world. He declared that the works of the Angelical never ceased to bring forth, to the Universal Church, all manner of useful fruits.*

Innocent VI. (1360) is said to have declared that, with the exception of the Sacred Scriptures, the teachings of S. Thomas surpass all others in choice of language, in method of expression, and in accuracy of doctrine; so that he who makes them his own is never found slipping, whilst he who calls them in question, *ipso facto*, lays himself open to suspicion always.† Urban V. (1368), who

* "Clement VI. ne pensoit pas autrement, lorsque dans sa Bulle de 1344. après avoir comparé la doctrine du Docteur Angélique, au rayon du Soleil qui éclaire le monde, et à un glaive spirituel, dont des hommes puissans en œuvres et en paroles, se servent toujours avantageusement pour détruire les vices et les erreurs; il ajoutoit que les Ecrits de S. Thomas, remplis de sagesse et de science, ne cessent point de procurer à l'Eglise Universelle, cette abondance de toutes sortes de fruits, dont la bonne odeur console et réjouit toujours la sainte Epouse de Jesus-Christ: *Ex cujus sapientiæ et doctrinæ scriptis Universalis Ecclesia multiplicem spiritualis ubertatis fructum recolligens, ipsius fructûs odore reficitur incessanter.*" (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. II., p.* 524.)

† See Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. VII., n.* 13, *p.* 45. Touron puts it thus:—"Les paroles, qu'on attribue communément au Successeur de Clement VI. ne sont ni moins énergiques, ni moins glorieuses à notre Saint Docteur, "dont la doctrine plus que toute autre (la canonique seule exceptée) a toute la propriété de l'expression, l'ordre et l'arrangement des matières, et la vérité des principes; en sorte que celui qui s'y attache

was a man of princely mind, declared that S. Thomas had illuminated the whole Church by his works, which were filled with light and with truth. He addressed a Bull to the Archbishop, the University, and the faithful of Toulouse, and especially to the Professors, exhorting them to imitate the virtues of the Saint, and to replenish themselves with his loving spirit. "Calling to mind," says the Pontiff, "that he who has been endowed with such profound knowledge by God, has enlightened the Order of Friars Preachers, and the Universal Church; and that, following in the footsteps of S. Augustine, he has enriched the same Church with a store of erudition; we wish and enjoin you, according to the spirit of these presents, to follow the teaching of the said Br. Thomas, as being true and Catholic, and to use all your endeavours to make it more and more widely known." *

So far for the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth, Nicholas V. (1451), who lived in the days of the great restoration of learning, and who was one of the most active founders of the Vatican Library,

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fidèlement ne s'écarte jamais du sentier de la vérité, tandis que celui qui ose la combattre, doit toujours craindre de tomber dans l'erreur : *Hujus Doctoris sapientia præ cæteris (exceptâ Canonicâ) habet proprietatem verborum, modum dicendorum, veritatem sententiarum, ita ut nunquam qui eam tenuit, inveniatur à veritatis tramite deviasse, et qui eam impugnaverit, semper fuerit de veritate suspectus.*" (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. II., p.* 524; see also the Roman Edition of the *Summa (MDCCLXXIII.)*, which however attributes this saying to Pope Innocent V. (1276); see *Tom. I., De Altitudine Doctrinæ Thomisticæ Prologuium omni veritate subnixum, p.* 13.)

* See *Summa Theolog. (Ed. Rom., MDCCLXXIII.), De Altitud. Doct. Thomist., Probatio III., p.* 13—14.)

declared, in a Brief, to the Dominicans of Toulouse, that the whole Universal Church was illuminated by the teaching of S. Thomas. Pope Pius IV. (1564), speaking to the University of Salamanca, which held the Angelical in highest estimation, refers to the precious fruit which the Church of God has derived, and every day still continues to derive, from "the heavenly doctrine of so great a Doctor." *

So far for the general terms of highest commendation made use of by Sovereign Pontiffs, those Supreme Judges of the Faith, regarding the great Angelical.

Now we come to a most important witness. Pius V. was not only a Sovereign Pontiff, but he is also a canonized saint. Besides his high natural character, the unusual breadth of his exalted mind is a sufficient guarantee that he would never have spoken highly of one who had not justly gained his admiration.† His career, in some

* "Sous le Pontificat de Pie IV. l'Université de Salamanque, qui célèbre tous les ans avec beaucoup de pompe la Fête du Docteur Angélique, dans l'Eglise de S. Etienne, demanda au Saint Siége de nouvelles graces pour rendre toujours plus auguste cette solemnité. Le Pape peu content d'accorder tout ce qu'on demandoit, prit de-là occasion de manifester ses propres sentimens en faveur de la doctrine de saint Thomas, et voulut joindre son suffrage à celui de ses Prédécesseurs, qui l'avoient relevée par les plus hautes louanges: . . . *Ut ad tanti Doctoris, ex cujus sacra doctrina quanti fructus Ecclesiæ Dei pervenerint, et quotidie perveniant, nullus est ferè qui nesciat, sanctissimos mores imitandos, assequendam doctrinam, et festum majori cum devotione celebrandum, quod ad Dei gloriam, et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ bonum cedere dubium non est, avidiùs accendantur, etc.*" (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. III., p.* 526.)

† He was a man of great ability :—"Sa mémoire etait si prodigieuse, que, même après un grand nombre d'années, il reconnaissait une personne à qui il n'avait parlé qu'une seule fois. Cette mémoire se trouvait encore être un don pour les affaires. Aussitôt qu'on lui avait expliqué une vue,

respects, bears a likeness to that of the Angelical: he was virtuous from his infancy; at fifteen, he took the habit of S. Dominic; in 1528, he was ordained priest; and for sixteen years, he taught with great *éclat* in the schools; like the Angelical, he loved prayer, solitude, and to be unknown; like the Angelical, his tears used to flow during the Holy Sacrifice; like the Angelical, it was only with tears, and under a species of compulsion, that he could be brought to take office in the Order—but, unlike S. Thomas, his tears were not attended to. He was consecrated Bishop in 1556; made Cardinal in 1557; and Pope, finally, in 1566. He was a firm, tender, loving man. He could resist the highest and the mightiest when the voice of duty urged. He could gracefully stoop to the lowest acts of humiliation. A burly Englishman was converted at once on seeing that loving Saint bending graciously over the outcast, and kissing his burning, ulcered feet with loving transport.* During his time, Baius was condemned, and the

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un projet, un but d'association, un secret d'accroissement, il entendait à demimot ce qu'on lui disait plus tard sur une des ces affaires; et souvent il redressa ses ministres, qui n'avaient pas un souvenir des choses aussi fidèle." (*Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains*, par Artaud de Montor, *Tom. III., L'an*, 1572, *p.* 282. *Paris*, 1851.)

* As an example of his forgiving and large nature—a certain Spaniard wrote and circulated a bitter slander against the Pope, turning him into ridicule and advancing many indecent accusations. He was condemned to death by the magistrates, and his estates were ordered to be confiscated. The sainted Pope heard of this. He at once granted his libeller a free pardon, and begged of him in future if he found him falling into any fault to make him acquainted with it. This is how large men heap coals of fire on the heads of the narrow and selfish egotism, or on the spiteful unforgiveness, of men made of a coarser and more vulgar clay than themselves.

battle of Lepanto won. Clement X. (1672) beatified him, Clement XI. (1712) canonized him. One can see him now in imagination, with his sweet ascetic face and Greek profile, with his blue eyes and their tender depths full of the love of God and of good-will to men. His head is bald; he has a flowing beard; he seems to stand before the mind's eye a calm and heavenly picture. See him declaring to the world that heresy must be crushed, and that truth must be maintained! With his foot on the dark teachings of Baius, and with his finger pointing to the open *Summa*, he seems to say: "Here is the conquering power, and the light of heavenly truth." *

Nor is this all imaginary. He had not taught in the schools for sixteen years without learning how great a power in the world had been, and still was, and still should be, the great Angelical. He had witnessed how the force of principle contained in the teaching of S. Thomas had been directed against error, and had ground it into powder. He had watched error after error, one heresy and then another, advance boldly against the truth; and one by one he had seen them all either slain outright, or creeping away, maimed

* His energy in reforming abuses, and his firmness with Queen Elizabeth, show of what metal he was made. Then the troubles given by the Calvinists, and by the Socinians, as well as by Baius, point to the stormy theological condition of Europe — all calling for some orthodox manifestation on the other side. These were the days of Mary Queen of Scots, S. John of the Cross, and S. Theresa, S. Philip Neri, S. Camillus of Lellis, S. Pascal Baylon, S. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi, S. Stanislaus Kostka, S. Louis of Gonzaga, and many more.

and wounded, with a broken life—struck by the sharp weapons drawn out of the vast armoury of the Angel of the Schools.* How could he best encourage the champions of the Church to use those weapons? By holding up to their admiration, and placing on the pinnacle of fame, him who forged them, and knew in his day how best they could be wielded.

For this end, S. Pius V. solemnly decreed, in an instrument signed by six-and-thirty Members of the Sacred College, that henceforth the Angel of the Schools should rank as a Doctor of the Universal Church. To the four great Latin pillars of the mighty House of God he had the privilege of adding a fifth pillar.† O of what splendid workmanship are they! how massive their construction! how towering their height! how grandly they seem to support the vast fabric, the spreading dome of the Holy Ark—the house not built with hands,

* How well Touron speaks :— "Comme cette doctrine, si souvent louée par ceux que Jesus-Christ a établis les premiers Juges de la Foi, répandoit tous les jours de nouvelles lumières, et procuroit à l'Eglise de nouveaux triomphes sur ses ennemis, elle recevoit aussi tous les jours des témoignages plus éclatans et de nouveaux titres d'honneur. Dieu toujours admirable dans ses Saints, après s'être servi de ceux qu'il a voulu choisir, pour faire connoître les vérités de la Religion, et pour expliquer aux Fidèles les préceptes de sa loi pour la gloire et la consolation de l'Eglise, fait ensuite servir le témoignage de cette même Eglise, pour faire respecter la sainteté et la doctrine de ceux qu'il lui a donnés pour Pères et pour Docteurs." *(Liv. I., Chap. III., p.* 526—527.)

† De Falloux points out well the state of society which called for a manifestation such as this :—"Le seizième siècle," he says, "fut traversé tout entier par trois politiques bien distinctes : la politique protestante qui s'agite convulsivement dans le désordre intellectuel et social ; le raison d'État des souverains, qui argumente, combat ou plie, selon les chances accidentelles du moment : la résistance de l'Eglise, qui invoque des principes éternels et divines." *(Histoire de Saint Pie V., Tom. II., p.* 248. *Angers,* 1844.)

rooted deep down in the everlasting hills! Taking them in their order: in the midst there stands the sublime Pontiff S. Gregory the Great—a Benedictine Pope, if ever there was one—with his frank, venerable, patriarchal face, representing the supreme governing power of the Church; on the right hand is the stern S. Jerome, ascetical, deep in thought, meditating on the Sacred Word; on the left, the majestic S. Ambrose, pattern of bishops—of bishops who have to live in stormy days, and to control them; next to him comes the royal Bishop of Hippo, S. Augustine, with the sympathy of a S. Paul, with the love of a S. John, and with the fire of a Boanerges.* How mighty is he! He seems to guard them all. But see that princely form approaching. He is being conducted by one wearing the triple crown, a man looking like a priest-king, with his blue loving eyes and flowing beard. The aureola floats around the head of either—it is S. Pius V. placing the great Angelical amongst the Latin Doctors of the Church. S. Augustine and S. Ambrose, S. Jerome and S. Thomas, stand round S. Gregory and guard

* "Dans ce même Decret, que nous trouvons signé par trente cinq Cardinaux, le B. Pontife, soit pour exciter de plus en plus le zèle et la piété des Fidèles, soit pour autoriser davantage un fait des plus glorieux à notre Saint, accorde plusieurs Indulgences à toutes les personnes de l'un et de l'autre sexe, qui visiteront dévotement dans l'Eglise de Saint Dominique à Naples, l'Autel ou la Chapelle de saint Nicolas, dans laquelle, selon le témoignage de l'Histoire, la doctrine du Docteur Angélique a été miraculeusement approuvée par l'Oracle de Jesus-Christ en Croix: *In quo scriptoris Angelici doctrina Salvatoris crucifixi ore (sicut pia testatur historia) mirabiliter probata fuit.*" (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. III., p.* 527—528.)

the See of Peter, and defend, with the "Shield of Faith" and the "Breastplate of Justice," the Ark of the Lord, whilst they attack and put to flight the hosts of the enemy with the swift "Sword of the Spirit."*

Thus it is evident that S. Pius V. fixes the Angelical in a distinct position amongst the Latin Doctors of the Church. S. Francis, in the person of that liberal and magnificent Pope, Sixtus V. (1588), who was versed not only in the poets, but also in theological and philosophical discipline, confirmed the action of his predecessor regarding the Angelical, and declared him to be "the glory of his Order and the ornament of the Church."

Clement VIII. (1603) issued three Briefs in honour of S. Thomas. He says that he speaks not only in his own name, but in the name of the Universal Church, when he makes known to the Christian world what great results have accrued to true religion from the doctrine of the Saint.†

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* Pope Pius, in the Bull "*Mirabilis*," gives his reasons for placing the Angelical in this high position amongst the great Latin Doctors, in these words :—"Quoniam omnipotentis Dei providentiâ factum est, ut Angelici Doctoris vi, et veritate doctrinæ, ex eo tempore, quo cœlestibus civibus adscriptus fuit, multæ quæ deinceps exortæ sunt hæreses, confusæ et convictæ dissiparentur, quod et antea sæpè, et liquidò nuper in sacris Concilii Tridentini decretis apparuit: ejusdem memoriam, cujus meritis orbis terrarum à pestiferis quotidie erroribus liberatur, majori etiam quàm anteà grati, et pii animi affectu colendam statuimus . . . quemadmodum sanctorum quatuor Ecclesiæ Doctorum festivitates." (Vid. *Bullarium, Ord. FF. Prædicat., Tom. V.)*

† After quoting many sayings of the Popes on the Angelical, the *Vita* bursts out thus :—"O gloriosissimo Dottore gloria di tutti i Dottori : O erudimento degli eruditi, e quanto ti si deve dalli Cattolici, poiche i tuoi sensi ch'alle scritture hai dato, ti sono stati dal Cielo rivelati ; Qual lode posso io ritrovare, che pienamente te si convenga? Non dirò altro sol, che tu sei la luce, che per gli oscuri passi delle scritture discorrendo

Paul V. (1607) confirms all that has been done by Clement, and compares the teachings of S. Thomas to a great warrior's shield, which receives and wards off the thrusts and blows made at the Spouse of Christ by the enemies of Salvation.* Alexander VII. (1660) speaks in a similar sense. This Pope lived in cloudy days. The blight of heresy had cankered many promising minds. The Five famous Propositions of Jansenius had to be condemned. A whole school of spreading, corrupting casuistry had grown up into being. The danger had to be met; and the wisdom of him who, if for no other reason, could, on account of his position, see further and more distinctly than any other, found no better way of confronting it than by bringing forth the weapons furnished by S. Thomas.† It was the month of June. The

a guisa di Sole hai quelle illuminate. Ben dunque ti si conviene l'esterior figura, che nel petto porti dipinta del Sole: poiche tu dal divino Sole illuminato hai tutti, noi altri illustrati. Perciò io particolarmente ti prego ti degni supplicare l'altissimo Dio per me, acciò quanto in questo trattato delle virtù s'è detto, sia grato a sua divina Maestà, e che apporti utilità all'anime christiane: e di quanto hò da ragionare della tua santissima vita, sia con ogni fedeltà detto." (See *Vita, p.* 7.)

* Here is a quotation from the Brief, "*Quantum Prodesse,*" of Paul V. (1607):—"Splendidissimi Catholicæ fidei athletæ Beati Thomæ Aquinatis, cujus scriptorum clypeo militans Ecclesia Hæreticorum tela feliciter elidit, honores et venerationem in dies magis magisque augeri, plurimùm in Domino gaudemus, et iis, quæ ad illius honorem devotè sancita sunt, ut firma et illibata permaneant, libenter Apostolicæ firmitatis robur adjicimus."

† In his Brief to the Doctors of Louvain, Pope Alexander speaks thus (1660):—"Non dubitamus quin præ singulari scientiæ, pietatisque studio, sanam et incorruptam, qualem tot Apostolicæ Sedis declarationes, et SS. Patrum traditiones requirunt, doctrinam semper amplexuri, et adversus orthodoxæ Religionis hostes defensuri sitis, nec non præclarissimorum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Doctorum Augustini et Thomæ Aquinatis inconcussa tutissimaque dogmata sequi semper, ut asseritis, ac impense revereri velitis. Quorum profectò sanctissimorum virorum penes catholicos universos ingenia, et omnem laudem supergressa nomina, novi præconii commendatione non egent."

Dominicans had assembled in Rome in General Chapter (1656). The Holy Father took advantage of their meeting. He addressed a Brief to them, and instructed them to select, at once, their most able theologians. And these he commissioned to draw out a work on Morals founded on Thomistic principles—*ex severiori et tuta Sancti Thomæ doctrina*—on the more stern and safe teaching of S. Thomas, to act as a bulwark against the rush and flow of the heaving ocean of corruption. Other Pontiffs might be mentioned, were there not a danger of wearying the reader: Innocent XII. (1694), Benedict XIII. (1724), and Clement XII. (1733), besides many others of a still more recent date.*

And perhaps the two latter should not be passed over with so brief a notice. They seem to sum up, as indeed they formally approve, the teaching of their predecessors regarding the Angelical.

Benedict XIII., that humble Theatine, ruled the Universal Church in times of great danger. The scandals created by the Jansenists were at their height, and there was every appearance of a

* The following are the words made use of by Pope Innocent XII. :—"Apostolicâ vos primùm auctoritate monemus, ut sublatis contentionibus, sapientiæ, quæ desursum atque pacifica est, vacetis profitentes, ut asseritis, doctrinam præclarissimorum Doctorum Augustini et Thomæ: quorum ille tantæ scientiæ fuit, ut inter magistros optimos etiam a nostris prædecessoribus haberetur; et cujus doctrinam, secundùm eorumdem prædecessorum statuta, Romana sequitur, et servat Ecclesia: alter verò eamdem Dei Ecclesiam clarificat, et sancta operatione fœcundat . . . . Hos dum Universitas vestra doctrinæ duces secuta fuerit, securè pugnabit contra hostes orthodoxæ fidei in Ecclesiæ gloriam et ædificationem; excitabitque in dies hanc Apostolicam sedem, ut cumulatiùs ei præstet paternæ charitatis officia." (From the Brief "*Tradidit.*")

schism which might have broken off some fair provinces from the Church. It would seem that whenever any theological calamity greater than usual threatened Christianity, the Roman Pontiffs instinctively turned to the Angel of the Schools for light. Indeed, in this instance, there was strong reason for speaking out upon the teaching of the Saint. He and S. Augustine had been first misunderstood, then misinterpreted, and finally, on the basis of such misinterpretation, recklessly condemned.*

Pope Benedict XIII. felt that, if once the teaching of these two mighty Doctors were compromised, great spiritual confusion would ensue. He deemed it his duty to speak in their behalf with a clear and decided voice. He addressed a Decree to the whole Order of Friars Preachers, opposing the calumnies which had been directed against the theology of S. Augustine and S. Thomas. He tells them that they have no occasion to be astonished if the Thomistic doctrine is assailed, seeing that the Sacred Oracles themselves, and the Apostolical decisions, are called in question every day. He thinks that condition of mind must be a strange one which can accuse the Dominicans of holding errors which the Angelical himself, with clear principle and con-

* It may be recalled that Popes Innocent X., Innocent XI., and Alexander VIII., often issued Apostolical letters establishing Universities or new Chairs of Theology in Europe and America, in which the doctrines of S. Thomas of Aquin were to be taught.

vincing proof, had refuted long before.* "For by a singular grace of the Providence of the Almighty," says the Pontiff, "the solidity and truth of the teachings of the Angelical Doctor have upset, not only those numberless heresies which were rife before his birth, but also those which rose up after his death."

After encouraging the Dominican Fathers to persevere in their ancient doctrine regarding grace and predestination, the Pope says: "Study, without ceasing, the works of your Holy Doctor. Exempt from every sort of error, and more brilliant than the sun, they spread abroad, in the Church of Jesus Christ, the living illuminations of an admirable erudition. Ever faithfully attached to writings which are a secure protection against defection from the Christian faith, continue to defend the holy verities of religion, and the purity of sound morality."† The Holy Father once more compares the teaching of the Angelical to the sun illuminating the whole earth; and refers to the

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* "Il est bien plus surprenant, que par un bizarre travers d'esprit, on ait voulu calomnier votre doctrine, a l'occasion des erreurs que S. Thomas avoit déjà réfutées par des principes très-clairs, et par des preuves les plus convaincantes: car par un singulier effet de la providence du Tout-puissant, la solidité et la vérité de la doctrine du Docteur Angélique ont confondu, non seulement les hérésies sans nombre, qui avoient paru avant sa naissance, mais encore celles qui se sont élevées après sa mort." (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. IV., p.* 532.)

† Touron gives the words thus:—"Ne cessez jamais de vous appliquer à l'étude des Ouvrages de votre S. Docteur; exempts de toute sorte d'erreur, et plus brillans que le Soleil, ils répandent dans l'Eglise de Jesus-Christ les vives lumières d'une érudition admirable. Toujours fidèlement attachés à des Ecrits, qui sont une règle très-sûre pour ne se jamais écarter de la doctrine chrétienne, continuez a défendre les vérités saintes de la Religion, et la pureté de la saine morale." *(Liv. V., Chap. IV., p.* 533.)

marvellous manner in which his principles are capable of confronting the newest errors of the day.* He continues: "We confirm, by our Apostolical authority, and after mature deliberation, all the constitutions, letters, or briefs which our predecessors have issued on the same subject; and we renew them, in as far as is necessary, by the Brief which has just been published." †

If Pope Benedict had to withstand schism and the Jansenists, his successor, Clement XII. (1730—1740), had to deal with the Freemasons and Voltaire. A severe, just, and liberal man, a lover of the poor and of Christian art, he did not forget the highest interests of religion; and seemed to feel, like so many of his eminent predecessors, that to increase the honour of the Angelical would be to strengthen the principles of truth, and to confirm the teachers of the Church in solid and splendid learning.

Indeed, the Pontiff clearly states as much in his celebrated Bull beginning "*Verbo Dei.*" He says that, when the corruption of false dogma

* "Æquum vero erat, ut Angelica doctrina tanti Doctoris non vulgaribus efferretur encomiis, quæ solis instar mundum universum illustrans uberrima christianæ Ecclesiæ bona peperit, paritque in dies singulos multiplici fructu, supremo Apostolicæ sedis magisterio adversùs quoscumque veteres ac recentes errores, quos revincit fidissime famulans." (From the Bull "*Pretiosa.*")

† "Luculentius verò æstimationis argumentum in ipsam S. Thomæ doctrinam nunc edituri, quo magis magisque Prædicatorum Ordo, cæterique orthodoxi, ac veri ipsius sectatores ad illius sinceram et tutam professionem inflammentur, prædictas omnes et singulas decessorum nostrorum constitutiones, litteras, seu ut vocant Brevia, nec non omnia et singula in eis contenta, supremâ quâ fungimur auctoritate, motu, scientiâ et deliberatione præmissis comprobamus, et rursus, quatenus opus fuerit, cum ipsismet editis nuper a nobis litteris innovamus." (*Ibidem.*)

spreads abroad in every direction, and imperils Catholic Faith and the morality of Christians whom the Lord has confided to his care, then, it becomes specially his duty to hold up to admiration those Doctors who have been eminent for knowledge and piety, and to popularize that teaching which, being wholly founded on Scripture and tradition, treats of faith and morals in a solid fashion, equally adapted to form worthy ministers of the Church, and to secure the salvation of souls.* "It is on this account that the Sovereign Pontiffs, our predecessors," he continues, "have always singled out B. Thomas of Aquino, known by the glorious title of the 'Angelical Doctor.' The just praise which they have often bestowed upon him in their decrees, proves clearly enough what their feelings were. In the very lifetime of S. Thomas, Pope Alexander IV. admired the treasure of science with which Heaven had enriched him.† His successors

* Touron remarks thus :—"Clement XII. à joindre son suffrage à celui de ses Prédécesseurs, et à rendre un nouveau témoignage de la tradition du Saint Siége, &c. La Bulle que Sa Sainteté donna le vingt-huitième d'Août mil sept cens trente trois, est encore entre les mains de tous les Fidèles ; il suffit de la lire pour se convaincre par ses propres yeux, que le souverain Pontife ne pouvoit parler d'une manière plus décisive, pour donner à la doctrine de notre Saint toute l'autorité qu'elle mérite ; ou pour mettre hors de doute celle dont la possession lui étoit déjà assurée depuis plusieurs siècles. Voici les paroles du S. Père ; elles n'ont point besoin de commentaire." (*Liv. V., Chap. IV., p.* 535.)

† Vid. *Bullarium, Ord. FF. Prædicat., Tom. I., p.* 298 ; also, *Vol. I., Chap. XXI., p.* 578, *of this work.* See, for general information on this head, Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. VII., p.* 39—50 ; also, Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel, p.* 871—875 ; *La Somme Théologique de Saint Thomas,* par M. l'Abbé Drioux, *Tom. I., Introduction,* § *II., p.* 16—25 ; also Hieronymus Vielmius, *De D. Thomæ Aquinat. Doctrina et Scriptis, Lib. II., p.* 123—128. *Brixiæ, MDCCXLVIII.*

thought and spoke in a similar strain: John XXII., Clement VI., Urban V., Nicholas V., Pius IV., Blessed Pius V., Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Paul V., Alexander VII., Innocent XII., and Benedict XIII., all have approved S. Thomas in the same way. They loved to put him in the sacred *fasti* of the Church, and to rank him amongst such great Doctors as S. Gregory, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome."* Then, expressing his ardent desire to be counted amongst the number of those who had done so much for the Angelical, the Pope declares that all those privileges which properly belonged to universities and houses of general study should, through the plenitude of his Apostolic power, be extended for the future to all schools and colleges of the Dominicans not situate in an University town. One simple condition was exacted: that the students should study theology for three years, and follow the course prescribed by the General of the Friars Preachers. After they had proved their efficiency by an examination, the Doctor's Cap, or the Licentiate, or the Bachelorship, or any other degree, could be freely and lawfully conferred

* Frigerio gives the authority of Diego Morales to the following effect:—"Fecero mentione fin da passati secoli del detto sermone alcuni non meno autorevoli, che antichi teologi, oltre più altri recati da Diego Morales nel libro intitolato: *Laus Divi Thomæ.* Fu per tanto dal medesimo Pontefice alla sapientia di Salomone la dottrina di S. Tomaso antiposta, come quella, che ristrinse in maraviglioso modo il pretioso e'l vago de'quattro sommi Dottori, la moralità di S. Gregorio, la copiosa facondia di S. Ambrogio, la sottigliezza di San'Agostino, l'eruditione di S. Girolamo, la teologia del Nazianzeno, la filosofia d'Aristotele, la politica di Platone, &c." *(Lib. I., Cap. VII., n.* 14, *p.* 45—46.)

upon them. "We wish moreover," adds the Sovereign Pontiff, "that these degrees should rank with those which are solemnly granted to the students of our principal college and academy of the Roman 'Sapienza.'" The Bull, after according further privileges, ends by declaring that nothing can invalidate or annul the action taken by the Holy See. This Instrument was followed by a Brief, stating that the Pontiff confirmed and approved anew, all the eulogiums and approbations which he and his predecessors had passed upon the doctrine of S. Thomas and the Thomistic school.*

At the risk of wearing out the reader, I have brought forward these clear testimonies of the supreme authority in the Church, respecting the position and merits of S. Thomas of Aquino. The Sovereign Pontiffs are placed too high, and sweep with too wide a range the plane of theological teaching, to be seduced by party bias, or by mere subjective feeling. Their voice is unmistakable. From the time when the Angelical, as a boy, stood, with his mother and his two rough soldier-brothers, before the Holy Father and his assembled court,

* The Church herself speaks thus of the Angelical's teaching :—"La santa Chiesa Catholica Romana, la quale non ha mai errato nè può errare per essere dallo Spirito Santo guidata, e gouvernata, ha sempre approvato la dottrina di S. Tomaso in tutti i consegli, cioè nel conseglio fatto a Vienna, in Firenza, nel Conseglio Laterano, e Tridentine, ne i quali Consegli fù sempre seguitata la dottrina di san Tomaso ; nè cosa veruna fù determinata, che non fosse a quella conforme : e perciò la santa Chiesa canta, e dice :—Alma mater Ecclesia Christi fundata sanguine sceptra conscendit grandia novi Doctoris lumine. Stilus brevis, grata facundia, celsa firma sententia, &c." (*Vita, p.* 5.)

and begged to be permitted to follow Christ in poverty, and to live unknown*—from Innocent IV. to Benedict XIII., we find one Sovereign Pontiff echoing the voice of the other, the voice becoming clearer and the echo more articulate as it approaches the present day. The gentle boy, so serenely explaining the high heroism of his heart, becomes "the Prince of Theologians," the "Angel of the Schools," "another Solomon," "the glory of his Order and the ornament of the Church," "a Sun illuminating the universal Church," "a mighty Sword dividing heresies," "a master and guide in Christian doctrine," "exempt from all errors," "more brilliant than the Sun,"† "ranking with S. Gregory, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Jerome;" "who himself alone has cast a greater illumination on the Church than all other Doctors taken together," and "from whose teaching greater advantage may be gained in one year, than would be derived from the writings of any other teachers were they to be studied during an entire life-time."

* See *Vol. I., Chap. VI., p.* 113—114. This seems to have been a crisis in the career of the Angelical. Had he given way under the pressure, his whole life would have been cast into another channel. But his firmness, whilst it saved him, drew upon him the attention of the Pontiff and his Court; and from that day forth, "Rome" never seems to have lost sight of the strong, meek, and profound young Thomas of Aquino.

† Here are some of the terms used by different writers regarding the greatness of the Angelical:—"Scholasticorum Vexillarius," "Nostræ Theologiæ Flos,"—"Quidam, *in eo nihil esse infirmum asserit, nihil mediocre; sed totum summum, et totum perfectissimum. Alius longo eum divinitatis haustu compotem dicit.* Plerique omnes, *Angelicum.* Alii ingeniosissimum, eruditissimum, et cui in palæstra, et exercitatione Scholastica nemo proximus sit; ejusque copiosissimam, solidam, et incredibilem doctrinam semper se prædicasse, et laudasse sponte sua fatentur. Quemadmodum et nonnulli, qui *ætatem illam nihil eo doctius tulisse nihilque religiosius vidisse scribunt.*" (Hieronymi Vielmii, *de D. Thomæ Aquinat. Doct. et Scriptis, Lib. II., p.* 127.)

The force of this testimony is cumulative. The Bull of canonization of any saint speaks with generous terms of his sanctity and works. But here we have a cloud of witnesses, bright-shining with the glow of the Sun of Truth and Justice on them, witnesses of the highest order, and speaking with the gravest responsibility, and trumpeting forth their verdict, like the Angels of God, to the four quarters of the earth.

How could the opinion formed by the Supreme Pontiffs concerning the Angelical, and then stamped by them on the intellect of the Church, be better thrown into expression than by declaring him to be the Centre of the scholastic system, a Prince amongst theologians, and the Angel of the Schools? *

What the Popes have taught, councils have confirmed. Bishops, theologians, universities, and schools would naturally be guided by the voice of supreme authority in the momentous matter of theologic truth. The mind of the Angelical would gradually seal itself on the most powerful intelligences in the Church. Men would feel that he

* It may possibly be objected that, after all, the words of the Roman Pontiffs regarding the Angelical are rhetorical, and therefore should not be taken in a strict and literal sense. To this the answer seems to be simple, viz.: that whether rhetorical or not, the Popes were speaking in the style of the Holy See, and had the intention of conveying *some* meaning. Comparing one piece of rhetoric with another, taking the words at their lowest, the language made use of regarding the Angelical points steadily in one direction, and issues in one end, viz., that he was held by a series of able Pontiffs to be the "Prince of Theologians." If such strong language, uttered by so many Popes, can be shown to have been used of any other, then, the state of the present case would change. But can it be shown? It would seem not.

had been gifted with a singular power of grasping the spirit of the Church, and with an unrivalled skill in displaying it in a scientific form. His very genius would tell upon the mind of many ages, and educate the theological temper of many schools.* Just as the "blind man who lived in steep Chios," by his high poetic genius, and the music of his verse, at length, after he had been taken away, came to live in the heart and imagination of the Grecian people, moulding their minds to noble deeds, and fashioning their hearts to martial enterprises; or as Shakespeare, and Dryden, and Scott, and Gibbon, and Pope, and Johnson, as each of these in his measure has lent his colour to, and impressed his tone on, the English literature of the present day, steeping it in a dye which adds to its richness, or lending it a flexibility and suppleness which it seemed to want before;—just as in literature, so is it in theology: † the

* See, for example, how wonderfully the genius of Plato coloured the speculations of the Fathers of the Church. Study the broad splendid mind of S. Augustine. Plato's elevation, logic, and poetry (though Plato spoke against the art) seem to live in the intellect and fancy of the great Bishop of Hippo, elevated, and purified, and rectified by Christianity. Then see S. Augustine himself. What Sir W. Hamilton said of Aristotle can truly, in a modified sense, be said of him:—"His seal is upon all the sciences, and his speculations have, mediately or immediately, determined those of all subsequent thinkers." Plato and Aristotle, in the Pagan world, and S. Augustine and S. Thomas, in the Christian, seem to have had no rivals in their mastery over mind.

† Men cannot escape the power that is upon them. They must breathe the atmosphere created before they were born. They must acknowledge and bend to that which is greater than themselves, and which finds them out and takes possession of them, whether they will or no. "Whether we will or no, the phraseology and diction of Shakespeare, of the Protestant formularies, of Milton, of Pope, of Johnson's Tabletalk, and of Walter Scott, have become a portion of the vernacular tongue, the household words of which perhaps we little guess the origin, and the very idioms of our familiar conversation." (Newman's *Lectures on University Subjects*, § *III.*, *p.* 91—92.) If so it is with literature, so, also, in a parallel way is it in the schools. What Pope has been to poetry, that S. Thomas has been, and much more, to theological speculation.

master-mind asserts itself in every generation, and its influence, like some delicate aroma, diffuses itself gradually abroad, and lends a special character and fragrance to wide and divers fields of thought, spreading like the odour of the jessamine about a field of flowers. Whatever is mighty or lovely in nature, art, or man, will, in spite of all its enemies, like the law of gravitation, finally assert itself, and force men to acknowledge its importance. Whatever good there is in this world, though it may have to bide its time, will, in the long run, go for what it is intrinsically worth.*

So with the great Angelical. The Roman Pontiffs simply did for him what would have been done for Homer, or Shakespeare, or Dante, or Goethe, had there been in the republic of letters an unerring judge of merit in high poetic art. But since no such potentate exists, these great masters have had to ebb and flow, to rise and fall, to be driven hither and thither with the popular wave; till, finally, they have found their proper place, and are now fixed, rock-like, in the hearts and intellects of nations, as the great masters of all that is sweetest in song, and majestic

* This is a great principle, a sort of law of natural justice—each thing finds its own level. Men, in this respect, are like water. What is hollow may for a time ascend, indeed, go up all the faster from being hollow, but it will not remain on high for any length of time. Its time comes, and it collapses and falls to the earth, into which it perishes. The Angelical knew his place, and took it; when a man has found his place, and has strength of mind and grace to bide in it, then he is in his vocation, and is a man of power. He stands on *terra firma*, and knows to what he has to trust. Vanity and ambition bear men away from port into the open perils of the sea. How many have foundered with all sail set!

and beautiful in verse.* The divine prudence of the Church does not leave man to himself in matters of momentous spiritual interest. Religion and faith may not be trifled with. A supernatural instinct is required here. It is the high office of the Church to point out the teachers, and to settle the classics of theology. She is the strong mother of men, and knows her own with a mother's instinct. She is never at a loss. Refined by a supernatural culture; elevated in taste and in temper by continual contact with all that is pure and true; certain of her position; luminously conscious of her own supernatural policy;† reaching from end to end sweetly yet mightily; and in her majestic bearing and her imperial advance, as she passes on from age to age, she recognizes her true champions, and through the different eras of her history singles them out amongst all her children, and with an expression of graceful triumph crowns them with glory as the pillars of

* Think of the influence exerted by Hesiod, and by Euripides, whose verses were, even during the lifetime of their author, the delight of the Athenians. Will Horace and Virgil ever be displaced? Who will ever take Shakespeare's place, or supplant Milton, or blot out the genius of Pope—whatever we may think of his personal character? Is not the fame of these embedded in the hearts of cultured men, so that it can never be expunged?

† If even man, with all his darkness and passion, has his light, how much more then must not man's Guide possess an illumination?—"Dans une lumière supérieure nous voyons les règles invariables de nos mœurs, et nous voyons qu'il y a des choses d'un devoir indispensable. . . . Ainsi un homme de bien laisse régler l'ordre des successions et de la police aux lois civiles; mais il écoute en lui-même une loi inviolable, qui lui dit qu'il ne faut faire tort à personne. L'homme, qui voit ces vérités, par ces vérités se juge lui-même, et se condamne, quand il s'en écarte. Ou plutôt, ce sont ces vérités qui le jugent, puisque ce n'est pas elles qui s'accommodent aux jugements humains, mais les jugements humains qui s'accommodent à elles." (Vid. Bossuet's, *Traité de la Connaissance de Dieu, Chap. IV.*)

her throne. Ignatius and Clement, Justin and Irenæus, Gregory and Cyprian, Basil and Augustine, Epiphanius and Cassian, Climacus and Boethius, Sophronius and Ildephonsus, Damascene and Bede, Nicephorus and Alcuin, follow one another, until we come upon such great mediæval luminaries as Anselm, Bernard, Thomas, and Bonaventure.* There they stand out in the East and in the West, as far as the eye can see, those mighty men, like flaming lights burning one beyond the other in the distance, till at last they seem lost to sight amidst the glories of the Resurrection—of Christ rising from the tomb. With her Popes ruling and guiding her, with her Doctors explaining and supporting her, with her hosts of brave men joyfully shedding their blood in defence of her, or showing forth her loveliness in the practice of their lives, with such majesty in her movements, with such nobility in her mien, and with so much beauty sweeping her train, the radiant Spouse of our gracious Saviour, the sweet Mother of men, like the day-spring takes possession of the earth,

* S. Ignatius, *M. Ep. Ant.*, A.D. 107; S. Clement, *Rom. Papa Epistolas suas græcè scripsit ob.* A.D. 101; S. Justinus, *M. ob. c. a.* 166; S. Irenæus, *Ep. Lugdun. opera sua græce scripsit, ob. a.* 202; S. Gregorius Thaumat. *c. a.* 265; S. Cyprianus, *Ep. et M. a.* 261; S. Basilius, *M. Ep. Cæsar. Capad. a.* 379; S. Augustinus, *Ep. Hippon. a.* 431; S. Epiphanius, *a.* 403; Cassianus, *Monach. c. a.* 434; Jo. Climacus, *Abbas, c. a.* 550; Boëthius, *Philos. a.* 524; S. Sophronius, *Ep. Hieros. c. a.* 650; S. Ildephonsus, *Ep. Tolet., a.* 669; S. Jo. Damascenus, *Mon. a.* 754; Beda Venerabilis, *a.* 735; S. Nicephorus, *Ep. Cptanus, a.* 828; Alcuinus, *Diac., a.* 804; S. Anselmus, *Ep. Cantuar., a.* 1109; S. Bernardus, *Ab. Claræval., a.* 1153; S. Thomas Aquinas, *Ord. Præd., a.* 1274; S. Bonaventura, *Ord. Minor., a.* 1274.

and pours out upon every creature a portion of her benediction. Her advance is secure with a Divine security. She is taught of heaven in whom she may confide. She knows how large, how pure, his heart must be who is to defend her truth, to expand her teaching, and to promote her glory. Never once has she slipped, never once has she ignored or passed by an instrument fitted to her purpose. Origen was a mighty master of human thought; Tertullian was a strong athlete, full of the fierce fire of an eloquent spirit; Lactantius, Eusebius, and Theodoret were able men: but she did not choose any of these, though she still made use of them:—she surrounded herself with S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*, and S. Chrysostom; with S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Augustine, and S. Gregory the Great; with S. Bernard, S. Bonaventure, and S. Thomas of Aquino.*

When she points out the Angelical as the prince of scientific theologians, and entrusts to his keeping the deep mysteries of her life; when she

* The four great Doctors of the Latin Church were elevated to their high position by Pope Boniface VIII., in 1298: S. Ambrosius, *Ep. Mediolan.* (397); S. Hieronymus, *Presb.* (420); S. Augustinus, *Ep. Hippon.* (431); S. Gregorius, *M. Papa* (604). Then there are the Greek Doctors:—S. Athanasius, *Patr. Alex.* (*obiit*, 373); S. Basilius, *M. Ep. Cæsar. Capad.* (379); S. Gregorius Nazianz. (389); S. Jo. Chrysostomus (407). More recently the following have been made Doctors:—S. Hilarius, *Ep. Pictav* (368), *ex Decreto Pii IX., Mart.* 29, 1851; S. Petrus Chrysologus, *Ep. Raven.* (450); S. Leo, *M. Papa* (440), *ex Bulla Benedicti XIV.*, 1754; S. Isidorus, *Ep. Hispal.* (636); S. Petrus Damianus, *Card.* (1072), *ex Decreto Leonis XII.*, 1828; S. Anselmus, *Ep. Cantuar.* (1109); S. Bernardus, *Ab. Clarævul.* (1153), *ex. Dec. Pii VIII.*, 1830; S. Thomas Aquinas, *Ord. Præd.* (1274), *ex Const. Pii V. an.*, 1567; S. Bonaventura. *Ord. Minor.* (1274), *ex Const. Sixti V., an.* 1588; S. Alphonsus Liguori (1787), *Ep. S. Agath., ex Decreto Pii IX., Mart.* 23, 1871.

confidently hands over to his training the children of her womb, those who have been bought with the life-blood of the Bridegroom, and redeemed by the humiliations of the Cross; when she confides to his skill the issue of her high cause against the powers of earth and the legions of hell—then, surely, there is no extravagance in looking upon him as one of the most able exponents of her mind, and as one of the most successful champions who have taken up arms in her defence.*

It is but natural, then, since the Angelical has been so highly placed by the Sovereign Pontiffs, and has been so trusted by the Church, that his influence should continually make itself evident in matters of theology, especially when objections have to be met, truths expanded, and enemies reconciled. Pope Clement XII. tells us how his teachings have been held in reverence by Œcumenical Councils. Pope Gregory X. looked upon the Saint as the great Latin champion

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* How jealous the Great Mother is of her children, how she scrutinizes and sifts their motives and their actions before she places them close to her side, is clear from her constant practice in elevating them to the honours of the Doctorate of the Universal Church:—"L'Eglise se montrait très-difficile dans la collation de ce titre d'honneur; elle l'a refusé à plusieurs écrivains célèbres qui avaient rendu à l'Eglise de signalés services, tel que Tertullian, Origène, Lactance, Eusèbe, évêque de Césarée, Théodoret, évêque de Cyr, &c., uniquement parce que, malgre leur valeur littéraire et leur piété, ces auteurs, n'ont pas constamment et partout expliqué et défendu la doctrine chrétienne selon l'esprit de l'Eglise. On ne leur a donné que le titre d'auteurs ecclésiastiques, *scriptores ecclesiastici*, et on ne les a traités que comme de savants témoins." (*Manuel de Patrologie, par* Alzog, *trad. par Bélet*, § 2, *p.* 3.)

against the Greeks.* The power of his logic, through its precision and its force, was as greatly prized by the orthodox as it was dreaded by the heretic. His spirit survived in his children; and it seemed to come forth and manifest itself with remarkable distinctness in the person of John of Montenigro, Provincial of the Dominicans in Lombardy, during the Council of Florence in the Pontificate of Pope Eugenius IV.

John of Montenigro had been selected out of the whole army of Catholic theologians and Doctors to accomplish a most difficult task. He was considered the most able controversialist of that day. The subtlety and learning, the passions and the prejudices of the Greeks had to be confronted. Truth had to be advanced, error combated successfully, minds conciliated. The intricate and difficult question of the Procession from the Father and Son, with the whole array of reasons and authorities on both sides, had to be sifted, adjusted, and explained.† To write a treatise, or to publish a

* "Quand il s'agit de convoquer le second concile de Lyon, le pape Grégoire X. adressa un bref particulier à saint Thomas d'Aquin, qu'il regardait avec raison comme le premier docteur de son siècle. On espérait beaucoup de ses lumières pour convaincre les Grecs de schisme et d'hérésie, et les ramener à l'unité. Mais ce grand homme mourut sur ses entrefaites." (Drioux *La Somme Théologique, Introd., p. XVII.*; see also Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte, Sechster Band, Achtunddreissigstes Buch*, § 676, *p.* 115.)

† Touron speaks of the Provincial thus:—"On y verra que Jean de Mont-Noir, Provincial des Dominicains de Lombardie, qui eut l'honneur de parler dans plusieurs Sessions pour expliquer la doctrine catholique, prouva si clairement par l'Ecriture et la Tradition, par le texte même des Pères Grecs, aussi-bien que par d'excellentes raisons Théologiques, que le Saint-Esprit procédoit du Père et du Fils; qu'il recevoit l'Estre de l'un et de l'autre, comme d'un seul principe, et par une même opération, qu'il

book, is comparatively an easy task. Here, mind had to meet mind, sword cross sword; a duel had to be fought on a question of cardinal importance, in presence of the most august assembly in the world. John of Montenigro would want all the caution, readiness, and wide reading of a S. Thomas, all his dialectical skill, for achieving any substantial advantage. Whatever was the breadth of his acquirements, he came off with complete success. He followed the advice so often given by the Roman Pontiffs, and had thoroughly mastered the mind of one great man—and that one man was the Angel of the Schools. He drew his weapons from the *Opuscula* and the *Summa*, and, as if filled with the spirit of his master, he entered the arena with the Greeks. In vain that shrewd, able, and headstrong Mark of Ephesus exerted all his power and exhausted all his skill.* The luminous words of Scripture, the steady voice of tradition, the force of theological reason, and

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mit les Schismatiques hors d'état de repliquer. Tout ce que Marc d'Ephèse avoit objecté contre cet article de notre Foi, ce sçavant Théologien le réfuta avec tant de force et de solidité, qu'il réduisit plusieurs fois au silence ce Prélat le plus ardent, et le plus opiniâtre des Grecs." *(Approbat. de la Doct. De S. Thomas, Liv. V., Chap. VI., p.* 543.)

* "Le disciple de Saint Thomas répondit parfaitement aux vœux du Pape, et à l'attente de tout le Concile. Il établit de nouveau le dogme catholique sur plusieurs textes de l'Evangile, selon qu'ils avoient été entendus par les anciens Pères, qui avoient précédé le schisme de Photius, et dont la doctrine avoit été dès-lors reçue comme orthodoxe par toutes les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident. Reprenant ensuite tout ce que Marc d'Ephèse, et les autres Grecs avoient jusqu'alors proposé contre cette vérité; ce sçavant Théologien fit remarquer après saint Thomas, que parmi les Pères Grecs, qui ont parlé de la procession du Saint-Esprit, il y en a plusieurs qui ont dit expressément, qu'il procéde du Père et du Fils; d'autres, qu'il procéde du Pere *par* le Fils; quelques-uns, qu'il procéde *du* Fils, et *par* le Fils: ce qui fait le même sens toujours catholique." *(Loco Citato.)*

the emphatic words of S. Basil and of many other Fathers of the Grecian Church, all thrown into the form of Thomistic defence, were too powerful to be resisted even by the combined sagacity and energy of the other side. The keen and obstinate Mark of Ephesus himself was more than once silenced by the overpowering logic of the Dominican.*

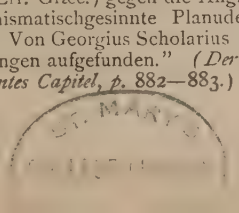
John of Montenigro committed his argument to writing, and placed a copy of it in the hands of the western and eastern bishops, and of their respective theologians. Thus they had an opportunity of weighing and studying it at their leisure. They discovered in it simply an expansion of the teaching of the Angelical. And so great an influence did it eventually exert upon the assembled Fathers, that many of the Greeks, who ardently desired the pacification of the Church, renounced their error, and heartily embraced the Latin doctrine. The celebrated Cardinal Bessarion, and George Scholarius, afterwards Patriarch of Constantinople, wished for an amicable understanding. Mark of Ephesus alone stood out. And finally the cele-

* In Harduin, John is introduced thus :—"Itaque feria secunda, mensis Martii die secunda, convenit iterum sessio œcumenica Florentiæ. Cumque præcedisset Papa, absentibus ob valetudinem Imperatore nostro, et patriarcha : (exceptis enim illis omnes convenimus :) et ceteri ordine consedissent, aggressus est disputationem hieromonachus quidam nomine Joannes, philosophus Latinorum, et dialecticæ peritissimus. Hic ubi surrexisset, et sese venerationis causa inclinasset, interrogavit Græcos disputatione concisa, qua ratione calumnientur Spiritus Sancti processionem ex Filio. Instituit vero sermonem suum in hunc modum." (See Harduin, *Tom. IX., Concil. Floren., Sessio XVII. C., p.* 190.) Then follows an account of the controversy, well worth reading on account of the great skill manifested by John of Montenigro. *(p.* 190—310.)

brated Profession of Faith was signed by the assembled Fathers. They gave each other the kiss of peace, and solemnly returned thanks to the Almighty for having carried them so far towards a reconciliation.

The influence of the Angelical was not lost upon the Greeks. They received an impulse to make themselves masters of his works. They were already acquainted with the *Summa*, in the form of a translation by Demetrius Cydonius, or, as some affirm, by Maximus Planudes.* They also possessed copies of the "*Contra Gentiles*," and of the Tractate against their own theology. Gennadius, in the midst of all the anxieties of his Patriarchate, and during the tumultuous time of war, found leisure for translating many of the works of the Angelical for the benefit of Eastern theologians. Cardinal Bessarion—who preferred the tranquillity of a foreign land to the contentions and uncertain atmosphere of his native home—like many of his fellow-countrymen, enriched his library with the writings of the Angel of the Schools.

* During the lifetime of the Angelical, his work, *Contra Gentes*, was translated both into Hebrew and into Greek; and most probably his tract, *Contra Errores Græcorum* also. William Bernardi of Gaillac, who died in 1298, soon after the Saint's death, translated several of his works into Greek; but which they were is doubtful. Werner says:—"Von Demetrius Cydonius, einem zur Lyoner Union sich bekennenden Griechen (um 1357) existirt eine Uebersetzung der *Summa contra Gentes*, so wie der Opusc. III. und LXIV. [Roman Edition]; eben so eine Vertheidigung des Opusc. I. (Contr. Err. Græc.) gegen die Angriffe des Cabasilas. Vor ihm übersetzte der schismatischgesinnte Planudes (um 1327 blühend) die *Summa Theologica*. Von Georgius Scholarius . . . hat man gleichfalls mehere Uebersetzungen aufgefunden." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Siebentes Capitel, p.* 882—883.)



Touron speaks of a large quantity of MSS. belonging to the library of the Cardinal, all of them being translations of "S. Thomas," which were extant at his day at Venice in the library of S. Mark's.*

Other services rendered by the writings of the Saint, did space permit, might be spoken of at length. For instance, at the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Bâle, the Angelical was represented by the learned Doctors of his Order. Eight Dominican theologians, headed by their General, and penetrated with the spirit of the *Summa*, illuminated the Council of Pisa by their wisdom. Louis of Valladolid, and John of Podomitis, impressed the Fathers of Constance with the depth of their theologic lore; whilst John of Ragusa, Nicholas Jacquier, and Henry Kalteisen, in the great assembly at Bâle, above all others proved how great a light may be cast upon delicate matters of theology by those who possess a wide and scientific knowledge of the faith.†

The learned Cardinal de Cusa was no less

* "Ceux d'entre les Grecs, qui avoient paru les plus zélés pour l'union, et qui pour cette raison aimèrent mieux s'arrêter en Italie, que de s'exposer à l'inconstance, et à la fureur des Schismatiques d'Orient, ne furent pas moins attentifs à enrichir leurs Bibliothèques, ou leurs Cabinets, de plusieurs Ouvrages du Saint Docteur, qu'ils firent traduire en Grec: ou peut en juger par le grand nombre de ceux qu'on voit encore à Venise, parmi les Manuscrits du Cardinal Bessarion." (Touron, *Approbat. de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. V., Chap. VI., p.* 546.)

† After making mention of these Theologians, Drioux says:—"Le célèbre chancelier Gerson fit d'ailleur paraître l'estime toute particulière qu'il avait pour le saint docteur, dans un discours qu'il prononça au concile de Bâle 'Que nos adversaires dit-il, se gardent bien de préférer leurs idées aux sentiments et à la doctrine de saint Thomas et des autres saints docteurs dont l'autorité est si respectée dans l'eglise qu'il n'est point permis de combattre ce qu'ils enseignent d'un commun accord.'" (See *La Somme Théologique, Tome Premier, Introd., p. XIX.*)

favourable to the Saint. He was sent by Pope Nicholas V. into Germany to revive the ecclesiastical spirit of the clergy. He presided as Papal Legate at a Council held at Cologne in 1452. And his view of the best method of effecting his purpose is intimately bound up with the reputation of S. Thomas. He strongly and emphatically recommended the teachings of the Saint. "We approve and highly esteem," says the Council, filled with his spirit, "the teachings of S. Thomas on the Faith and the Sacraments; and we wish and desire them to be read in diocesan synods; and moreover we order all those having the cure of souls to keep at hand, and deeply to study, that portion of the *Summa* which treats of the Holy Sacraments."*

Nor did lapse of time seem to diminish, it appears rather to have increased, the influence of the Angelical. The power of his mind over the Council of Trent (1545—1563) can hardly be exaggerated. And indeed that great Œcumenical Synod, if it is not fanciful to say so, seems to hold amongst the Councils a place analogous to that which the *Summa Theologica* holds in relation to the teachings which preceded it.† As the Angelical,

* "Insuper laudamus et legi mandamus in synodis diœcesanorum libellum sancti Thomæ de Aquino, de articulis fidei et sacramentis ecclesiæ; quodque præcipiatur curatis, ut partem quæ est de sacramentis, habeant et studeant diligenter." (Harduini, *Acta Conciliorum, Tom. IX., Statuta in Concilio Provinciali Coloniensi, an.* 1452, *p.* 136.)

† Pallavicino, in his *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, gives this proposition of Soave, which says that the Scholastics "*hanno fatto fondamento della dottrina Cristiana la filosofia d'Aristotele, e lasciato la Scrittura, e*

with his singularly architectonic mind, appears in his great scientific work to sum up into one all the theology that went before him; so, in the Council of Trent we find a synthesis of all the preceding Councils; a masterly summary of all those definitions which had distinctly drawn the line where error was endeavouring to fuse itself with truth—a line which, whilst it encircled round the faith, served to point out the impertinent encroachments of mere human ingenuity. If the Council of Florence is to be considered the summary of Eastern Councils, Trent, surely, is the summary of all. Nicæa, Ephesus, and Lateran, Orange, Vienne, and Toledo, are represented here, and are confirmed. It was the beginning of a new era. The world had sunk into something resembling a spiritual lethargy. Spain and Portugal had become benumbed by material prosperity and commercial rivalries. England was in the arms of heresy and schism. Germany had sent forth its flight of spiritual locusts, which threatened to eat up the fair fields of genuine Christianity.* The

posto tutto in dubbio sin al metter quistione, se vi sia Dio, e disputarlo d'ambe le parti." He answers thus, speaking of the Angelical:—"Dove mai si trova, che gli Scolastici pongano per fondamento Aristotele e non la Scrittura? Non lo impugnavono essi universalmente intorno all'eternità del mondo, al necessario operar di Dio, all'impossibilità della creazione, e ad altri gravissimi punti ne'quali il fece abbagliare la debolezza dell'umane pupille rispetto agli abissi della luce divina? San Tommaso Principe degli Scolastici non insegna tante volte, che i fondamenti della Sacra Scienza non sono le naturali ragioni, mà le sopra-naturali rivelazioni?" *(Par. I., Libro VII., Cap. XIV., p. 653. Roma, MDCLVII.)*

* "The greatness of the work which Trent had to accomplish may be measured by the trials, interruptions, and jealousies which the powers of the world raised up around it. The very difficulties it had to meet with, were a sign of its necessity. The first Session was held in the

human element in the Church herself required cleansing and elevating. A new enemy had to be confronted. The supreme authority itself was called into question, and was denied. And thus during eighteen long years, with many interruptions, did the Church labour at her gigantic work, collecting her powers together to meet the world, and preparing herself to issue forth refreshed on her great career of regeneration! For three hundred years the Council of Trent has given rule to the Universal Church; and the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican merely completes a work which was initiated then.*

And in fact the ruling minds at Trent were those which had been moulded by the great principles embedded in the *Summa*. The spirit of S. Thomas lived in its Sessions, and seems to have formulated its Decrees. There is a completeness,

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Pontificate of Paul III., in 1545. The one grand blow to the error of the day is contained in that noble declaration of authority, viz.: that to the Holy Church alone it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Sacred Books, and that the Scriptures should not be interpreted in opposition to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. The Council was closed, after many weary interruptions, in 1563, in the Pontificate of Pius IV

* What an impetus was given by the Council of Trent to Ecclesiastical legislation, is evident from the many Provincial Synods which followed its close. The *S. Congregatio Cardinalium Concilii Tridentini (Interpretum)* speaks for itself. Then S. Charles Borromeo threw new life into the clergy. The Sovereign Pontiffs themselves were active legislators, especially Pius V. (1566—1572), Gregory XIII. (1572—1585), Sixtus V. (1585—1590), Innocent XII. (1691—1700), and, above all, that great Jurist, Benedict XIV., by his *Constitutions*, did much to further the designs of the Holy Council.

How little do clever Protestants understand the vitality of the Catholic Church! "The Council of Nicæa," said Dean Stanley in 1862, "is the first 'General Council'—the first of those long series of eighteen synods which ended, and in all probability has *ended for ever*, in the Council of Trent." (See *The Eastern Church, Lect. II., p.* 66. *Second Edition.*)

an unity, a scientific proportion about them, which speak emphatically of the mind of the Angelical.

And there are not wanting weighty witnesses to testify to the influence he exerted there. His Eminence, Cardinal Vincent Justiniani, who assisted at the Council, calls the Angelical "the Oracle of the Fathers." Pope Pius V., who had been obliged, from his position, to study deeply the action of the Council, affirms that its Decrees are evidences unmistakable of how the teaching of the Angelical was constructed for confronting heresies and dissipating errors.* The eloquent Bossuet declares that, on the important question of Justification, the words of the Council of Trent are in reality simply a tissue formed from the writings of the Angel of the Schools. Cardinal Baronius affirms that it would be a difficult task to throw into words the expressions of admiration which had been made use of by the Fathers of the Council when speaking of S. Thomas, or to recall all they had said with regard to the purity of his scientific teaching.

One fact vouches for itself, and speaks to the

* The Bollandists give an interesting account of this Pope's love of the Angelical:—"Et cum Pius esset S. Thomæ Aquinatis doctrinæ studiossimus, in eumque afficeretur pietate singulari, ut ejus festus dies in Regno Neapolitano celebraretur, reliquis vero Christiani orbis in regionibus tamquam unius ex quatuor Ecclesiæ Doctoribus recoleretur, gravissimo decreto constituit; ac septenos et amplius annos indulgentiæ singulis, ejus sacellum Neapoli ad S. Dominici causa religionis invisentibus, tribuit (quo loco videlicet ejus sancti viri doctrina, ex ore Christi de cruce admirabiliter eum alloquentis, divinitus comprobata fuit) aliis vero locis centenos dies tantum concessit." (Vid. Boll., *Vol. XIV., Tom. I., Vita B. Pii Quinti Pάpæ, auct.* Joan. Anton. Gabutio, *Cap. VI., n.* 63, *p.* 636.)

whole world. On the table of the Council were placed, conspicuously, three books: the Holy Scriptures, the Decrees of the Popes, and the *Summa Theologica* of S. Thomas.*

The honour thus accorded to the *Summa* before the world was simply an external manifestation of the feeling of the Fathers. F. Camblat says that the theologians of the Council made a point of consulting it whenever any difficulty arose. The prelates never dared to come to any decision before they had learnt the mind of the Angel of the Schools, nor would they formulate a single Decree that was in any way at variance with his teaching.

A curious instance of this occurred in the twenty-first Session of the Council (July 6, 1562). At the very moment when the Decrees which had been prepared were about to be solemnly recited before the Fathers, and published in the Council, the Archbishop of Grenada suddenly stopped the whole proceeding. Some theologians wished to append to the first chapter certain views regarding Communion under both kinds, which he considered

* "On y vit sa Somme de Théologie sur une même table, à côté de la sainte Bible, pour servir sans doute d'explication et de Commentaire du texte sacré. Il convenoit, et il étoit juste (dit un Auteur qui rapporte le fait) que les Ouvrages du Docteur Angélique fussent placés d'abord après les Livres divins: 'Fide dignissimi retulerunt in magnæ Aulæ medio, ubi erant congregati sanctæ Tridentinæ Synodi religiosissimi Præsules, ac doctissimi Patres, mensam extitisse sacro Librorum pondere gravem, in qua hi sacri Codices conspiciebantur, sacra Scriptura, Decreta Pontificum, et sancti Thomæ Summa . . . Expende quo honore habita, quæ inter Codices divinos numeratur. Par erat ut post divinos Libros Angelici recenserentur.'" (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. VII., p.* 547.)

were opposed to the doctrines of S. Thomas.* This was too grave an objection to be carelessly passed by. The solemn order of the proceedings was interrupted. The *Summa* was called for. The passage referred to by the Archbishop was read out before the Fathers. The case seemed doubtful. They could not come to an agreement off-hand as to whether the Decree was in accordance with the mind of the Angelical or not. As the more prudent course, it was unanimously determined that its promulgation should be postponed to the twenty-second Session. In the meantime the difficulties were solved, and finally, two months later, the Decree was read, confirmed, and published in the precise form in which it has been committed to us.† How different a spirit is this from that which animated the father of the Reformation! In the one case, the greatest theolo-

* Pallavicino gives the whole question at length. As a sample :— "Intorno alla prima difficoltà fù risposto, che malagevolmente potevasi diffinire, quelle parole della cena da Cristo esser indirizzate solo agli Apostoli, ed in loro a'Sacerdoti ; quando si trovavano tanti Dottori, fra'quali citavasi ancor San Tommaso, che le stendevano agli altri. Onde la sposizione contraria, benche non fosse dannevole, non si doveva pertuttociò proporre sì come certa ; maggiormente che San Paolo à Corintij narra questa istituzione fattasi nella cena, come comune a Sacerdoti ed a'Laici : Pertanto non poter il Concilio far meglio sopra di ciò, che, lasciando à ciascuna interpretazione il suo stato, fondar l'esclusione di quella necessità universale che gli Eretici affermavano d'amendue le specie ; nell'autorità e nella consuetudine della Chiesa." (*Istoria del Concil. di Trento, Par. II., Lib. XVII., Cap. XI., n.* 12, *p.* 412.)

† "Audito S. Thomæ nomine," says Natalis Alexander, "visa res est ad examen iterum revocanda. Suspensum itaque decretum est, donec discusso doctoris angelici loco, notum omnibus patribus fuit, non pugnare cum doctrina S. Thomæ ; tuncque canon editus est, qui in illa sessione secundus legitur hoc tenore : *Si quis dixerit, illis verbis : hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Christum non instituisse apostolos sacerdotes, aut non ordinasse, ut ipsi aliique sacerdotes offerrent corpus et sanguinem suum, anathema sit.*" (Natalis Alexander, *Tom. XVI., Dissert. VI., Art. XIV., p.* 159.)

gians pause, and bow to the teaching of a simple Doctor; in the other, an apostate friar defies the Mother which gave him spiritual birth, and raises a revolt, of which he himself did not see the final issue.*

Perhaps one of the best ways of feeling the pulse of an assembly is to study the speeches of the orators who address it with applause. Fortunately we possess a valuable oration, pronounced in presence of the Fathers of the Council during the Pontificate of Pope Pius IV. The orator was a Spanish Doctor, theologian to Philip II. the Catholic king; his name, Master John Gallio de Burgos; and the subject of his sermon was S. Thomas. After speaking of the eminent virtues of the Saint, of the accuracy of his teaching, and of the value of his works, he continues somewhat to this effect :—

"S. Thomas had not the opportunity of being present at a General Council during his lifetime, but he still lives on after his death. He is present with you in the spiritual treasures of his teaching, which he has bequeathed to you as a rich inheritance. And it is in this sense that we may feel

* Drioux says of the influence of S. Thomas's teaching in the Council of Trent :—"Au concile de Trente, on rendit à Saint Thomas des honneurs jusqu'alors inoüis. Au milieu de la grande salle où le concile s'assemblait on voyait sa *Somme de Théologie*, sur une même table, à côté de la Bible. Le saint docteur fut, avec saint Augustin, l'âme de cette grande assemblée. Les décrets qu'elle rendit sur la justification, sur la grâce, le libre arbitre, et sur tous les autres points de dogme et de morale, ne sont, comme dit Bossuet, qu'un tissu des paroles de l'Ange de l'école.' (*La Somme Théologique, Tom. I., Introduction, p.* 20.)

assured that no Council has ever been held in the Church, since his blessed death, at which the Doctor Saint has not been present and has not been consulted. Without speaking of other Councils, why do we not publish in his praise what we see and hear — what passes every day under our eyes in this Assembly? * Call to mind the wise rules which you follow, and the order which is observed in your meeting. Amongst so great a number of distinguished men and learned Doctors, whose intelligence does so much honour to the Church, is there one who does not use the authority of S. Thomas as a precious stone to add lustre to his speech? In the most secret sanctuary, where the Fathers discuss with so much precision and so much dignity the highest matters of religion, how often has not the Holy Doctor been consulted! If any doubt arise, any difficulty, any variance in opinion, or in the manner in which truth should be interpreted, is not S. Thomas always the umpire in the dispute, and his doctrine the test for determining the

* This is part of Gallio's discourse :—"Nulla proinde ab ejus felici transitu concilia sine S. Doctore celebrata sunt: ut enim de cæteris sileam, quod audimus, quod videmus, quod manibus nostris contrectamus, quidni aperta voce ad ejus laudem testemur? Vestra comitia perpendite. Ex plurimo eoque honorabili doctorum cœtu, quotusquisque consultor accedit, qui divi Thomæ auctoritate veluti splendente gemma suam sententiam non exornet? At in consultissimo patrum consessu, doctor hic sententiam rogatus frequentissime censet, ad quem ut ad Lydium lapidem, si quid ambiguitatis aut controversiæ fuerit exortum, communibus votis referendum existimetis, et qui eum sui placiti patronum obtinuerit, incertam judiciorum aleam non sit habiturus, quin secundum eum sententia ferenda sit." (Vid. Natalis Alexander, *Tom. XVI., Dissert. VI., Art. XIV., p.* 159.)

difference? Do you not make profession to abide by his opinion?"

The orator then goes on to express his firm belief that those theologians who stand by S. Thomas need never fear that the Council will decide against them,* and he concludes by thanking the assembled Fathers for the honour they had shown to the Angelical. "The name of the Angelical Doctor," he says, "already so renowned throughout the Christian world, will be held in still greater veneration by posterity on account of the honour and the *cultus* which you have been pleased to bestow upon him here."

Nor is all this the florid unreality of high-flown rhetoric.† In form there may appear to be some little exaggeration, but not in substance. Many of those who attended every Session, confirm every word that fell from the eloquent

* "Enfin après avoir assuré que celui des Théologiens, qui est certain d'avoir saint Thomas pour lui, ne craint point que la décision du Concile soit jamais contraire à son avis; l'Orateur adresse ces paroles à tous les Pères de cette auguste et sainte Assemblée: 'Je puis donc de la part de tout mon Ordre, vous rendre de très-humbles actions de graces, de ce que le nom du Docteur Angélique, déjà si célèbre dans tout le monde Chrétien, le sera encore plus à la postérité, par l'honneur et le culte que vous lui rendez:' Atque adeo hujus Religionis nomine gravissimæ vestræ auctoritati gratias agere libeat, quod Doctoris Thomæ nomen ubique celeberrimum, vestra in eum observantiâ celebrius posteritati reliqueritis." (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. VII., p.* 550.)

† And in point of fact rhetoric has its measure and its meaning, as well as everything else. If a florid style be in vogue, it must be taken as such, and be supposed to represent, in a highly coloured form perhaps, a just sentiment. There can be gradations in a warm colouring as well as in a cold one. And when once the style be thoroughly understood, there is little difficulty in taking in the thoughts it is intended to convey. The imaginative Orientals understand each other with as much accuracy and as much ease as we understand each other. And so in strong expressions with regard to the Angelical, a careful analysis will quickly bring out all their worth.

lips of Gallio de Burgos. To take one witness as an example of the rest: Jerome Wielmus, a prelate who was present at each meeting, speaks of the ubiquitous influence of the Angelical over that august Synod. "Amongst the Fathers," he says, "who are here in such great numbers at the General Council of Trent, there is not one who does not hold it a duty of religion to conform himself to the teachings of S. Thomas in questions of dogma and of faith, and to such an extent, that it can be said that this great Doctor, this Prince of all Theologians, is not less consulted by them, or less followed, than are the ancient Fathers of the Church."*

Nor did the influence of S. Thomas stop here. Any theologian who reads the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or as it is often called, the "Roman Catechism," will perceive at once the marks of the master-hand. It was composed to meet a daily peril. The clergy had not only to be reformed, but the faithful had to be instructed. The two great instruments created by the Council for achieving this end were—first, the frequent holding of Provincial Councils; and next, a clear,

* These are a few of his words:—"Certe in hac Tridentina œcumenica Synodo, quam cùm hæc scribimus frequentissimam celebramus, nemo Patrum esse videtur, cui religio non sit, cùm de fidei dogmatibus agitur, à Thomæ sententia vel latum unguem abscedere, aut ab illa provocare; ut et à veteribus Patribus nihil minus Aquinas habuerit: et scholastici omnes principem hunc suum receperint modis omnibus ornatissimum." (Vid. Hieronymus Wielmus, *Episc. Æmoniensis, De Scriptis S. Thomæ, Lib. I.*; also see Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. VII., p.* 550; also Drioux, *La Somme Théologique, Tom. I., Introd., p.* 20.)

simple, and fundamental statement of Catholic truth. In the one case, the clergy would be moulded more and more upon an ecclesiastical model; and in the other, the faithful would possess a measure of faith, and a test of error: and thus the Church would be strengthened within, and would oppose a compact body of dogmatic teaching to the corroding errors which threatened her from without.*

The task of forming a *corpus* of Catholic positive doctrine was one of great difficulty and delicacy. It would have to stand the criticism of a rough unscrupulous world, to be accurate in statement, and simple in its form. It would have to express the whole spirit of the great Œcumenical Council of which it was the offspring. It would therefore have to be composed of Divines who most of all represented the *animus* of that great assembly. Who were the men selected for the task? The Catechism was begun by a Commission appointed by the Council. But the Council broke up before the Commission had concluded its task.† Hence

* Schulte points out with great force the aim of the world to drive the Church exclusively into the realm of conscience, and then to paralyze its action even there. It is one of the works of a Council to break such bonds as these:—"Eine mächtig vertretene Richtung unserer Zeit drängt darnach, die Kirche vom Staate zu lösen und als rein geistige macht auf das Gewissensgebiet zu beschränken, aber sie auch auf diesem so kraftlos zu machen, dass ihr nicht einmal ein indirekter Einfluss auf das Leben bleibe. Je mehr diese Richtung zum Durchbruche gelangt, desto ernster tritt an die Kirche, wenn sie aufgehört hat, eine *politische* Stelling und mit deren Verlust irgend weltliche Macht zu besitzen die gebieterische Forderung heran. . . ." (Joh. Friedrich Schulte, *Lehrbuch des Katholischen Kirchenrechts, Zweiter Abschnitt, § XII., n. III., p.* 30—31. *Giessen*, 1863.)

† The number present at the Council is thus given by Knoll:—"Legitime enim a summo Pontifice convocatum fuit, et debitum semper

Pope Pius IV. summoned to Rome three theologians who appeared to his wisdom most adequately to represent the mind of the Tridentine Fathers. They were every one of them Dominicans, and were all pregnant with the spirit of S. Thomas. Leonard Marini, Archbishop of Lanciano, a man of marked prudence and firmness, was the first; the second, Giles Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, who had been employed in correcting the Missal and the Breviary, and who had distinguished himself in many Sessions of the Council; Francis Forerio was the third, a great linguist, deeply versed in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, who had assisted at the Council as theologian to the King of Portugal. All three had one thing in common, a conviction that the teachings of the Angel of the Schools would make the best foundation on which to build a durable construction of positive theology. The simplicity, order, harmony, and profoundness of the beautiful and methodical digest of Catholic truth which they gave to the world, speak loud for the supremacy of the Thomistic mind.* Indeed to such a degree

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Præsidem habuit, nimirum Legatos Rom. Pontificis tunc Romæ sedentis. Ipsi adfuerunt ex præcipuis totius orbis christiani provinciis Patres, numero 255 quo subscripserunt, nimirum 26 Cardinales, 25 Archiepiscopi, 168 Episcopi, 36 Absentium Procuratores, 7 Abbates, 8 Generales Ordinum, et plurimi alii magni nominis Doctores et viri insignes." (Albert a Bulsano, *Institut. Theolog. Theoret., Vol. I., Pars Prior, Cap. III., Art. I., n. XXI., p.* 91.)

* Touron gives an example of this :—" Presque dès le commencement du Catéchisme, dans l'explication du premier article du Symbole, on voit ce beau principe, sur lequel roule presque toute la Théologie de saint Thomas, touchant la motion divine, où l'efficacité d'une grace qui prévient

is the Angelical mixed up with this exponent of the spirit of the Tridentine Fathers, that some have sought to weaken its authority on the plea that it does not so much represent the common doctrine of the Church as the particular teaching of a party. However, it was solemnly approved of by the same Sovereign Pontiff who seated the Angel of the Schools amongst the great Doctors of the Church.*

What had been taught by the Popes, and had been sanctioned by the practice of Œcumenical Councils, was also taken up and insisted on by the great Universities.

Paris naturally takes the lead. Her Doctors, during the life of the Angelical, refer their disputes to him and gratefully abide by his decision. At his death they weep and mourn his loss, as men who had been deprived of the joy of their hearts and

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nos volontés, et les applique sans jamais ôter la liberté et le mérite de nos actions. Non solùm autem Deus universa quæ sunt, providentiâ suâ tuetur atque administrat; verùm etiam quæ moventur et agunt aliquid, intimâ virtute ad motum, atque actionem ita impellit, ut quamvis causarum secundarum efficentiam non impediat, præveniat tamen, cùm ejus occultissima vis ad singula pertineat." *(Approbat. de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. V., Chap. VIII., p.* 554.)

* Gregory XIII. had a new edition of the Catechism brought out, and ordered it to be translated. Cardinal Borromeo, in five different Councils of Milan, instructed the clergy to keep a copy of it by them, and the parish priests to make use of it as a basis in their conferences and in their teaching. The Provincial Councils of Beneventum, Ravenna, Genoa, Rouen, Rheims, Bourdeaux, Tours, Toulouse, Avignon, and others, spoke of it in the highest terms, and interested themselves in having translations made of it. Cardinal Valerian says of it :—"Vos qui aliquantulùm ætate processistis, legite hunc Catechismum septies, et plus quàm septies, mirabiles enim fructus ex eo percipietis. . . . Vos, qui in disciplina Ecclesiæ versantes omnia vestra studia referre debetis ad gloriam Dei, ad salutem vestram et aliorum, egregium librum dictante Spiritu Sancto, Patrum qui in Concilio Tridentino aderant, Decreto scriptum, et Christi Vicarii auctoritate editum, octies legisse, atque descripsisse æquum est."

the light of their eyes. The day-star was quenched which had shone so placidly, and yet with such radiance, in their theological heaven. Then, when his teaching was attacked, they defended it as one would the honour of a friend. Stephen II., Bishop of Paris, instructed by Pope John XXI., had censured, in 1277, two hundred and twenty-two propositions which had been advanced, in one way or other, by the Faculty of Arts. Some malicious men raised a cry that certain philosophical tenets of the Angelical were included in the condemnation. This was too much for the loyalty of the University. Bishop Stephen III. was induced, by the importunity of the Doctors, and by his own sense of justice, to issue a decree altogether clearing the theological character of the Angelical.* Indeed, it speaks of him in the highest terms of reverence and praise. He is called "The most brilliant light of the Universal Church, the radiant gem of the clergy, the flower of Doctors, the most spotless and exalted mirror of our University of Paris: shining, with the effulgence of his life, teaching, and

* "Wie verhält es sich nun mit Tempier's Absicht rücksichtlich des Verbotes, welches er auf die a. 1277 censurirten 222 Thesen legte?" asks Werner. See his reply:—"Sind wirklich einige derselben aus Thomas' Lehre entnommen? Die Gegner behaupten es und führen zum Beweise dessen an, dass Thomas' Satz von der specifischen Differenz der einzelnen Engelwesen unter den von Tempier verbotenen Behauptungen stehe, mit dem ausdrücklichen Zusatze, dass hiemit Thomas gemeint sei. Dieser Zusatz ist jedoch—wie de Rossi bemerkt—unächt; in den Manuscripten, welche Duplessis d'Argentrè zu seiner *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus* benützte, findet er sich nicht. Es ist in der That auch unglaublich, dass einzig Thomas als Irrender hätte namhaft gemacht werden sollen, während bei keiner der übrigen Thesen irgend jemand als Verfasser genannt ist." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquin, Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel, p.* 863.)

fame, like a resplendent morning star."* And the high reputation which he enjoyed at Paris appears to have remained undimmed during a long series of years. Cardinal du Perron, a man of high intelligence, declared in a public speech, in 1615, that "the *Summa* of S. Thomas had always been looked upon as the oracle of theology, had always been publicly read, and (if it be permitted so to speak) had always been adored in the schools of Paris."

Turning from France to Spain we find that the Angelical was not less venerated in the Spanish Universities than he was in those of Italy and France. Indeed, it was from Paris that the Spanish theologians drew that store of erudition which gained for the great schools of Salamanca, Alcala, and Coimbra, their European reputation.† The

* These are the words referred to:—"Cupientes gloriosum Deum in Sanctis suis apud Fidelium devotionem in terris gloriosiùs exaltari, ac sacratissimæ Matris nostræ prædictæ desiderantes vestigia sancta pro viribus imitari, dictumque Confessorem feliciter in Cœlis regnantem apud terrigenas devotiùs et celebriùs honorari; præsertim cùm fuerit et sit universalis Ecclesiæ lumen præfulgidum, gemma radians Clericorum, flos Doctorum, Universitatis nostræ Parisiensis speculum clarissimum et insigne, claritate vitæ, famæ et doctrinæ, velut stella splendida, et matutina refulgens: Per venerabiles et dilectos Consiliarios nostros, inquisitione factâ super dictis articulis apud Doctores Theologicæ Facultatis, in eorum Congregatione generali regentium et non regentium, Sæcularium et Regularium ad hoc specialiter convocatâ: comperto per Dei gratiam dictum Confessorem B. Thomam nihil unquam sensisse, docuisse, seu scripsisse, quod sanæ fidei, vel bonis moribus adversetur."

† Touron gives the terms in which the Doctors of Salamanca solemnly promised to follow the Angelical:—"Tous ceux qu'elle reçoit parmi ses Docteurs, s'y engagent par un jurement solennel conçu en ces termes: 'Je promets avec serment, que dans toutes les Leçons, que je ferai dans la présente Université, soit que je remplisse une Chaire, soit que j'enseigne comme Professeur Volontaire, je dicterai la doctrine de saint Augustin, et les conclusions de saint Thomas, lorsque je serai assûré du sentiment de ces Saints Docteurs, et lorsqu'il y aura de doute, je n'enseignerai rien qui me paroisse contraire à leur doctrine, mais je m'en tiendrai à ce qui sera plus conforme à leurs principes, à ce qui est communément regardé comme tel par leurs disciples.'" (*Approbat. de la Doct. de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. V., Chap. X., p.* 566—567.)

fame of the University of Salamanca was coincident with that of the great Dominican, Francis de Vittoria, who died in 1566. It was the depth and brilliancy of his learning which raised it, in the first instance, to its proud position. He was a native of Vittoria in Cantabria. He no sooner joined the Order of S. Dominic than he was sent off to Paris, to study theology in the famous Convent of S. James's. Here he worked under the celebrated Peter Crockart, who was turned, from being a violent follower of John Major the Nominalist, into a vigorous champion of Thomistic lore. Possibly it was the energy and activity of such a man as this which caused the agile mind of Vittoria to expand, not merely towards the methods of the day in which he lived, but also towards prophetic visions of the future. He taught much, and wrote little. Matanorus calls him "another Socrates." Melchior Canus, the great theological reformer, confesses himself indebted to the genius of Vittoria for much of his reputation.* A whole constellation of luminous theologians rose out of his school. They in their turn formed centres of activity which produced noted theologians. Besides

* "Veram, quam Parisiis didicerat docendi rationem sectatus theologiam scholasticam non jejune non inculte ut alias sed erudite et ornate tractabat eam ex historia ecclesiastica et ex sanctorum Patrum fontibus adhibito severiori criterio locupletans ac oratione puriori verbisque elegantioribus explicans, sic ut non solum omnes in admirationem caperet, sed et ad imitationem sui provocaret. Ne tam excellentis theologi verba in ventum abirent, tum primum in ea academia et in cæteris Hispaniæ deinceps inductus est, qui in Parisiensi a reformatione Tuttavillana a. 1454 constitutus fuerat, mos lectiones professorum, quæ auretenus antea, jam etiam scripto excipiendi." (*Ech. et Quetif.*, *II.*, *p.* 129.)

Canus, Vittoria could count Medina, Menchaca, Couarruvia, and Soto as his scholars. Soto became in his turn the master of Toletus of Cordova, who was a distinguished Professor at Salamanca when only twenty-three years of age. Toletus joined the Jesuits, studied "S. Thomas," at Rome, and was raised to the purple by Pope Pius V.—being the first Jesuit who was made a Prince of the Church. He was the precursor of a brilliant company of theologians—to suggest only a few of them : Vasquez, who at the age of twenty-five professed theology and philosophy in Alcala, and wrote a celebrated Commentary on the *Summa ;* Suarez, the most philosophical of all the Jesuits, who taught at Segovia, Rome, Alcala, Salamanca, and Coimbra.* Then there came men less known to fame perhaps, yet deep and earnest students : Vallius the Aristotelian, Rubius of Alcala—who was the first to make the New World familiar with the teachings of the Angelical—Alphonsus de Mendoza, Gonzales, and many

* Werner thus describes Toletus' career :—"In der Schule des Dominicus Soto bildete sich Franz Toletus aus Cordova ; er lehrte bereits als dreiundzwanzigjähriger Jüngling die Philosophie an der Universität Salamanca, wurde nach seinem Eintritt in den eben gegründeten Jesuitenorden nach Rom geschickt, um Aristotelisch-scholastische Philosophie und später Thomistische Theologie zu lehren, worin er eben so viel Beifall errang, als bei seinem Auftreten als Kanzelredner ; von Pius V. und dessen Nachfolgern hochgehalten, wurde er, der erste aus seinem Orden, mit dem Purpur geschmückt, und mehrfach auch in kirchlichen Angelegenheiten als päpstlicher Legat verwendet : 1596." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Dritter Band, Erstes Buch, p.* 138—139.) He wrote, amongst other voluminous works, an *Introductio in Logicam—Commentarius in Universam Aristotelis Logicam—Libri octo de Physica Auscultatione—Libri duo de Generatione et Corruptione—Libri tres de Anima.*

others, the repetition of whose names would weary the ordinary reader. And this is enough to give an idea of the expansion of the Thomistic school at the Convent of S. James's and Salamanca. The teaching of the Angelical can easily be traced from Vittoria to Soto, from Soto to Toletus, from Toletus to Vasquez, and from Vasquez to a whole army of other theologians, all proudly acknowledging their common parentage, and witnessing to the one master-mind which, whether they would or no, had left its royal signature upon them.

Besides the Jesuits and Dominicans, the Carmelites, Cistercians, Augustinians, Benedictines, Brothers of Mercy, men of various Orders and divers nations, might be mentioned as having drawn their waters from the common well; as having testified by their teachings to the extraordinary mastership of the Angel of the Schools.* Not that they always followed him in everything; yet it is but simple accuracy to affirm that he exerted an influence upon them the like of which we look for in vain

* "Si notre saint Docteur est justement appellé l'Ange de l'Ecole; parce qu'il l'a éclairée par sa doctrine, et qu'il continue encore à l'instruire par ses ouvrages: on peut aussi l'appeller avec raison l'Ange du cloître, qu'il a long-tems édifié par la pratique de toutes les vertus, dont il a défendu avec zèle les intérêts, et dans lequel il a laissé un goût pour l'étude, et une louable émulation pour toutes les sciences, qui peuvent convenir à l'état Religieux. Il ne faut donc pas être surpris, que le même esprit de reconnoissance pour le Serviteur de Dieu, et le même zèle pour sa doctrine, qu'on voit plus communément dans les Ecoles Catholiques, animent encore ceux qui ne se retirent dans de saintes retraites, que pour s'y remplir de l'esprit de sagesse et de vérité, afin de travailler plus sûrement à leur salut, et à celui de leurs frères." (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. IX., p.* 571.)

over the broad range of history in connection with the teachings of any other theologian.

One fact alone is sufficient as an example :— the great University of Salamanca drew out a formal document, in which it bound its members to teach and to defend the doctrine of S. Thomas. In the *Supplica* presented to the Council of Castile, begging for a confirmation of that document, the following reasons, amongst others, were advanced in its support.* The petitioners alleged that they were anxious to place the Professors of the University under a happy necessity of following the pure doctrine of S. Augustine and S. Thomas ; because by so doing they would promote the glory of God, the good of the Church, public utility, the peace and tranquillity of the State, the better education of youth, progress in science, and, finally, the veneration and respect which is due to the Fathers of the Church, and to its most celebrated Doctors.†

The other Universities of Europe, naturally, fell under the same influences as those of Paris,

* The Decree referred to is dated June 9, 1627.

† See how the fame of the Angelical was carried into the New World. Drioux says :—"Et quand la foi eut pénétré dans le Nouveau-Monde, le pape Innocent XI. publia une bulle le 23 juillet 1681 pour la fondation d'une université à Quito, où il disait : Nous approuvons la fondation de quatre chaires, à condition que les professeurs qui en seront pourvus enseigneront la doctrine de saint Thomas, si conforme à la tradition des saints Pères et aux décrets de l'Eglise universelle. Le même pape donna plusieurs autres bulles pour l'établissement de différentes universités dans le Pérou et le Mexique, mais aux mêmes conditions. Innocent XII. autorisa par une bulle l'établissement d'une université dans la ville de la Havane, aux Indes occidentales, pour qu'on y enseignât la doctrine de l'Ange de l'Ecole." (See *Somme Théologique de Saint Thomas, Tom. I., Introd., p.* 24.)

Rome, and Salamanca. William Estius, the light of the University of Louvain, and Francis Silvius, the greatest theologian ever turned out by the theological faculty at Douai—did not conceal their satisfaction in informing the world that they had drawn all their knowledge from the teachings of S. Augustine and S. Thomas. Toulouse, the most renowned place of learning in France, after Paris, ever jealously maintained the doctrines of our Saint; whilst to speak at length of Bologna, Naples, Padua, and Turin, would sound very like a repetition, and would tire the reader without adding much to his stock of information.

This portion of the history of S. Thomas cannot be more aptly summed up, than by calling the Angelical, in the words of the accomplished Silvius, "*Academiarum omnium communis Magister*"—"The Common Master of all Academies."

So far for Popes, Councils, and Universities: to complete the list, we may dwell briefly on Religious Orders and learned men.

In the Constitutions of the Order of Mercy, and of the Canons Regular of S. Augustine, it was distinctly laid down that the teaching of S. Thomas should form the basis of theological instruction.* The Canons Regular of the Con-

* These are the words found in the abridgment of the Constitutions of the Order of Mercy as they stood :—"Ad assequendos Religionis gradus legi debet doctrina sancti Thomæ, prout explicatur à nostro Reverendissimo Patre Magistro Zumel. Ita præcipitur in virtute obedientiæ, et statuitur à tribus continuis generalibus Capitulis."

gregation of France, at a great meeting in their renowned Abbey of S. Geneviève, in 1650, issued a similar regulation.* The Minims, in their Chapter at Barcelona, in 1661, chose S. Thomas as their Doctor, and as the Angel of their Schools; whilst the Jeromites of Spain, and the Servites of Italy, could find no better Master than him to control the method and teaching of their seminaries. According to the statutes of the Carmelites of the Province of Touraine, the Professors were instructed to read and explain the whole *Summa* during a space of three years. The Discalced Carmelites of Salamanca were no less attached to the doctrine of the Saint. The dedication of their most famous theological work to him, is ample testimony to the fact.† They say that, in offering to him the fruit of their labours and vigils, they are simply performing an act of justice; that both gratitude and equity would forbid them dedicating it to any other: "Whatever there is that is good, whatever is found to be true and solid in our works," they say, addressing the Saint, "we have taken out of your

* "Les chanoines réguliers de la Congrégation de France, ayant fait un règlement pour les études dans l'assemblée générale tenue dans la célèbre abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève à Paris, en 1650, veulent que les professeurs de théologie n'expliquent que saint Thomas, qu'ils en lisent le texte et qu'ils le commentent suivant l'ordre et la méthode qu'il a suivis dans sa *Somme*." (Drioux, *La Somme Théologique, Introd., p.* 24—25.)

† "Qu'on ouvre ces grands volumes, que leurs Théologiens de Salamanque ont donnés au Public, on sera bientôt convaincu, que parmi les parfaits Disciples de saint Thomas, on n'en connoit point, qui ayent jamais porté plus loin l'estime et la vénération pour cet Ange de l'Ecole, non plus que l'attachement et le zèle pour tout ce qu'il nous a enseigné." (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. XI., p.* 572—573.)

teachings. In walking in your steps, in faithfully following your principles, we have no fear of ever swerving from the truth. Your admirable works are like some vast ocean, gathering into one all the rivers of wisdom, which, flowing forth again, irrigate the intellectual world." * . . . . "Men cannot find it hard," they continue, "that, through a happy necessity, they are constrained to maintain the teaching of the Angelical. How can light be more readily found than by going to the sun? Where are pure waters to be drawn if not at the very source?"

They confess freely that they have been deeply impressed, nay, overpowered, by the glory surrounding the Saint's name, and by the splendour of his reputation. But they have not been moved by this influence solely. They have been brought to look upon him as so great a master on account of "the most solemn approbation of the Sovereign Pontiffs, the commendation of holy Councils, the praise and admiration of the Religious Orders, the esteem of learned men, the eulogy of Christian orators, and the voice of the Universities."†

* "Dum tua vestigia sequimur, verioribus omnium sententiis adhæremus: in te enim velut in capacissimum Oceanum cunctorum sapientiæ flumina congregantur, ut iterum fluant." *(Coll. Salmat., Tom. II., Ep. Dedicat.)*

† "Nemo invideat, Doctor Angelice, tam arctâ nos tibi lege adstringi, tuisque vestigiis inhærere, ut vel transversum unguem prosilire nefas censeatur; rapimur sane tuo nomine et numine, sed non sine ratione rapimur (ut quidam insulse obstrepunt) dum per tuas ducimur sententias, quas, ipsâ veritate splendente, tot confirmârunt Pontificum decreta; tot concilia acclamârunt, tot ordines receperunt, tot comprobârunt Doctorum testimonia, Oratorum encomia, felicesque in Theologia progressus tot Universitatum." *(Coll. Salmat., Tom. II., Ep. Dedicat.)*

Perhaps the most important of all testimonies is that recorded in an official instruction of the great Company of Jesus—an instruction which was given, not in an era of undeveloped theological learning, but just at that period when the great revival was taking place; and very probably it was an active element in bringing about that grand result. It was at the end of the sixteenth century (1594) that a general assembly of the Society took place. And here, after anxious and deep deliberation, it was unanimously resolved that its Professors should follow, in scholastic theology, the doctrine of S. Thomas: as being the most solid, the most safe, and the most in keeping with their Constitutions.* It is about this date in the theological history of the Society, that one meets with such men as Molina (1600), Gregory de Valencia (1603), Gabriel Vasquez (1604), Francis Suarez (1617), Ægidius Lusitanus (1608), Peter de Arrubal (1608), Benedict Pereira (1610), and a great many besides, whose names and works alone would occupy several pages, were they simply to be mentioned. The men, consequently, who would

* "Les Supérieurs généraux de cet illustre Corps ont souvent renouvellé et confirmé le même Ordre: dans la Congrégation ou assemblée générale de 1594 après qu'on eut examiné avec beaucoup d'application tout ce qui pouvoit regarder le règlement des études, et le choix des opinions, il fut unanimement résolu que les Professeurs qui liroient la Théologie Scholastique, suivroient celle de S. Thomas, comme la plus solide, la plus sûre, la plus approuvée et la plus conforme à leurs Statuts: Doctrinam sancti Thomæ in Theologia scholastica tanquam solidiorem, securiorem, magis approbatam, et consentaneam constitutionibus sequendam esse à Professoribus, &c." (Touron, *Approbat. de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. V., Chap. XII., p.* 576.)

most probably have deliberated in that Assembly, would have possessed high intelligence and deep learning. Their opinions, as recorded then, would not be without their weight even at this day, when great theological names are not so easily met with as they were during the revival.*

Connected with the Assembly just mentioned was a board of learned Fathers, chosen out of different nations, and entrusted with the important duty of revising the Book of Studies. They commenced by establishing one fundamental principle, without which nothing could be satisfactorily settled. They started with the general axiom, that the teaching of the Society should be solid, safe, and uniform. With regard to uniformity, there would be comparatively small difficulty in insisting upon that. It was a more delicate task to determine which was the most solid and the safest system to adopt. After an anxious and thorough sifting of the subject, these learned men came, unanimously, to the following decision, viz. : that the Professors of the Society

* Gregory de Valentia wrote *Commentarii Theologici in Summam S. Thomæ ;* Gabriel Vasquez, *Comment. in Summam S. Thomæ.*—See his entire works in ten vols., folio.—*Lyons,* 1620. Ægidius Lusitanus, *Libri 2 Commentariorum Theologicorum in D. Thomam de Sacra Doctrina et Essentia atque Virtute Dei ;* Peter de Arrubal, *Commentarii et Disputationes in Part. Prim. D. Thomæ ;* Benedict Pereira, *Arcana Theologica de Deo—Promptuarium seu Summa Universæ Theologiæ Moralis ;* Francis Suarez, *De Deo Effectore Creaturarum Omnium—De Opere Sex Dierum—De Anima—De legibus et Deo Legislatore—De Vitiis atque Peccatis—De Vera Intelligentia Auxilii Efficacis ejusque Concordia—De Triplici Virtute Theologica Spe et Charitate—Comm. in Part. Tertiam S. Thomæ.* See also *Theologiæ* R.P. Fr. Suaresii *Summa seu Compendium, a Francis. Noel, Venetiis,* 1733. *Two vols. folio.* (See Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Dritter Band, Erstes Buch, p.* 147.)

should look upon S. Thomas as their own Doctor, and should be obliged to follow his teaching in scholastic theology. And the reasons which they give for coming to this conclusion are as follows :—because it was according to their constitutions ; because such was the wish of the Sovereign Pontiff, Clement VIII. ; because their statutes prescribed that there should be only one system of teaching in the Society ; " and because," they continued, " no more safe or more solid system could possibly be found than that of S. Thomas, whom all the world reasonably regards as 'the Prince of Theologians.'" *

The directive letter of the General, F. Claud Aquaviva (1613), is full of prudent wisdom, touching the manner in which the doctrine of the Angelical should be maintained. No one was to presume to teach differently from him, or from those masters who were considered fair exponents of his doctrine ; and the Provincials were, above all things, to select those exclusively as Professors who, embracing freely the teaching of S. Thomas, were veritable enemies to every form of novelty. The successor of Aquaviva, Mutio

* "Nostri omnino sanctum Thomam ut proprium Doctorem habeant, eumque in Scholastica Theologia sequi teneantur ; tum quia constitutiones eum nobis commendant, et summus Pontifex Clemens VIII. id se cupere significavit ; tum quia cùm unius scriptoris doctrinam in societate eligendam constitutiones moneant, nullus hoc tempore doctrinam in Societate eligendam constitutiones moneant, nullius hoc tempore doctrina potest occurrere, quæ sit eâ solidior, aut securior, ut non immeritò sanctus Thomas Theologorum Princeps ab omnibus habeatur." (*Cf.* Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. XII., p.* 576.)

Vitelleschi, confirms, with energetic language, the policy of his predecessor.* He says, in his circular letter to the Fathers concerned: "Since you are well acquainted with the constitutions, decrees, and rules, which oblige us to follow S. Thomas, and to depose those from their chairs who refuse to do so, or do not appear heartily to embrace his doctrine; . . . it only remains for me to conjure you, with all the earnestness and zeal in my power, to observe carefully, as the most important thing in the world, the points which I am going to mention."

It is needless to speak at length of the great Dominican Order. The testimony of Peter of Tarantasia, who successively became Bishop, Cardinal, and then Pope, is sufficient to show in what esteem the Angelical was held by the friars. Or to take a still more striking example: Albert the Great, who had trained the Angelical at Cologne and at Paris, eventually came to look upon him more as a master than as a quondam disciple.† He not only, as will appear later on,

* The opinions of Thomassinus and Morinus are worth recording: Drioux says:—"Nous ne parlerons ici que du P. Thomassin, qui cite souvent saint Thomas, en disant qu'il ne voit pas qu'on puisse adjouter à la force et à la lumière de sa doctrine, et du P. Morin, qui dans son traité de la Pénitence dit que de tous les théologiens qui ont traité cette matière il n'en est aucun qui ait écrit aussi excellemment que saint Thomas, qu'il a dissipé et mis en poudre les futiles raisons des anciens scholastiques et s'est attaché à la pratique des premiers et des plus beaux siècles de l' Eglise." (Morinus, *De Pœnitentia, p.* 774. *Ed.* 1694; Vid. *La Somme Théologique, Tom. Premier. Introd., p. XXV.)*

† The celebrated Cardinal Jerome Casanati was accustomed to say that, if all theologians were at one in teaching the principles of S. Thomas, there would be no confusion in matters of faith, no laxity in morals, and no extravagance in mystic teaching. This Cardinal it was

at an advanced old age, made a tedious journey to defend the teachings of his pupil, but he also found his delight—possibly when he had become too blind and too feeble to write much himself—in listening to a brother, whilst he read to him in order, the profound compositions of his former disciple. But the Dominicans did more than simply admire the works of their great luminary. For instance, in three general Chapters—at Paris in 1286, at Bordeaux in 1287, and at Lucca in 1288—it was expressly ruled that the teaching of S. Thomas should be synonymous with the teaching of the Order, and that no friar should presume to teach anything which was contrary to his doctrine.*

The paramount influence acquired by the Thomistic system, especially amongst the Dominicans, can be imagined when it is remembered

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who immortalized his name by giving his Library to the Dominicans of the Minerva at Rome. It was considered, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, one of the most valuable and one of the richest libraries in Italy. His Eminence also left a certain sum for the support of the learned theologians of the Thomist school. Two had to act as librarians, two to instruct young Roman clergy in the elements of Thomistic theology, and the remaining six were to give a liberal course of Thomistic teaching to educated persons of all countries who felt inclined to attend them. Such is the origin of the *Collegium Angelicum* in Rome, the first centre of Thomistic teaching in the world.

* "Il est vrai que peu d'années après la mort du Serviteur de Dieu, et assez long-tems avant sa canonization; c'est-à-dire, dans les Chapitres Généraux tenus à Paris en 1286, à Bordeaux en 1287, et à Luques en 1288, il fut expressément ordonné que la doctrine de Thomas d'Aquin, seroit désormais celle dont tout l'Ordre feroit unanimement profession, sans qu'il fût permis à aucun particulier de suivre, ou d'enseigner des sentimens contraires: mais il n'est pas moins assûré que du vivant-même de notre Saint, ses frères se faisoient déjà un honneur d'être ses disciples, d'autant plus engagés à respecter sa personne, et à estimer sa doctrine, qu'ils avoient l'avantage de connoître plus parfaitement tout le mérite de l'un et de l'autre." (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. XII., p.* 579.)

how vast a sway the Saint exerted over theologians, old as well as young, during his life-time. Those men who had partaken of his spirit in the schools of Germany, Italy, and France, went forth like the Apostles of old, full of new fire, bent upon spreading far and wide the teachings of their master. Echard assures us that those who had studied under him, in due course became professors at Oxford and Cambridge, at Bologna and at Cologne, at Naples and at Rome : and that they were in the habit of drawing all their teaching from the writings of their common master.

It would take a large book to contain the high praises which have been poured out upon the Angelical by theologians, literary men, and saints. His fame is so great, he towers so unmistakably over all others, that not envy itself, no, not even the blindness of bigotry and passion, can deny to him the first rank amongst the scientific theologians of the Church.* Simply as specimens, a few names shall be recorded, that the reader may clearly perceive how deeply the same impression was sealed upon minds of entirely

* De Maistre says of the Angelical, for instance :—"Saint Thomas . . . ne pouvait s'occuper des sciences, qui n'existaient pas de son temps, et dont on ne s'embarrassait nullement alors. Son style admirable sous le rapport de la clarté, de la précision, de la force et du laconisme, ne pouvait être cependant celui de Bembo, de Muret, on de Maffei. Il n'en fut pas moins l'une des plus grandes têtes qui aient existé dans le monde. Le génie poétique même ne lui était pas étranger. L'Eglise en a conservé quelques étincelles qui purent exciter depuis l'admiration et l'envie de Santeuil [a celebrated Poet, Canon of S. Victor's, 1697]. Puisque saint Thomas fut surnommé l'Ange de l'école, c'est lui surtout qu'il faut citer pour absoudre l'école." *(Soirées, Secondième Entretien.)*

dissimilar character — upon men of altogether different, indeed, of hostile habits and convictions. The shrewd and sweet S. Philip Neri used the teaching of S. Thomas as his guide, and consulted the Angelical in all his doubts. Pope S. Pius V., S. Charles Borromeo, S. Francis of Sales, S. Vincent Ferrer, S. Antoninus, and more than can be mentioned, looked upon it as an exceptional privilege to have been trained in his school. Pico of Mirandola, a prodigy of science and the most brilliant scholar of his age, read with avidity whatever was written in defence of the Angelical, and declared the study of his writings to be his one delight.* Cardinal Bessarion, a man of splendid and solid learning, is said to have declared that S. Thomas was not only the most saintly amongst the learned, but also the most learned amongst the saints. Cardinal Osius calls him the light and torch of Catholic theology ; Baronius, the theologian *par excellence*, and the "Prince of Theologians;" Bellarmine says that his works are

* Chateaubriand says of our Saint :—"Génie tout à fait comparable aux plus rares génies des temps anciens et modernes, qui tient de Platon et de Malebranche pour la spiritualité, d'Aristote et de Descartes pour la clarté et la logique." Schleiniger says :—"Wie sehr ist in dieser Hinsicht [Kenntniss des Dogmas] dem Prediger zu empfehlen, seinen dogmatischen Studien die grossen Theologen der Vorzeit, besonders den hl. Thomas von Aquin, zu Grunde zu legen ! Wenn die Universität von Paris in J. 1325 den letztern Lehrer mit den Prädicaten auszeichnete : Universalis Ecclesiæ lumen præfulgidum, fons doctorum, candelabrum insigne et lucens, per quod omnes qui vias vitæ et scholas sanæ doctrinæ ingrediuntur, lumen vident, cujus doctrina toto orbe commendabili fulget Ecclesia ut sole luna . . . so war diess eine Bewunderung, welche dem Wesen nach die ganze katholische Welt dem englischen Lehrer zollte, und zumal die Päpste Clemens VIII., Innocenz VI., Urban V., Alexander VII., feierlich aussprachen." (See *Kirchliche Predigtamt, Erstes Buch, p.* 89.)

more brilliant than the sun. Cajetan and d'Aguirra speak with still higher eulogy. His own master, Albert, calls him *Flos et decus mundi*, the flower and ornament of the earth. Cardinal Toletus does not shrink from saying that he who has S. Thomas, may dispense with all other Doctors. Cardinal Pallavicino, and Gennadius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, speak of him with the profoundest reverence. F. Labbe, the Jesuit, says: "*Thomas Angelus erat, antequam esset Doctor Angelicus*"—"Thomas was an Angel before he was an Angelic Doctor;" * Suarez, that he surpasses all the scholastics in his explanation of the mysteries of faith, and that he ranks with the first Fathers of the Church.

Then, in England, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, made use of him in combating Luther; whilst Henry VIII., before he was delivered over to a reprobate sense, had undertaken to write with his own hand an apology for the Saint.

Erasmus, perhaps one of the most critical and fastidious scholars who ever used his great talents against the Church, declared that he was acquainted

* The Church herself, in the prayer on the Feast of the Saint, says:—"Deus qui *Ecclesiam Tuam* beati Thomæ confessoris tui *mira eruditione clarificas* et sancta operatione fœcundas, &c." Pope Alexander, writing to the University of Louvain, says:—"D.D. Augustini et Thomæ *dogmata inconcussa tutissimaque*, quorum sanctissimorum virorum penes catholicos universos ingentia et omnem laudem supergressa nomina novi præconii commendatione non egent." Goudin says that the *Summa* was laid on the table at the Council of Trent, "tanquam luculentissimam omnium Patrum epitomen et scripturæ sacræ interpretem." Cardinal Baronius's words are these:—"Vix quisquam enarrare posset . . . quantum illius illibatæ doctrinæ a sanctis patribus in sacro-sancto œcumenico concilio Tridentino considentibus fuerit acclamatum."

with no theologian whose diligence was so great, whose judgment was so sound, and whose doctrine was so solid as that of Thomas of Aquino.*

And, as if merely human testimony were not enough, there is the testimony of our Lord Himself, who on three distinct occasions expressed His Divine approval of the teaching of the Saint, viz., at Paris, at Orvieto, and in the Chapel of S. Nicholas at Naples. And even those who refuse to believe in the miraculous, at all events will admit this much in evidence, that the Catholic world must have held the Angelical in the highest possible estimation, to have been drawn to invent or to imagine, in his honour, so solemn and unusual a confirmation.†

Thus, then, to sum up, we have a series of

* Stöckl—who in writing his *History of the Philosophy of the Middle Ages*, came across many great and profound minds—speaks with highest reverence of the Angelical. Comparing the great scholastics to knights fighting for the truth, he says:—"Als den ersten und vornehmsten Coryphäen dieses geistigen Ritterthums nun müssen wir den Man nennen, dessen Name an der Spitze dieser Abhandlung steht. Es ist *Thomas von Aquino*. Er hat sich auf dem Felde der Wissenschaft unsterbliche Lorbeeren errungen, und sein Name ist zum glänzenden Gestirn gerworden am Himmel der Kirche sowohl als auch der christlichen Wissenschaft. Was Augustinus in der patristischen Zeit und für dieselbe war, das ist Thomas in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik und für dieselbe." (*Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Zweiter Band, Erste Abtheilung*, § 120, *p.* 421—422.)

† How well Michelet speaks of the Angelical:—"Ce milieu si difficile à tenir, où l'Eglise essaya de s'établir et de s'arrêter sans glisser à droite ni à gauche, il fut tracé par saint Thomas; c'est là sa gloire immense. Venu à la fin du moyen âge, comme Aristote à la fin du monde grec, il fut l'Aristote du christianisme, en dressa la législation, essayant d'accorder la logique et la foi pour la suppression de toute hérésie. Le colossal monument qu'il a élevé, ravit le siècle en admiration. Albert le Grand déclara que saint Thomas avait fixé la règle qui durerait jusqu' à la consommation des temps. Cet homme extraordinaire fut absorbé par cette tâche terrible, rien autre ne s'est placé dans sa vie; vie tout abstraite, dont les seuls événements sont des idées." (*Histoire de France, Tom. IV., Chap. IX., p.* 12—13.)

eminent Sovereign Pontiffs, recommending the teaching of the Saint in the highest terms; Councils echoing the words of Sovereign Pontiffs; Universities following the spirit of Councils; Religious Orders going with the rest; and a countless host of witnesses of every country, religion, and character, all declaring this one man to be unique in his own line — in a word, the Prince of Theologians and the Angel of the Schools.

And now the reader may proceed with more security in studying his life, and will feel deeper interest and reverence in looking at his works. The Saint will occupy his legitimate position in the mind. By degrees the greatness of his proportions will be realized. His *status* in the theologic world will be discovered, and the reason will finally rest satisfied that he has been fixed in his proper place. Then the eye will gaze upon his vast and gentle majesty, as, surrounded by a galaxy of martyrs, confessors, and doctors, he illuminates them all by the effulgence of that Sun which is shining on his breast.*

* Here are some solid reasons, given by a Minim Father, why the teaching of S. Thomas should be preferred to any other:—"1.—C'est d'abord, dit ce Théologien, l'oracle exprès de Jesus-Christ, qui l'a approuvée. 2.—Le témoignage des Papes qui l'ont en quelque façon canonisée. 3.—Le suffrage des plus célèbres Universités, et de presque tous les Ordres Religieux, qui se sont fait un honneur de l'adopter. 4.—Les excellentes dispositions qui avoient mis le S. Docteur en état de recevoir, avec abondance, les lumières de la sagesse, par le parfait détachement de toutes les créatures, l'amour du silence et de la retraite, et par le caractère de son esprit, que nulle passion n'étoit capable d'agiter. 5.—La lecture des Pères, et de tous les anciens Auteurs de réputation, dont il avoit recueilli les sentimens les plus beaux, et les plus purs. 6.—L'ordre

So great and imposing a figure cannot be fully understood without considerable study; nor can its true position be arrived at save by examining it from different points of view, and by instituting between it and other kindred objects certain instructive comparisons. He who was placed amongst the Doctors by the inspired wisdom of a Pontiff and a Saint; who is associated with S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, S. Gregory, and S. Jerome—saints who lived so many hundreds of years before—was not thus carried out of his own era, and placed amongst the Columnal Fathers, without a weighty reason. Let us study the points of contrast and of likeness between him and them, that a new illumination may be thrown on our Image of the Saint as the result.

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des matières et cette profondeur de raisonnement, qui lui est propre, pour réduire jusqu'aux premiers principes, toutes les vérités qu'il entreprend d'établir. 7.—L'aveu que le Saint a fait quelquefois, d'avoir plus appris dans l'oraison que dans les livres, ce qui doit faire regarder sa doctrine plutôt comme un présent du Ciel, que comme une simple production de l'esprit humain." (Touron, *Liv. V., Chap. XIII., p.* 585—586.)

CHAPTER III.

S. THOMAS AND THE FATHERS.

PART I.

Now that the Angelical had been ranked amongst the Doctors of the University, he commenced to govern in the schools of S. James's as *Regens Primarius.** Here he would develop the delicate and difficult questions of theology. The Doctor having gone through an elaborate training himself, and having also had many years' practice in dialectical disputation, was ripe for descending into the depths of theological subtilty, and for bringing up and displaying before his wondering scholars the root of some far-creeping heresy, or the seeds of some obscure spiritual malady—that

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* The *Vita* puts the Doctorate of S. Thomas much earlier than most writers. These are the words of the compiler :—"Onde se nel Baccillerato fù stimato da tutti maraviglioso, nel magisterio poscia accese con la maraviglia il stupore ; perche la dottrina, che da lui ascoltavano i scolari, non pareva humana, ma più tosto Angelica. Gli fù dato questo grado di Maestro nel vigesimoquinto anno dell'età sua, et l'anno ottavo dopò di essersi fatto Religioso : et l'anno vigesimosettimo dopò il transito del Patriarca S. Domenico : et della nostra salute l'anno mille ducento, e quarantanove." (*Vita di San Tomaso d'Aquino, p.* 17.)

element in a system of religion or philosophy which stamps it with a special character, and lends to its propagation a peculiar success. Or he might take up one minute point in philosophy—as a man might select a blade of grass or the wing of a gnat—and, by means of a careful analysis, display, through the microscopic powers of a keen and logical intelligence, the whole complication of its delicate construction.* First one line of thought would be brought under observation, then another, and then a third and a fourth ; next, various threads which appeared to intersect the main question, or to diverge from it, would be disentangled and explained ; till, finally, by the application of a process of masterly synthesis, each several line would be drawn into its position and adjusted ; so that what at first, in the eyes of a casual observer, appeared to be an insignificant and inorganic particle or atom, lies mapped out before the wondering eye, like those webs spreading in the morning grass, when the dew still lies on the

* What has been so profoundly said of the bearing of the sciences on each other, can also be said *mutatis mutandis* of the various portions of theological truth in their mutual relations. Speaking of "Sciences," Dr. Newman says :— . . . "viewed altogether, they become the nearest approximation to a representation or subjective reflection of the objective truth, possible to the human mind, which advances towards accurate apprehension of that object, in proportion to the number of sciences it has mastered; and which, when certain sciences are wanting, in such a case has but a defective apprehension, in proportion to the value of the sciences which are thus wanting, and the importance of the field in which they are employed." *(Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education, Disc. III., p. 72—73.)* This seems to have been the view of the Doctor—to fill up the outline which had been given by the Bachelor to the student, and to point out the relation of part to part.

ground, and the fresh beam slopes across the meadows.

Whilst the Angelical was thus diving into the ocean of thought, and bringing up and displaying the rich marvels which he found there, the Bachelor who had the privilege to teach under his direction was engaged in a duty which, indeed, required plenty of brain, though hardly so wide an experience.* He would occupy himself in giving the young men a compendious and general survey of theological teaching, showing them the lie of the land, and commenting also upon the "Sentences" of the Lombard. Thus depth, breadth, and orthodoxy, went hand in hand with accuracy and minute investigation, in the formation of the expanding mind.†

Who had the good fortune to teach as Bachelor at this period, in the School of the Angelical, unfortunately remains uncertain. Some say that it was the Saint's friend Hanibald, who wrote a Commentary on the "Sentences," who was made

* What must have been of immense advantage in the school of S. Thomas was, that he, as well as Albert, had introduced the principle that logic was not an end but a *means*. Abelard and his set had used it, and taught others to use it, simply as a display—as acrobats show off their agility on a sack in the streets:—"Il fut positivement déclaré," says Hauréau, "par Albert-le-Grand, et par saint Thomas et par tous les adhérents de l'école Thomiste, que l'exercice logique est simplement une préparation à l'étude, à la connaissance de la vérité. C'est un autre breton, Dun Scot, qui vint le premier, au treizième siècle, méconnaître ces distinctions nécessaires, et compromettre la logique en prétendant l'appeller à de plus nobles emplois." (*De La Philosophie Scholastique, Tom. I., Chap. II., p.* 33.)

† Carle, in his Life of S. Thomas, says that the office of teaching was held very high indeed:—"Le doctorat était alors un honneur immense; c'était presque un second épiscopat dans l'Eglise . . . on regardait l'enseignement comme un autre sacerdoce." (*Cf.* Gibelli, *p.* 74, *note.*)

Master of the Sacred Palace by Pope Alexander IV. and Urban IV.; and, being subsequently raised to the Sacred College, died six years after his elevation; others, that it was Br. Romanus de'Ursini, the nephew of Pope Nicholas III.; others, finally, that it was Peter of Tarantasia, who succeeded Pope Gregory X. in the Pontifical authority.* This much, anyhow, is certain, that these three able men went through their course at the College of S. James, and received the Doctor's cap between the years 1256 and 1260.

After the Angelical had lectured during the course of a year, as *Primarius Regens*, he was obliged, in accordance with the laws of the University, to make way for another Professor. It was contrary to rule that any Master should teach in the same school for more than three years consecutively. The Saint, however, was fully occupied in matters concerning the interests of his

* "Entrato al'officio di dottore (e ciò fu nell'anno 1257) prese a reggere una scuola, avendo sotto di sè un baccelliere. Secondo l'avviso di alcuni, il baccelliere fu il celebre Annibaldo intimo amico di Tommaso; altri portano opinione che fosse il Padre Romano della famiglia degli Orsini; alcuni sono di credere che fosse Pietro da Tarantasia, che poi sublimato alla cattedra di S. Pietro prese il nome d'Innocenzo V. L'Angelico Dottore nel suo magisterio lasciossi ogni altro lunghissimo spazio addietro, e veramente come aquila levossi a volo sopra tutti e filosofi e teologi. Secondochè si è detto di sopra, l'officio di professore non gli toglieva ch'e' non venisse recando in inscrittura bellissime opere, nelle quali quasi a prova spiccavano la sapienza e la santità di lui. Indirizzò al suo diletto amico il padre Reginaldo un Trattato di Teologia, che solo basterebbe a far chiara fede della sublimità del suo ingegno." (Gibelli, *Capo XIX., p.* 74; see Bareille, Chap. *XVIII.*; Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XIII., p.* 151; Werner, *Vol. I., Drittes Capitel, p.* 213.)

Order.* He was employed to preach the Lenten Sermons at S. James's. A month later he was summoned to Valenciennes. Here the General Chapter of the Dominicans was being held. One of the principal objects which the Fathers had in view was thoroughly to examine the studies, and to place them in the best possible state of efficiency. A Commission was formed to carry out this object. It was composed of the most prudent and most celebrated Dominicans of the schools, viz.: Albertus Magnus, Thomas of Aquino, Bonushomo, Florence of Gaul, and Peter of Tarantasia.† These men soon set earnestly to work. They effected a complete reformation and reorganization of the course. The result of their deliberations was drawn out at length in the Acts of the General Chapter of Valenciennes—the

* "Nachdem er sein Jahr als *Regens Primarius* vollendet hatte, musste er den academischen Gesetzten gemäss seine Lehrkanzel an einen Nachfolger abtreten; es war keinem erlaubt, länger als drei Jahre ununterbrochen in einer und derselben Schule zu lehren. Dafür widmete er sich im Jahre 1259 desto eifriger den von seinem Orden ihm auferlegten Verpflichtungen; er hielt während der Fastenzeit die Predigten in der Kirche zu St. Jacob, und einen Monat später verfügte er sich zu dem auf das Pfingstfest in Valenciennes zusammenberufenen Ordenscapitel um im Vereine mit Albertus M. Bonushomo, Florenz dem Gallier und Peter von Tarentasia Aufträge zu einer neuen Organisation der Ordensstudien zu übernehmen. Die zufolge dessen ausgearbeitete Studienordnung ist in den Dominicanerklöstern theilweise noch heut zu Tage in Uebung; sie findet sich nach ihrem vollständigen Texte in den Acten des Generalcapitels von Valenciennes, des sechsunddreissigsten seit der Stiftung des Ordens." (Werner, *Vol. I., Viertes Capitel, p.* 214.)

† "Nous lisons dans les Chroniques de l'Ordre de S. Dominique, que notre Saint se trouva au Chapitre Général tenu l'an 1259 à Valenciennes, Ville des Pays-Bas en Hainaut. Il fut chargé par les Supérieurs de dresser quelques règlements pour les études, et on lui joignit dans ce travail, quatre autres Docteurs de Paris, entre lesquels étoient Albert le Grand, et Pierre de Tarantaise. Les Lois fort sages, et très-propres pour avancer, et perfectionner les études, qu'ils firent de concert, furent acceptées, dit le P. Echard, et suivies dans tout l'ordre." (Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. VII., p.* 163.)

thirty-sixth since the foundation of the Order by S. Dominic. Werner assures us that the influences of the change produced by this Commission are felt by the students in the Dominican schools to the present day.*

But the University of Paris, which had been at one period so violently opposed to the Dominicans professing divinity at all, now that it had discovered how great a *prestige* the Angelical had given to the schools, implored him to return. The authorities said they were most desirous to set on one side the law which excluded him from the theologic chair, and that no time ought to be lost in his resuming his old position as a Doctor in the schools. The Saint complied with their request. He appeared once again in his former place. The crowds which had pressed around him before, and had, like the tide, receded at his departure—now he had come again, assembled in still greater throngs than ever.† And thus he continued pouring out his matured wisdom, forming theologians, and

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* See *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 214.

† The position of the Saint in the schools may be gathered from the following words of Professor Gibelli :—"Dalla Spagna, dall'Inghilterra, dall' Allemagna, dalla Polonia e da' più remoti paesi traevano a gran numero giovani e uomini alla Università di Parigi (che di questa sola la materia, che ho alle mani, vuole che io faccia menzione) e accesamente, molto di là da nostra usanza, si davano agli studi. Grande era ne' professori il sapere, grande era in essi l'emulazione della scienza, grande l'autorità ; grande negli scholari la brama di venire effettivamente dotti. Degne di essere ritornate in vita erano le leggi, per le quali i professori secolari e regolari doveano di concordia mirare all'augumento delle scienze e alla gloria della Religione." *(Vita di San Tommaso d'Aquino, Cap. XVI., p.* 64.)

building up the Church of God, until obedience summoned him away to other duties.

A man like S. Thomas could not continue lecturing for any length of time, in a great University town like Paris, without attracting notice, and multiplying fame. The Holy See, which had ever kept a watchful and cautious eye upon this great centre of intellectual activity, which never forgot the deeds of learned men, and which ever knew how to turn such men to the best account, summoned the Angelical to Rome. Whether this order was given by Pope Alexander IV. (1260), or by Urban IV., has never been clearly ascertained. One thing is certain, that the Roman Pontiff desired to have this prudent and mighty counsellor at his side.* Where we find the Sovereign Pontiff, there we are sure to find the Angelical. Though he never omitted lecturing, still he continued with the Pope. Not only Rome, but Civita Vecchia, Anagni, Viterbo, Perugia, and other cities of Italy, received the great theologian, and hung upon his lips. He

* "Die Hochschule zu Paris hielt es für eine Ehrenpflicht, die gesetzlichen Beschränkungen aufzuheben, durch welche Thomas zur Zeit wenigstens an der weiteren Fortsetzung seiner öffentlichen Lehrthätigkeit verhindert war, und lud ihn ein, neben den übrigen Doctoren seine Vorträge wieder aufzunehmen. Thomas entsprach dieser Aufforderung, und fuhr fort, in Paris zu lehren, bis er, entweder noch unter Alexander IV. (1260) oder unter dessen Nachfolger Urban IV., zu gleichem Zwecke nach Rom berufen wurde, und sowol hier als auch in anderen Städten Italiens, in welchen sich die Päpste eben aufhielten, in Civita Vecchia, Anagni, Viterbo, Perugia, als Lehrer wirkte, nebstdem, dass sein Rath in wichtigsten Angelegenheiten, in welchen die wissenschaftliche Einsicht den entscheidenden Ausschlag gab, von allen Seiten, selbst von den Päpsten vertrauensvoll zu Rathe gezogen wurde." (Werner, *Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 214.)

preached in their churches, he taught in their schools. And thus, either at Paris, or Rome, or Bologna, or Naples, the great Angelical passed away his life, pouring out the golden stream of theologic lore, and silently, and with an heroic perseverance, working out one object, to the realization of which, since his early youth, he seems to have dedicated his entire life.*

There was nothing desultory in the career of the Angelical. The same wisdom which taught him as a boy to abandon the Abbey, and to join the Dominicans, taught him also how to turn his vocation to best account. An ordinary man might have made the same step without foreseeing or looking forward to the like results. But the early development of our Saint's judgment, and his talents, must be remembered.†

Excepting the shock he suffered when driven from the great Abbey in early days, and the trials

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* "Per obbedienza dava lezioni in tutte quelle città, nelle quali si conduceva il Pontefice; chè questi non consentiva mai di dipartirlo da sè. Per la qual cosa e Viterbo, e Orvieto, e Fondi, e Perugia furono liete di quel beneficio ed onore, di che le più illustri città si davan vanto. Da per tutto e' porgevasi esempio perfettissimo di ogni virtù, da per tutto destava in molti nobilissima brama di verace scienza, da per tutto lasciava di sè inestimabile desiderio." (Gibelli, *Capo XXII., p.* 86; Werner, *Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 214.)

† See how the Angelical's teaching bears upon the intuition of truth. Speaking of contemplation, Frigerio gives the doctrine of the Saint thus:—"E perche il fine col principio si conforma, quindi è, che la vita contemplativa ha per iscopo l'affetto verso di Dio. *Hæc est perfectio contemplativæ vitæ*, dice egli in questo proposito, *ut scilicet non solum divina veritas videatur, sed etiam ametur*; e questo amore si raccende nell'anima contemplante, col fissare i sguardi nel sommo bene, con molto maggior felicità di quello che avvenga all'amor sensitivo col mirar frequentemente gli oggetti amati; siche questo divin dono della sapientia dalla carità non mai disgiunto, fu per questa cagione da esso agli altri doni preferito." (*Lib. III., Cap. II., n.* 1, *p.* 130.)

of his vocation, and the annoyance given him by the tumultuous friends of William of S. Amour, his career had been one of peace, contemplation, and uneventful labour in the schools. From the period of his imprisonment at San Giovanni, where he learnt to love the Scriptures, the Stagyrite, and the "Sentences," till he was raised to the honours of the Doctorate, it may be said, without exaggeration, that his life had been one uninterrupted *curriculum* of study. And then, again, from the time he received his Doctor's cap, till he gave himself up, weary and broken, into the hands of S. Benedict, at Fossa Nuova, viz., during a period of about seventeen years, the whole energy of his vast mind was concentrated on deep problems and on intellectual pursuits, on fulfilling that exalted mission which Providence had called upon him to accomplish.*

The Angelical belongs to the highest order of human greatness. In him the intellect is sovereign. And not only is he supreme in intellect, but the texture of his mind, its breadth, accuracy, and balance, its quickness, vivacity, and depth, rank him with Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; and

* Gibelli gives the whole temper of his intellectual life in the following words, and shows the bias of his mind :—"Quanto al vivere, pochissimo gli bastava, nè del pochissimo mai si dava pensiero ; sempre fra sè rivolgendo cose pertinenti agli studi o allo spirito non ponea mente ai cibi, che si metteva a bocca ; e così nè quel tempo pure gli andava a vuoto. Dopo mangiare, e rendute le grazie, era usato di leggere ad esempio di S. Domenico le Conferenze di Cassiano. Domandato del profitto che ne traesse rispose : ne ricolgo divoti sentimenti, che confortano il mio spirito a levarsi più agevolmente alla contemplazione dell'Essere supremo." (*Vita di San Tommaso d'Aquino, Capo XI., p.* 49.)

then his illumination through the influence of grace, and the knowledge he acquired through the light of revelation, at once lifts him to a more commanding eminence than could possibly have been attained through the power of mere human genius and unassisted reason.*

The Angelical selected his department of Church labour: he forged the weapons which other men have had to use; he lived in the world of moral and scientific thought; he abode in his place; he sold himself over, to labour and to toil without respite in his grand vocation; he had that courage, generosity, and sacrifice, in an eminent degree, without which nothing lasting can be accomplished. There was no sloth, cowardice, or want of perseverance in the Angel of the Schools. He possessed time and opportunities such as no Doctor of the Universal Church was ever able to command, and he carried out a giant task such as not one of the columnal Fathers can be said even to have attempted.†

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* The following words of Frigerio are proof abundant of his great illumination in very early life:—"Risonava per tutto Napoli la fama di Tomaso, celebrandosi per ogni parte con la chiarezza de'suoi natali gli angelici suoi costumi, e gli altri ornamenti e qualità sue personali: ma egli di tali honori non curante, rivolse l'animo a cose maggiori; gloriandosi non d'esser già mondano filosofo, ma ben d'esser discepolo del Signore, e di seguitar nudo il nudo Christo sotto la scorta e austerità della Religione; pensiero principiato in lui fin dal tempo che fu in Monte Casino, e poi maturato e stabilito in Napoli finito il corso della filosofia." (*Vita di S. Tomaso d'Aquino, Lib. I., Cap. II., n.* 5, *p.* 10.)

† In the midst of the few distractions he had, which were after all intellectual, the mind of the Angelical was ever tranquilly resting in its natural home:—"Avvegnachè fosse sempre inteso a satisfare a coloro, che il venivano domandando di assai cose pertinenti alle scienze o allo

It is only by patiently studying the labours and advantages, the methods and the means of the Angelical, that we can appreciate his services to the world. It is only by carefully considering and comparing his career with the lives of the great classic Fathers of theology, that we can arrive at an adequate idea of his exceptional position. No man in the whole range of Church history stands out like the Angel of the Schools as a prince of constructive theology; no man ever combined in such large proportions the ability, time, opportunity, and perseverance necessary for effecting a master-work.*

To put this statement to the test of facts will not only be to point out the position of the Saint, but it will also bring before the reader, in the most vivid manner, a notion of the wide influence he has exerted over the Christian world.

Enough has already been advanced regarding the opinions of Popes, Councils, and Universities,

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spirito, e sebbene molte gravi quistioni e molti rilevanti partiti da esaminare avesse sempre alle mani, pure manteneva continuo la tranquillità dell' animo, la chiarezza della mente, non che quella perfetta signoria, che acquistato avea di sè medesimo. E in ciò, per mio avviso, dimorava la non ultima ragione di quelle ben aggiustate brevi e pronte risposte, le quali opportunamente veniva altrui facendo. Ne ricorderò una sola: domandato egli un giorno che modo avesse a tenere colui, il quale desiderasse di venire veramente dotto, egli, quasi molto tempo prima a ciò pensato avesse, di subito rispose: *leggere un libro solo.*" (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Capo XXII., p.* 86. *Seconda Ediz.*)

* The truth of this assertion, which is by no means made rhetorically or at random, will come out during the course of the following chapters. The Fathers have each of them strongly-marked characteristics; but in the main they resemble each other as athletes of the Cross in dark days: the Angelical was a student—a contemplative, the great thinker of the Church, possessing the most architectonic mind she has ever produced.

to prepare the mind for this investigation.* It was not the life of an ordinary student that the Angelical lived. It was not merely the simple solitude, and continual study and instruction, which built him up into what he eventually became; but it was the force of his abstraction from creatures, and the vividness with which he grasped and realized the unseen world of moral perfection and of theologic truth.

His loneliness was by no means the result of mystic dreaming. It was the consequence of the most intense activity, of the most engrossing occupation. Years spent by such a mind as his in one deep study could not have been without their effect. A life-time of intimate communication with the Fount and Origin of all that is Beautiful and True, must have enriched an intellect of such capacity as his.† No man could have lived his life, unless he had been a partaker of a Divine companionship; no man could have given to the world what he has written, except his intellect had been illuminated by a higher power than man's, and unless he had possessed a mighty gift of concentrative intuition into problems of scientific thought.

It will be well briefly to recall to mind the

* The thesis, as it were, has been first clearly stated, now it has to be proved. It is evident that the Angelical's was a master-mind, how it was such, how it differs from others, will become evident as the character and career of the great Fathers are considered.

† For a full account of his abstraction of life, see Frigerio, *Lib. III., Delle gratie gratis date, Cap. II., p.* 130—137; *Cap. III., p.* 137—141.)

general characteristics of his career. It may be remembered that in Naples, as a youth, he created universal admiration by his transcendent logical ability. Then he came in contact with John a S. Facundo. The Dominicans were famed for the depth and brilliancy of their teachers. What the Jesuits have been in these latter days, that, the Dominicans were then. Heresy had to be repressed, not only by the Inquisition, but also by the store of learning and logic on the side of truth.* To manifest this learning, to throw knowledge into shape by means of this logic, to cleanse, purify, and convert the raw material of thought into a finished scientific consistency, to give unity to the multiplicity of truth, to display its complicated structure, to bring out its claims upon the allegiance of the mind by means of a thousand independent arguments, each separate, yet each witnessing to the other, to overpower the mind by the sheer force of its effulgence :—this was one of the principal aims of the great Masters in the later portion of the middle ages.

It is scarcely probable that the Angelical left the Benedictines merely to become a Dominican Professor. It is scarcely probable that the *Summa*

* "Sentiva anche non senza gran frutto dell'anima sua le spirituali esortationi, che frà le dimestiche pareti a'frati rifaceano, alle quali come fosse uno di essi, era introdotto, e in questa maniera venne soavemente ad affettionarsi a quell'Instituto ; parendoli di non poter meglio aumentare il talento donatogli dalla divina Maestà, che col rendersi religioso di quel sacro Ordine, che oltre la vita contemplativa quivi professata, è anche in gran parte rivolto allo sterpamento dell'heresie, e alla dilatatione del Vangelo." *(Lib. I., Capo II., n. 6, p.* 11.)

was a simple after-thought. Whether the Saint was blindly led by Providence, or whether his one great work broke upon him by degrees, we have no means of ascertaining with absolute certainty.*

Yet his history, from the very first, points directly to the issue of his life. His course was straight and direct towards one point. Had he possessed, as I feel inclined to think he did possess, an intuition of the future, his preparation for it could not have been more complete. Does not the "*Quid esset Deus*" of his boyhood ask a question which is answered in the *Summa* of his declining age? The very books found in his prison form the broad basis of his greatest work: the Bible—Revelation; the Lombard—Tradition and the Fathers; Aristotle—Reason. These master-works he is said to have got by heart, or at all events so thoroughly to have grasped, as to have been completely imbued with their spirit and their force. Next, we find him studying under Albert the Great, at Cologne, at Paris, then at Cologne again, and at Paris once more. His superiors had discovered

* The following concise words of Werner recall the Divine Providential Eye which was watching and guiding the Saint from the very first:—"Noch vor seiner Geburt hatte ein frommer Einsiedler der Mutter den zukünftigen Ruhm des Sohnes geweissagt; der ihm beigelegte Name Thomas wurde etymologisch auf die abgründige Tiefe der heiligen Wissenschaft des gotterleuchteten Lehrers gedeutet; in seiner zartesten Kindheit blieb er unversehrt, als ein Blitz in's Gemach einschlug und neben ihm seine kleine Schwester tödtete; ein einziges Mal zeigte er durch Thränen gegen die mütterlichen Befehle Widerstreben, als er ein mit den Worten Ave Maria beschriebenes Blatt, das er selbst im Bade festhielt, aus seinen Händchen geben sollte; da er es wieder zurückbekommen, nahm er es in den Mund und verschluckte es, den Propheten nachahmend, der die ihm von Gott dargereichte Buchrolle verschlang.—*Ezech., III.*, 2." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Erstes Capitel, p.* 4.)

the quality of his genius. The versatility, wide information, and many-sided energy of Albert, were brought to bear upon the formation of his character and mind. Unquestionably he had had many an anxious discussion with his master, not only on deep subjects of theology, but also on what was beginning to occupy men's minds—on vast systems and profound methods of organizing truth.* It would seem almost impossible for a mind like the Angelical's to grasp the "Sentences," and to comment on them, without being carried beyond the steady, yet narrow and somewhat unscientific process of their author. If the Lombard had done so much—had raised a breakwater against the rising tide of rationalism and irreverence, could not the highest gifts of reason be turned round in the service of the Church? could not irreverence be shown to be irrational; and the fundamental virtues and graces of a Christian heart to be simply the most perfect development of the noblest moral gifts of man? Could the Angelical possibly have known all he did know, and have lived under the

* He could hardly have been so intimate with the Dominicans as he was, without touching on points which were of greatest interest in every way to them. Expanding truth, and eradicating error, these were their two great occupations:—"Tommaso, a cui da buon tempo erano in ammirazione le insigni virtù di questi religiosi, avea in costume di condursi a quando a quando al loro convento di Napoli, e non senza sua consolazione usava con quei buoni padri, ai quali, venutogli il destro, ebbe aperto il segreto del suo cuore. Avea in ispezieltà in altissima riverenza un cotal padre Giovanni da San Giuliano, uomo compiuto d'ogni virtù e fornito di singolare discernimento; con esso assai gli era a grado di conferire di questo suo desiderio, e semprechè ciò faceva, tutto ardeva di entrare in religione." (Gibelli, *Vita di San Tommaso d'Aquino, Cap. IV., p.* 22.)

influences which were brought to bear upon him, without feeling a solemn call to sacrifice his life in the prosecution of a vocation worthy of his exceptional abilities? *

The hand of Providence, the dispositions of superiors, the circumstances of his life, the very subjects which he taught, the points on which he wrote—all concentrate, like the rays of light on a burning-glass, upon the one great achievement of his life, upon the *Summa Theologica*.

This *Summa* was the destiny of the Angelical. As naturalists assure us that there are creatures whose one simple end in life is to produce another life, and having accomplished that, to die; so, in a measure, was it with our great Angelical. He seems to have been born into this world to achieve one masterful work, to erect his mighty acropolis, and then to be called away.† The *Summa*

* According to Bareille, the Benedictine monks at Monte Cassino soon discovered how great a mind was in their midst. And this is all the more worthy of remark, as the Angelical was only five years of age, according to this author, when he entered the Abbey:—"Les rares qualités qui distinguaient l'intelligence et le cœur de Thomas furent promptement remarquées par ses nouveaux maîtres. Ils semblèrent comprendre que la Providence venait de remettre entre leurs mains un talent d'une valeur peu commune. Sans qu'il leur fût possible d'en calculer tout le prix, ils sentirent vaguement que, par leur acceptation même, ils devenaient redevables, non-seulement à l'égard d'une grande famille, mais encore vis-à-vis de toute la chrétienté. Il y eut au Mont-Cassin, au moment où Thomas entrait dans cette demeure, comme un écho des paroles prophétiques recueillies à Rocca-Sicca, avant la naissance de cet enfant. On eût dit que le cœur de ces pieux solitaires ressentait d'avance le poids de ses grandes destinées." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. II., p.* 15, *quatr. édit.*)

† Though he does not develop his thought, it is evident that Professor Gibelli looks upon the *Summa* as the result of a fixed plan. He calls it a "termine fisso d'alto consiglio," towards which S. Thomas had directed his mighty gifts and glorious studies. The following are his words:—"Intorno a quel tempo Tommaso, comechè non cessasse mai d'intendere

Theologica, though written quickly, and at the end of his career, was his one life's labour. It was his great legacy to humanity. It absorbed all his powers, and used up all his knowledge, and employed all the breadth of his vast mind, and all the illumination of grace, accompanied by a pure and abstracted life, to produce that one result.

What are all his other labours but preparations for this *opus summum?* Without such an explanation, his writings become confused and unmeaning fragments, the scattered fruits of intense thought and study, without any appropriate end. If a man goes abroad, and comes upon a heap of stones here, a column there, here a capital, there the portion of a roof, with wood and quarried work, and tiles, and slabs, and sashes, and all the ordinary signs of building — he at once perceives that these materials, though different in kind, are destined to take their place in giving unity to one grand conception; and if, after a time, he returns and finds some splendid pile there, and recognizes in its walls, and roof, and shafts, and capitals,*

coll'usato ardore e all'insegnamento e alla predicazione e a dettare quando un Trattato quando un altro, e sebbene egli il più del tempo fosse dato alle accese sue preghiere e a quelle sublimi contemplazioni che lo aiutavano a crescere in santità, pose mano a quell'Opera, la quale fu e sarà maisempre la maraviglia di tutti i dotti. Parlo della sua Somma Teologica, alla quale come a termine fisso d'alto consiglio avea vôlto il potentissimo suo ingegno, e i gloriosi suoi studi." (*Capo XXV., p.* 94.)

* It may be remarked that the word *Summa* means a collection. "Summa latina vox est a priscis, recentioribusque Latinis auctoribus usitata; et quemadmodum peritiores ante nos observarunt, collectionem quemdam, sive contractionem significat: quæ cum esse possit vel numerorum, vel sententiarum, vel aliarum rerum; fit, ut Summa numerorum, Summa sententiarum, et hujusmodi dicere latine et eleganter possimus. *Circumspectis rebus omnibus, rationibusque subductis* (inquit Cicero)

the materials he had before seen scattered on the ground, does he not take for granted that the preparation he had seen was the result of careful calculation; and that the architect, before he had given out a single drawing, had thoroughly matured his entire plan;—that he had a distinct scope in view, and was steadily working towards it; that each board and stone, each tile and frame, did not contain its meaning in itself, but alone could be interpreted when brought into relation with the general design? Would he not say, "Those were the materials, this is the grand result?"*

This is precisely the case with the Angelical. Take all his works, his "*Catena Aurea*," his "Commentary" on the Lombard, his "*Quodlibeta*," his "*Quæstiones Disputatæ*," his "*Contra Gentiles*," his "Compendium of Theology," even his very first brochures, as well as his voluminous writings

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summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium; hoc est, collegi, ad certaque capita contraxi cogitationes meas omnes. Proinde quia collectio omnis et contractio, angustia quædam et brevitas esse videtur constat haec vox brevitatem, et angustiam quemdam: unde formulæ illæ loquendi ortæ sunt, ad summam dicere, loqui in summa, et hujusmodi quæ significant brevibus paucisque complecti nos velle ea, de quibus verba facturi sumus." (Hieron. Vielm., *De Div. Thom. Aquinat. Doct., Lib. II., p.* 113—114.)

* The whole tendency of the thirteenth century was towards a synthesis of some kind. Men had had enough of fragmentary teaching. Albert's work was too ponderous, it was a mere quarry—of which the Angelical by the way made good use, and neither clear nor precise enough for the student; the Lombard was still commented on and prized; yet the very study of his work had opened men's minds to see beyond him; it had educated them beyond itself, and had indicated many things which it had not carried out. The Angelical's *Summa* is by far the most symmetrical and precise amongst all the digests which have appeared in the schools. No man, even in these days, could construct a *Summa* according to modern wants, without appearing at least to imitate the Angel of the Schools. This points to his elevation of mind which could see so far even into our day.

on Aristotle and on the Gospels, on Job and on S. Paul—take whatever he has written as it lies scattered up and down his life, whether it come under Revelation, Tradition, or Reason, whether it be the foundation, or the columns, or the buttresses, and you will recognize it, though it may be cast in a different form, as occupying its place in the vast creation of the *Summa Theologica*. So true is this, that those who succeeded this great architect were enabled, from the materials which he himself had drawn together, to complete the edifice which he had left unfinished.*

Combining the parts is the smallest labour of a great architectonic work. Genius lies, first, in conceiving the entire plan; then, in collecting material in sufficient quantity; and, finally, in fashioning each separate portion into shape. When this has been accomplished, then the work is all but ended. The *Summa* was written in a few years; the preparation for writing it occupied an entire life-time of uninterrupted thought and study.

What, then, it will be asked, is this *Summa*

* Here are some of the philosophers, orators, and poets mentioned in the *Summa*:—"Aristotoles, Algazel, Alexander, Andronicus, Aristophanes, Averroës, Avicenna, Avenpace, Avicebron, Boethius, Cajus Jurisconsultus, Democritus, Empedocles, Epicurus, Euclides, geometer; Gilbertus Porretanus, Heraclitus, Horatius, poeta lyricus; Jul. Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, historicus; Leucippus, Liber de Causis, Liber Stratagemmatum Francorum; Macrobius, super Somnium Scipionis; Marcus Tullius Cicero, orator; Ovidius Naso; Plato, Peripatetici, Plotinus, Pittacus Mitylenæus, Porphyrius, Pythagoras, Ptolomæus, astronomus; Seneca, orator; Sallustius, historiographus; Simplicius, Socrates, Sophistæ, Stoici, Strabus, Terentius, poeta comicus; Titus Livius, historicus; Trimegistus, Varro, Valerius Maximus, orator; Vegetius, de re militari." (Vid. *Opp., Tom. X., Index Novus, p.* 572. *Ed. Romæ, MDCCLXXIII.*)

Theologica? It is the Christian religion thrown into scientific form, and the orderly exposition of what a man should be. The Angelical had studied the mind of the Church. In as far as is given to man, he had mastered that Divine intelligence.* And just as a Carlo Dolce would pore over some beautiful face, with its sweet modest expression, with its delicate colouring, with its soft-rounded features; just as he would note every shade and tint, to the light living in the eye, and the curve playing on the lips; just as he would photograph all this upon his imagination, and then, with inimitable tenderness and skill, reproduce it upon the glowing canvass—so with the Angelical. He spent his days in the study of the lineaments and expression of the spotless Bride of Christ. To reproduce the likeness of her beauty was the labour of his life; his mind was in harmony with her gracefulness;—for Her radiance is not corporeal: it is the truth, goodness, and harmony of her high supernatural commission which lends to her that loveliness which comes straight from the Eternal Throne.

* These Popes (the infallible exponents of the Church's mind) help in the construction of the *Summa*:—"Adrianus, Papa; Alexander, Primus Martyr; Alexander III.; Anacletus, Martyr; Agatho, Papa; Bonifacius, Papa; Calixtus, Martyr; Cœlestinus III.; Clemens, Martyr; Damasus, Papa; Eusebius, Papa; Fabianus, Martyr; Felix, Papa; Gregorius I., Gregorius VII., Gelasius, Martyr; Honorius III., Hormisda, Papa; Joannes, Papa; Innocentius II., Innocentius III., Julius, Papa; Leo I., Leo IV., Lucius III., Martinus, Papa; Marcellus, Martyr; Nicolaus, Papa; Paschalis, Papa; Pelagius, Papa; Pius, Papa; Sergius, Papa; Soter, Martyr; Stephanus, Martyr; Stephanus V., Silvester, Papa; Symmachus, Papa; Telesphorus, Martyr; Urbanus, Martyr; Urbanus II., Zephirinus, Martyr." (Vid. *Opp. S. Thomæ Aquinat., Tom. X., Index Nonus, p.* 572.)

The mind of the Church, unlike the simple face of a Madonna, is vast, deep, and difficult to grasp, on account of its awful oneness and sublime multiplicity. The Church's mind is reflected in her history; there is a human element in it, as well as a Divine. She has her great giants who are born to her, who fight for her, who die away and are succeeded by others; whilst she, ever young, strong, and beautiful, sweeps on from age to age towards the revelation of her final glory.* Unlike decaying and fickle man, her mind is ever one. As she advances, bleeding, out of the first tragic periods of her history, she unfolds her sympathies more and more. Her enemies maliciously strike at her, and her champions ward off the blow. Her voice, shrill as the bugle, speaks by the mouth of a glorious line of Pontiffs, who live and die, whilst the spirit which animates them goes on without a shadow of alteration or vicissitude. She holds in her hand the Book of the Revelation of the Supernatural Life; she appeals to the past as a confirmation of the present, and she fearlessly challenges her opponents to point out a flaw in her heavenly armour—one single seam through which the glittering point of human reason can penetrate and wound her.† Her majesty,

* The Angelical studied her also in her Councils, viz. :—"Constantinopolitana, Nicæa, Toletana, Arausicanum, Ephesinum, Meldense, Aurelianense, Calcedonense, Lateranense, Carthaginense IV., Uvomarciense, Agatense, Triburiense, Africanum, Remense, Arelatense, Milevitanum, Ancyritanum, Moguntinum." (Vid. *Opp., Loco Citato.)*

† No! she is strong, and man is weak. She brought a remedy for guilt, and for moral impotence. And "thus it is that Christianity is the

her grace, her radiant purity, the supernatural character of her whole intelligence and action, the tenderness of her mother's love—all is displayed to captivate the heart of man and to make it fit for heaven. The magic which springs with her elastic step, the beaming of her countenance, the sparkling of her eye—all tell of her Divine Original, of the triumph of an hundred victories, and of the glories of her supernatural crown.

To draw out her picture in such a way that men might understand it, was the life's labour of our Saint. The *Summa Theologica* is, after all, but the scientific exposition of those principles which actuate her life, and lend to her entire being its supernatural loveliness.*

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fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham, and of the Mosaic revelations; this is how it has been able from the first to occupy the world, and gain a hold on every class of human society to which its preachers reached; this is why the Roman power, and the multitude of religions which it embraced, could not stand against it; this is the secret of its sustained energy, and its never-flagging martyrdoms; this is how at present it is so mysteriously potent, in spite of the new and fearful adversaries which beset its path. It has with it that gift of staunching and healing the one deep wound of human nature, which avails more for its success than a full encyclopædia of scientific knowledge, and a whole library of controversy, and therefore it must last whilst human nature lasts. It is a living truth, which never can grow old." *(Grammar of Assent, Part II., Chap. X., p. 482. Third Edition.)*

* Take the preparation, or rather a portion of the preparation of the Angelical in one branch of study alone, viz.: Pagan Philosophy as represented by Aristotle—of whom later. In the Parma edition of his works, his *Commentary* on the Stagyrite fills four large volumes. The first, *pp.* 1—538; the second, *pp.* 1—441; the third, *pp.* 1—654; and the fourth, *pp.* 1—760. When it is remembered what is the nature of Aristotle's writings, that they are in the highest degree logical and metaphysical, that intense application of the mind is necessary for mastering them—to say nothing of commenting on them, and of the fact that few men can fully comprehend some portions of them—some notion may be formed of the view taken by the Angelical regarding wide and deep study. If the substance of the *Summa* comes from Revelation and Tradition, the form in which it is cast, that is to say its framework, has been put together after deep study of Greek method and thought.

The vastness of the preparation must correspond to the greatness of the work to be achieved. He who would build a mighty temple, must sink foundations in proportion, must cut out massive columns, and must quarry for the walls. He who would give a transcript of the mind of the Universal Church, must be prepared to prosecute studies proportionate to the immensity of such an undertaking.

What are the principal instruments necessary for grasping the Church's mind? Those very studies which the Angelical had engaged in from early youth. They are principally three: the study of Revelation—of the Old Law, and of the New Covenant; the study of Tradition, that is, of the teachings of the Fathers, the Sovereign Pontiffs, and the Councils of the Church; and finally, the study of that Intellectual Science, or Philosophy, which shows the mind how these vast subjects, with all their various groups of truths and principles, can be set up in unity—like the human organism, which is in one sense many, though in another only one.*

* Of course the above is not intended as an exhaustive summary of the *loci theologici*. Those who wish for more on this point will find all they could desire in *Melchior Canus*, that enlightened reformer, who on this point, as well as many others, owes so much to the Stagyrite. His headings are ten :—I. *S. Scriptura (v. Th. Gen.*, § 149—163); II. *Traditio (Ibid.*, § 164—183); III. *Auctoritas, Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Traditio (Ibid.*, § 188—202, *et* § 207—209); IV. *Concilia præsertim Generalia (Ibid.*, § 204—206, *et* § 211); V. *Definitiones Rom. Pontificum (Ibid.*, § 210) VI. *Sancti Patres* (§ 178); VII. *Theologi Scholastici (Ibid.*, § 212); VIII. *Ratio Naturalis (Ibid.*, § 275—285); IX. *Philosophi;* X. *Historia Ecclesiastica et Profana (Ibid.*, § 10).

He who could thoroughly master this threefold matter, and discover that scientific form or organic structure which displays its mutual harmony and bearing; and through a spirit of supernatural purity could see the hidden things of the spirit; and through the clearness of the intellectual eye could intue the high truths of morality and religion—such a man, if gifted with transcendent ability, with opportunity and time, would be capable of constructing a *Summa Theologica.*

It would be a life's labour, it would be a saint's work, it would require all the reverence, love, purity, and adoration man could command, to bring his spirit into harmony with such a momentous subject. He should possess a genius of the supernatural order, and live away in the world unseen.*

Thus it is evident that the career of the Angelical from the first, the bias of his mind, the labours he engaged in, and the whole direction of his studies, point him out as prepared by Providence for achieving a special work for the Church of God.

* As Frigerio says, the Angelical was filled with the spirit of S. Jerome, and of S. Paul the first hermit :—"Ma Tomaso con lo spirito di S. Girolamo, che antiponeva la tonica di San Paolo primo romito tessuta di palme alle porpore reali, rispose: Se il Signore desse a me l'elettione, molto più presto eleggerei le homilie di S. Giovanni Chrisostomo sopra S. Matteo, che l'esser padrone di Parigi, saggiamente preponendo la sapientia e la povertà di spirito a'regni ed agl'imperj: e fra l'altre ragioni, che ne assegnò, e volle insieme ammaestrare i suoi compagni, una fu; *Civitas enim hæc, si esset mea propter curam regiminis contemplationem divinorum mihi eriperet, et consolationem animi impediret, quam Scriptura donaret. Quanto namque quis amplius pro amore temporalium premitur, tanto periculosius a cœlestibus elongatur.*" (*Vita di San Tomaso d'Aquino, Lib. II., Capo X., n. 4, p.* 120.)

The very fact of its being impossible to determine whether or no the Saint had seen his way to the end from the beginning, throws all the greater interest on his life. If he were preparing from the first, and had stretched forth consciously from his youth towards the accomplishment of his vocation, then a flood of light is cast on the character of his intelligence. If on the contrary he were simply led like a little child by the grace of Christ, till his life-object broke upon him, then how marvellously the guidance of an Unseen Hand directed all his ways!

It is necessary at present thus to touch upon the *Summa Theologica* in general, to look upon it as it were from afar—as one might gaze on the distant pyramids, in order to realize it sufficiently for the purpose in hand, though without being able, or deeming it necessary, to study it in detail.* There it stands, a colossal monument for all time, witnessing, by its vast outline alone, to the labour, energy, and genius of him who set it in its place.

The fact of the *Summa* never having been completed, far from detracting from its greatness seems to prove it all the more. It was too

* The profound view he had of the supernatural help of God, and the special assistance accorded to him, are clear indications of the will of God in his regard:—"Ma perche la sapientia secondo la dottrina del nostro Santo propriamente consiste nel conoscimento di Dio e delle cose a lui appartenenti, noi per tanto in prima tratteremo della profonda scientia, a ch'egli pervenne delle sacre Scritture, essendone l'autore lo stesso Dio, il quale, come egli dice, da le chiavi dell'intendimento ai Dottori della Chiesa, a'santi espositori, agli humili, agli amici dell'oratione, agl'innocenti, stando scritto: Nell'anima macolata e di mala volontà non entrerà la sapientia." (Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. I., n.* 4, *p.* 125—126.)

enormous for any one man to begin and to accomplish. Had the Saint wholly finished it, perhaps we should find it difficult to realize its immensity. Had those vast piles—those splendid cathedrals, with their shafts, and colonnades, and arches, and solemn shade, and blazoned glass; with their massive towers, pinnacles and spires—been run up, in a life-time, as if by contract, we should think much more lightly of them than we do.* But when the life's work remains unfinished, and the hand which began it has fallen into dust, then a certain sadness presses in upon the mind, and we look on the majestic fragment with tenderness, and wonder at it, and venerate that creative brain and skilful hand which have left a token witnessing to the power of man, whilst at the same time it proclaims his absolute dependence on a Being more mighty than himself. We do not think the less of the Angelical because he did not put the last stroke to the *Summa Theologica;* nor is the monument

* Vielmus thus gives the testimony of a learned man:—"Non gravabor his addere Antonii Campani Interamnatium Episcopi testimonium, quamquam prolixum nimis nonnullis videri potest. Sic enim de Doctore nostro loquitur: 'Thomas locupletissimus in Dialecticis; de quibus sic edidit, ut qui ejus præcepta non negligunt, et fallere quemquam nolint, et falli ipsi a quoquam nullo modo possint. Locupletissimus in Philosophia; sive illa, quæ ad vitæ pertinet institutionem, et moralem appellamus; sive quæ in rerum natura versatur, et initia, casus, eventusque complectitur, et Physicam nominamus; in qua et invenit ipse multa per se suopte ingenio; et aliorum inventa involuta et perplexa, splendidissima et distinctissima luce declaravit. Locupletissimus in scientia Divina, quam Theologicam nuncupamus; . . . nec ullum est ænigma tam ambiguum, nullus tam intricatus nodus aut involucrum nullæ tam obscuræ nubes . . . quas vir Dei sanctissimus non evolverit, retexerit, aperuit.'" *(De Div. Thomæ Aquinat. Doct. et Scriptis, Lib. II., p.* 126. *Brixiæ, MDCCXLVIII.)*

practically injured by remaining unfinished: for the end it was intended to accomplish, it abundantly suffices. Though an outer work may have been omitted, the great central fortress, the real stronghold, the *Secunda Secundæ*, stands out bold, distinct, and complete.*

It is this work which fixes the Angelical as the great champion of the Church. It was for this that he was numbered by Pope Pius V. amongst the Doctors. And the very act of ranking him amongst them suggests a comparison to the mind. All are glorious and great—but each in his own special line; each did his particular service; each earned his own dazzling crown; each showed his valour, or his fortitude, or his political ability, or his eloquence, or his scientific intuition; each stands on the steps of the throne of the Immortal Queen, closer to her and more honourably placed than many others over whose heads circles the aureola.† What was their office? How did

* A grave and learned man thus speaks of the great *Summa* of the Angelical, and his enthusiasm may in some way give an idea of its power. No cathedral, however vast and solemn, has made a poet speak with greater warmth than this:—"Longe mihi magis probari Summam Theologiæ fateor. Cujus operis augustissimi præstantiam, si mihi sint linguæ centum, oraque centum, si cuncta corporis mei membra vertantur in linguas, et omnes artus humana voce resonent, nec plene narraverim, nec dignum aliquid ejus magnitudine et majestate dixerim. Res, quæ tractantur, divinæ sunt; sententiæ sublimes, doctrina constans, et subtilis: stylus brevis, et nitidus; ordo pulcherrimus; methodus vero incomparabilis. Ita enim quæsita inter se nectit, ut aliud ex alio, posterius ex priori instar catenæ pendere, et lucem ac robur accipere videantur." (Hieron. Vielm., *De Div. Thomæ Aquinatis Doct., Lib. II., p.* 111—112.)

† Taken in its most rigorous sense, a Father of the Church is a writer of dogma, external to the episcopate, who is a witness to the teachings of ecclesiastical antiquity. Very high qualifications are necessary to secure to any man so high a title. The following are at least the most important conditions: antiquity, orthodoxy in doctrine, sanctity of

they differ? How does the Angelical stand in their regard? What had they to do with his renown?

These questions open out a vast field of thought, prolific with guiding principles and with governing ideas. And how can we refuse to enter into it? A general survey must be taken. How could the picture of the Angelical be drawn without painting in the light and colour which come from abroad, yet still belong to him? How could his position and intellect be adequately portrayed without touching on those influences which helped to secure to him the one, and did so much to expand and elevate the other? How could it be fairly shown that he assiduously studied the Church's mind, unless by pointing out how he came in contact with those who were her trusty servants, who had stood by her in days of storm, who had fought her battle, if they did not pour out the red stream of their lives in her defence?* Did he not hearken to their

life, and either express or tacit approbation of the Church. In the Latin Church, the list of "Fathers" closes with S. Gregory (604); in the Greek, with S. John of Damascus (about 754). (For further information, see Fessler, *Institut. Patrologiæ, Tom. I., p.* 26—29; also Alzog, *Manuel de Patrologie*, § 2, *p.* 3, *trad. par Bélet. Paris*, 1867.)

* I need but refer, in a general way, to the broad contrast between the Catholic writers of the Greek and Latin Churches, in order to suggest to the reader how necessary it would be for anyone writing a *Summa* to master the leading characteristics of both schools. It appears to the present writer that the Angelical possessed many of the Greek characteristics. There is more in him (leaving out S. Augustine, who was cosmopolitan) of S. Justin, Origen, S. Athanasius, S. Basil, the Damascene, and the two Gregories, than of Tertullian, S. Cyprian, Lactantius, Arnobius, or S. Jerome. Anyhow, if he was under obligations to the Latin Fathers, he was no less beholden to the great Greek Philosophico-religious school. He must have been influenced by both, which after all is enough for the present purpose.

words, reverence all they said, feed his mind upon their thoughts, cherish them tenderly, and bind them in spirit to his heart as the noblest and fairest creations of Divine omnipotence? Is not the *Summa Theologica* tesselated with their gem-like sayings? and does not the Angel of the Schools, with that sweet modesty which is attached to genius, turn and shape his thoughts with their assistance? Without their steady guidance, how could even he have found his way through the labyrinths and obscurities of the Sacred Scriptures? Without them, what could he have known of the chequered history of the Church, of her adversaries, her combats, and her victories? * Have they not one and all, Athanasius, and Basil, and Chrysostom, and Jerome, and Augustine, and Ambrose, as well as Nazianzus and Pope Gregory, in their place and measure, in East and West, established, confirmed, expanded, consolidated, as well as witnessed to the undeviating doctrines of the Church? Do we not, in looking at the *Summa Theologica*, re-

* Vielmus gives a very fair idea of the formation of a *Summa*, in which the teachings and principles of antiquity are collected, located, and adjusted:—"Laudat Plato Graecos," he says, "quod artes et disciplinas omnes, quas a barbaris acceperant, auxerint, et illustraverint: et nos nullis efferemus præconiis illos, qui Theologiam in Scriptis Patrum dispersam, et latissimis veluti campis huc illuc in frustra magis, quam in membra divisam collegerunt, in unumque corpus contraxerunt, et ursarum more, multo labore, et vigiliis lambendo, pulcherrimam effinxerunt, intraque certam domum sic habitare fecerunt, ut nemo sit, qui non brevi quoque tempore eum convenire possit, deque facie cognoscere, et ejus fieri non jam hospes, sed conturbernalis et familiaris? Quanto tempore, obsecro, quanto studio, quibus vigiliis opus est, si Theologus doctus et peritus sola veterum Patrum lectione evadere velis?" (*De Div. Thomæ Aquinat. Doct. et Scriptis, Lib. I., p.* 53—54.)

cognize a pillar from Alexandria, a capital from Constantinople, marble from Bethlehem, concrete from Hippo, bases from Cappadocia, ornaments from Milan, and foundation-stones from Rome? Had not the Angelical that priceless gift of assimilating to his own plastic mind, by a certain spontaneous attraction, anything and everything which chimed in harmony with the Church's consciousness, and which illustrated her spotless life?* Can either one or the other be grasped, save in any but a very superficial manner, without gaining some slight knowledge of the East, without a readiness to undertake the labour requisite for understanding the grand master-principle which grew up in the desert, entered the haunts of men, and formed those primeval heroes of Christianity whose race appears to have become extinct,—I mean those first mighty giants of the Church, those men of violent energy of nature, of bursting fire of heart,

* Here are some of the "Doctors" and Works mentioned in the *Summa*:—"Ambrosius, Anselmus, Augustinus, Athanasius, Antonius in sermone ad monachos, Basilius Magnus, Bernardus, Beda Venerabilis, Benedictus in Regula sua, Canones Apostolorum, Cassianus de institutis cœnobiorum, Cyrillus, Chrysostomus, Cyprianus, Collationes Patrum, Damascenus, Decreta, Dionysius Areopagita, Dionysius Alexandrinus, Didymus, Eusebius Emissenus, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Glossa Ordinaria, Glossa Interlinearis, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Gregorius Nyssenus, Gregorius Magnus, Gratianus, Hebraica Veritas, Hesychius super Leviticum, Hieronymus, Hilarius, Hugo de S. Victore, Ignatius, Isidorus, Itinerarium Clementis, Maximus Commentator Dionysii, Liber de Infantia Salvatoris sed Apocryphus, Leo primus, Liber sententiarum Prosperi, Maximus Episcopus, Magister Sententiarum, seu Petrus Lombardus, Origenes, Prosper de Vita Contemplativa, Præpositivus, Rabbi Moses Judæus, Rabanus, Remigius, Richardus de S. Victore, Severianus, Vitæ Sanctorum Patrum." (Vid. *Opp., S. Thomæ Aquinat., Tom. X., Index IX., p.* 572.)

of toughest heroism of life,—men who could starve, and scourge, and dwell in tombs and pits, and stifle, with terrific pressure, the suggestions of the flesh, whilst, with an awful superhuman strength, they plied their ceaseless toil in the service of religion, and left monuments at their deaths which have secured their names in everlasting benediction ? *

Throughout the history of mankind we perceive those cardinal principles which govern the world energizing in certain typical representatives, whose force of character offers free scope to their full development. The man of rarest genius—a Newton, a Bacon, or a Shakespeare, whether he be a mathematician, a philosopher, or a poet, displays, with a force and brilliancy beyond all other men, his special gift. Alexander and Cæsar will always be typical commanders; Plato and Aristotle are pattern thinkers ; S. Augustine and S. Thomas model theologians. They were born, and made their career, and died. But their influence survives, flesh falls to dust, earth to

* See the supernatural life of S. Ephrem, in the *Vitæ Patrum*, *Vol. I.*, especially *Cap. V.*, *p.* 319 ; of S. Simeon Stylites, *Cap. X.*, *p.* 330 ; of S. John the Almoner, *Cap. I.—LV.*, *p.* 342—392 ; of SS. Epictetus and Astion, *Cap. XIII.*, *p.* 402, *Cap. XXII.*, *p.* 410 ; of S. Posthumius, *Cap. III.*, *p.* 427, *Cap. VIII.*, *p.* 434 ; of S. Frontonius, *Cap. I.—XI.* ; of Barlaam the Hermit, and Josaphat the Indian King, *Cap. I.—XL.*, *p.* 446—603, supposed by some to have been written by S. John of Damascus ; or, if you look to great women, of the beautiful S. Euphrasia, especially *Cap. XIII.*, *p.* 629 ; of Saint Mary, *Cap. I.—XVII.*, *p.* 652—660 ; of S. Thaïs, and her relations with SS. Paphnutius and Anthony, *Cap. I.—III.*, *p.* 661—664 ; of S. Pelagia the Sinner, *Cap. I.—XV.*, *p.* 664—672 ; of Saint Mary of Egypt, *Cap. I.—XXVII.*, *p.* 674—690. In men and women the power of love seems the same. A giant race of heroic lovers of the Cross lived in the midst of a wicked day.

earth, but the soul lives on. The tongue which articulates, and the brain which thinks, become stiff, and shrivel into clay; the cardinal principle which inhabited and ruled in the brain, and whose cause was pleaded by the tongue, lives still, energizes still, but in other minds: it does not decay, it multiplies like fire, it is propagated, it manifests itself here and there and finally becomes a portion of the intellectual furniture, or the life-thought, of large societies of men.* In all great movements, one principle guides and colours all. One master-mind controls. Discover this principle, find out the ruling power, study the mind and method, and the centre-germ of an enormous expansion will be discovered, which will explain of itself the fecundity, force, and tough vitality of truth. Draw out the tap-root, and the mighty growth of the tree is no longer an enigma.

The great columnal Doctors of the Church seem to belong to a race apart. Though we look upon them at so great a distance, still they stand out as distinct in expression, as bold in outline, as supremely great, as if we had just been

* This is seen very plainly in the influence of master-minds. Homer and Virgil still exert their power over men. Men's minds are formed by them to classic taste through the influence of certain principles, the issues of which those poets had the gift of expressing more vividly and perfectly than others; so of philosophers; see Plato, and above all Aristotle—whose principles, perhaps, on the whole, rule with a greater force than those of any other philosopher who has not borrowed from him. But the most telling instance is that of Christianity. Here is a principle essentially belonging to a New Covenant, and now exerting a greater sway, judging by numbers, than ever before. Men die; Christianity lives on and expands over the world.

warmed by the vision of their mighty deeds, or had only just escaped from the spell of their fascinating presence.* Whence did their power come? What made them so unique?

Bear patiently, gentle reader, being whirled far away to the cities of the East, and into the sandy deserts of Palestine and Egypt. Bear patiently being suddenly dropped in quite another world, so different from that which has, up to the present, been occupying thy attention.

If we would fully understand the stream, we must travel to the source. If we would find whence proceed those bright deep courses of thought which seem to have flowed into the soul of the Angelical, we must seek out, not only the great principle of *quies* at Cassino, of activity at S. James's, of love, reverence, adoration, and purity at S. Victor's; but we must search out yet another principle, which formed the intellectual soul of the great masters of the Christian mind in earlier ages.†

* What better spiritual reading could a Catholic ecclesiastic select than the Lives of the great Fathers of the Church; or than their ascetical writings; or even, in some instances, than their polemical ones? To master the life of one of these great giants—S. Athanasius, for instance, or S. Basil, or S. Gregory, or S. Ambrose—is to possess a new standard of life, to measure human life by a new rule, to discover the secret principle of greatness in the Saints, as well as the origin of their vast energy, generosity, and singleness of purpose. While they shame us, they elevate us; and we close the book, glad that such men have lived on earth, for they remain as lasting patterns of hard work and heroic devotedness. So grandly human, so perfectly divine, they are model men for all ages of the world.

† There is a principle which protects man from the taint of scepticism, sensualism, and materialism, and directs his faculties most perfectly to the most perfect end. By means of it he finds truth, and rests securely on it. Hettinger sums up his treatise on "the kingdom of Truth" with these words, which may easily be applied:—"Entweder er [man] läugnet *alle Wahrheit — absoluter Zweifel, allgemeine Skepsis*—oder er

The East had her say in the glories of the Church, as well as Western Christendom. And if the Angelical learnt many things at Paris, and Cologne, and Rome, and Bologna, and Naples—if he was influenced and moulded by the teaching of these schools, he was also educated and informed by Constantinople, and Cæsarea, and Alexandria, and Bethlehem, and Hippo, and Antioch, and Milan. If he was impressed, on the one hand, by Albert, and Bonaventure, and John a S. Facundo, and Pietro Martini, and Erasmus, and Pietro d'Ibernia, and John of Germany; he was, on the other hand, no less influenced—indeed much more so—by Augustine, and Chrysostom, and Gregory, and Athanasius, and Jerome, and Ambrose, and the great Fathers of the Church and of the Desert.*

läugnet alle höhere, geistige, ideale Erkenntniss — *Sensualismus* und *Materialismus*—oder endlich er läugnet die religiöse, geoffenbarte Wahrheit —*Naturalismus*, *Rationalismus*. Ihm gegenüber haben wir die Gewissheit der menschlichen Erkenntniss überhaupt, das Dasein der Wahrheit in und für den menschlichen Geist nachgewiesen. In dreifacher Ordnung hat sie sich uns dargestellt; als *sinnliche Erkenntniss* durch die Thätigkeit der Sinnesorgane, als *geistige Erkenntniss* durch die Thätigkeit der denkenden Vernunft, als *religiöse Erkenntniss* durch den Glauben an die sich offenbarende Gottheit." (*Apologie der Christenthums*, *Erster Band*, *Erste Abt.*, *Zweiter Vortrag*, *p.* 93.)

* The following extract is proof abundant of the extraordinary mastery the Angelical had over the great Church-Fathers, and of the way in which he knew their minds :—"It is impossible to read the Catena of S. Thomas," says Dr. Newman, "without being struck with the masterly and architectonic skill with which it is put together. A learning of the highest kind—not a mere literary book-knowledge, which might have supplied the place of indexes and tables in ages destitute of those helps, and when everything was to be read in unarranged and fragmentary MSS.—but a thorough acquaintance with the whole range of ecclesiastical antiquity, so as to be able to bring the substance of all that had been written on any point to bear upon the text which involved it—a familiarity with the style of each writer, so as to compress into few words the pith of a whole page, and a power of clear and orderly arrangement in this mass of knowledge, are qualities which make this Catena perhaps nearly perfect as a conspectus of Patristic interpretation." (See *Catena Aurea*, *Vol. I.*, *Part I.*, *Preface*, *p.* 3—4. *Oxford, MDCCCXLI.*)

What was the one book which of all others the Angelical chose as the most invigorating spiritual nourishment? Cassian's "*Collationes Patrum.*" What is the substance of Cassian's work? It treats of these great masters of the Fathers of the Church—of the primeval solitaries of the Egyptian desert, who, amongst the driving sands of the wilderness, under the blazing sun of the sky, far from the haunts of men, built themselves up into majestic patterns of Christian heroism, by unwearied lives of love supreme and holocaustic sacrifice. Like the pyramids, under whose shadows some of them reposed, they are simple, colossal, unapproachable, and they point with silent eloquence, even to this day, out of the scorching sand of earth up to the Everlasting Rest.* When first she set out on her world-wide mission, the Church of God, like some deep strategist, selected important and commanding positions from which to energize, on which her forces might concentrate, to which her armies might retire, from whence they

* They made the greatest sacrifice, and God in return made them the greatest men. How profoundly Dante makes Beatrice speak!—

"Lo maggior don, che Dio per sua larghezza
Fesse creando, e alla sua bontate
Più conformato e quel ch'ei più apprezza,
Fu della volontà la libertate,
Di che le creature intelligenti,
E tutte e sole furo e son dotate.
Or ti parrà, se tu quinci argomenti
L'alto valor del voto, s'è si fatto,
Che Dio consenta quando tu consenti?
Che nel fermar tra Dio e l'uomo il patto,
Vittima fassi di questo tesoro."

(*Paradiso, Canto Quinto,* 19—30.)

could advance, and with the Sword of the Spirit subjugate the grossness of ignorance, slay the animalism of idolatry, and vanquish the blindness of pride. Her image is the Crucified, her standard is the Cross.* As we perceive great strongholds rising up in the West, and defending the land, — Naples, Rome, and Bologna, Salamanca and Toledo, Marseilles, Toulouse, and Paris, Oxford and Cambridge—so was it at a much earlier period in the East. Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, are the cradle-lands of Western civilization. Here the great drama, beginning with Adam and ending with Christ, was acted out. Here is the region of which the Old Testament is the history. Here the New Covenant was fulfilled. Here the Church sprang from the side of Christ, and gaining strength in her advance, spread like the garment of spring over the face of the dreary earth, and then, bursting into blossom, enriched the whole world with her fragrance and her fruit. This was essentially the home of sources, of first facts and first principles.† Would you trace tradition to its

* Those who argue against Christianity because of the growth of the religion of Mahomet, or on account of the large Buddhist populations of India, &c., might remember that Christianity after all has been the only religion which has flourished with success in both East and West. The universality of its reception in nations and climates so very antagonistic, shows that a truth is in it which is higher and more extensive than peoples and zones ; that, like the atmosphere we breathe, it is made to circle round the globe, and to fill the spiritual lungs, and purify the religious blood of all mankind. At this day we are living on the views, thoughts, and traditions which so grandly stood out in the fourth and fifth centuries.

† Here Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, began a movement which cannot be said to have ended yet. Mesopotamia and Palestine saw in

fount?—you must seek the East. Would you learn how the first Christians, whose hearts were still throbbing and whose cheeks were still pale with the excitements of Calvary, loved, and suffered, and died?—you must hasten to Jerusalem. Would you see the Church herself, that potent Queen, as she sends forth the twelve, as her army in terrible array, to subjugate the whole globe to the dominion of the Cross?—you must go to the Holy Land. Would you learn how to live, or know how to die?—you will learn it there, following the footsteps of the Crucified, and looking on the gibbet of the Cross.

And just as in the West, so here too are great strategic centres to be found on the banks of the Nile, on the sea-coast of Africa, and in proconsular Asia.* There were eighteen hundred bishops—one thousand keeping watch in the Greek provinces of the empire. Wherever great marts of trade rose up, cities of pleasure, or capitals of learning and letters, whithersoever men flocked for business, study, or amusement, there they would surely find

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germ what the West has seen in fulfilment. Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, and then the great Elias, all these were children of the Eastern world. The seed of life burst the bonds of a single nation. The husk fell away as Christ rose from the tomb. The sons of Japheth inherit the promises of the Semitic race. The Apostles preach and plant. Carthage in the West, and Egypt in the East, the Copt, the Greek, and the Asiatic, then the Gothic tribes which had descended to the South, as all these form one great polity, the imperial sway of the Church becomes visibly universal. The West cannot be adequately realized without looking to the East.

* See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall, Vol. III., Chap. XX., p.* 283. *London*, 1820.

Christ standing in the midst of them.* There is Constantinople, the hinge of two continents, with the commerce of the world riding at anchor in the Golden Horn; and Ephesus, "the Eye of Asia," on whose waters lay the shipping of the whole Mediterranean coast, and whose roads struck out right and left into the heart of a populous and teeming country; Edessa, the University of the far East and the home of S. Ephrem; Antioch, in the valley of the Orontes, one of the largest cities of the world; Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia; Damascus, like an emerald set in the sand, with its shining water-courses and blossoming orchards; Jerusalem on its seven hills; and, finally, to make an end, Alexandria, the Queen of Cities, the emporium of the world, great in the sciences and all the arts of life, a centre of attraction to every nation under the sun.† All these, and many more,

* And not only have we great strategic positions, but we also find that certain periods of danger were met by certain able men; as if Providence, to recompense the Church for the tribulations she had to suffer, vouchsafed glorious children to her during trial, so that, like her Divine Founder, in her very crucifixion, her, or rather His glory should be revealed. In the eighteenth century we find S. Alphonsus and S. Benedict Labré; in the seventeenth, S. Francis of Sales, S. Francis Regis, S. Jane Chantal, S. Vincent de Paul, &c.; in the sixteenth, S. Francis Xavier, S. Ignatius, S. Philip Neri, S. Teresa, S. Charles Borromeo, S. John of the Cross, &c., and so on. And he who cares to think, will find that each of these great servants of God was raised up to meet some special evil or some special want. The list, of course, might be continued to Apostolic times.

† "The See of Alexandria was then (in the fourth century) the most important in the whole Church. Alexandria, till the rise of Constantinople, was the most powerful city in the East. The prestige of its founder still clung to it. Egypt, even in the Pagan parts of the Empire, was still regarded as the ancient nurse of religious mysteries, and the possession of the Temple of Serapis made Alexandria the chief sanctuary of Europe." (See Stanley's *Eastern Church, Sect. VII., p.* 227.) This suffices to show that Alexandria was a very powerful centre. That its

were ecclesiastical strongholds and cities of light, from which one or more great luminaries, like beacons at sea, shed abroad their strong rays and gave an illumination to the Eastern world. Just as there have been burning fires in the West, so in the East also. The lamps may have varied in shape or in texture, but the oil has ever been the same: all gave light, but differing each from each in colour, yet harmonizing each with each, one lending to the other that which was wanting in itself, till all combine — the luminaries of the East fusing with those of the West—and present, as they do in the *Summa Theologica* of the Angelical, one broad mellow reflexion of the intellect of the Universal Church.* All united in loving her, yet each regarded her from his own point of view, each strove to interpret her mind faithfully, each mastered some one chosen feature or dwelt upon some special lineament: and all

See was the most important in the East is true; that it was the most important in *the Church* cannot be maintained, when the See of Rome is brought into comparison with it. History is decided as to the relative importance of the two Sees. Besides, did not the See of Alexandria, in the person of Athanasius, appeal to Pope Julius?

* The two languages in which the doctrines of the Church have been principally conveyed, Greek and Latin, were well formed to subserve the use of ecclesiastical teaching. Theory and practice, if any substantial work has to be done, must go together. Practice without theory is to work at hazard; theory without practice is not to work at all. Greek represents theory; that is, it is the language best adapted for speculation, literature, philosophy, and in these uses it had been gradually moulded to perfection. Latin, on the other hand, represents practice. In the Roman Empire all public businesses were carried on in Latin. The Courts were conducted in Latin; orators and rhetoricians consequently had, in great part, the formation of the language: hence the characteristic of the Latin Fathers is to be diffusive, irregular, and rhetorical; that of the Greek Fathers is to be more simple and precise—both are good, and tend, in their synthesis, towards a perfect realization of truth.

these studies joined harmoniously in one, presented to the mind the most perfect picture of her figure. Without noticing them to some extent, she cannot be adequately understood either in colour or in form.

Where are we to look for the first fact, or first principle, which gives their dominant character to the great Fathers of the Church? What is that one thing which renders them so unlike other men? I refer, of course, to the great teachers of the East. Must we look towards the imperial rival of Rome on the Bosphorus, or to the many-peopled city on the Nile, or to Damascus, or Jerusalem, or Antioch? *

History repeats itself. The principles of Christian greatness, looking at their germinal growth, possibly may differ in variety—just as there are many varieties of plants or many variations to a single air, but they cannot, without destruction, be different in kind. It may naturally be assumed that a flower which thrives and blossoms in the wilderness, is not likely to find a congenial soil in the cultivated plains of artificial exuberance. What the grotto of Subiaco was to the West, that, the cave on Mount Colzim had been to Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor. S. Benedict is but

* Where were the great men of the Old Covenant to be found? Where do we find the Prophets of the Old Dispensation? In the great cities? S. Paul tells us where:—"*In melotis, in pellibus caprinis . . . in solitudinibus errantes, in montibus, in speluncis et cavernis terræ.*" (*Heb. XI.*, 37—38.) Think too of the two great lights of the Old and New Law—Elias, and S. John the Baptist.

the repetition of S. Anthony and S. Pachomius, modified by S. Basil, and tempered by the practical genius of the Latin race.*

Whilst theology remains the same in its elements and substance, it may receive a portion of its form and of its colour from the character of those intellects which have had the formulating of it, and were employed by the Church to expand it before the people. The characteristics of the Greek and Oriental intellect are imprinted on the theology of the Eastern Fathers, whilst the teachings of the West, though influenced greatly by what had gone before, are moulded according to the build of the Latin mind. For there is little doubt that the impress of Greek culture, united to the warmth of character and fiery imagination belonging to the Asiatic, told upon the methods of Eastern thought; whilst the wide-reaching mastery of the energetic Roman mind, with its love of law and genius for organization, with its strong bias towards the concrete, exerted a telling effect upon the theological forms of Western divinity.†

* And S. Anthony himself draws from the original fount of the Sacred Scriptures. S. John Chrysostom calls this system the "philosophy introduced by Christ." S. Bernard says that it was set on foot by the Apostles. Cassian says the same. Suarez, in his Seventh Tract *(Lib. III., Cap. II.)*, says that the monastic state is *de jure divino*, because it was immediately instituted and handed down by Christ himself. The whole principle is laid down in the *Acts of the Apostles*, in the second and fourth chapters. See also *S. Mark, X.*, 29—30. (See, for full information, Bulteau's *Essai de l'Histoire Monastique d'Orient, Liv. I.)*

† It has been the fashion amongst most Protestant writers to lay great stress on the love of the Greek Fathers for the theoretical and the abstract. There is no doubt that their minds lent themselves to philosophical dis-

And if much depends upon race, must not something depend upon climate and morality? Speaking broadly, the West is the land of cloud and of wood; the East is the country of sun and of sand.

The East is the land of primeval humanity. Reminding one of the discovered wrecks of an antideluvian age, with its boundless forests, and gigantic animals wandering over interminable wastes—the monster cities, endless deserts, and startling contrasts of teeming vegetation and boundless wilderness which make up the Oriental world, overawe the mind with a sense of overpowering magnificence, whilst preparing it to meet with a race of men whose intelligences partook of the character of that nature amongst which they were destined to spend their lives.*

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quisition, and that their very language, with its richness and elasticity, fostered in them such a propensity. But when this has been said, we must ever carefully bear in mind that there is nothing so real and concrete as that which has to do with God's honour, and with the attributes of Christ. If it would not be to fight for an abstraction to defend the pure name of a mother, why should it all at once be fighting with an abstraction to defend the attributes and the honour of a Saviour and a God? Perhaps because those who thus talk, unwittingly treat their Maker as if He were a sort of figment—a high generalization of nature's laws! This is intelligible, but it ought to be clearly understood.

* Montalembert, in quite another connection, draws out the character of those who lived in that country, adoring and wrestling, binding themselves to God, and battling with the fiend:—"Qui n'a contemplé, si ce n'est avec les yeux de la foi, du moins avec l'admiration qu 'inspire un incontestable grandeur d'âme, les luttes de ces athlètes de la pénitence et jusqu'aux merveilleuses histoires de ces femmes perdues qui, après avoir en vain essayé de les corrompre, se montraient dignes de les imiter et capables quelquefois de les surpasser par des prodiges de repentir et de sainteté? On ne s'arrache pas à ces récits. Tout s'y trouve; la variété, le pathétique, le sublime et la simplicité épique d'une race d'hommes, naïfs comme des enfants et forts comme des géants." (*Les Moines D'Occident, Tom. I., Liv. II., p.* 57.)

In looking on Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, the eye is soon carried away over trackless desert, the *tabula rasa* of the East, with its stretches of blinding sand and its limestone ranges, over which the sleepless eye of a burning sun eternally keeps guard, lest a blade of grass or a creeping thing should invade its monotonous barrenness. There were but two powers which could beat back the sand and defy the power of the sun: the waters of the mountains, and the energy of man.* Wherever a sweeping river rose and gathered strength, on it went, and majestically flowed through these wastes into the sea; whilst on its banks, and as far as its influence extended, where the land permitted, vast carpets of luxuriant vegetation spread out on either side, all embroidered with blossoms and flowers, perfuming the air with the balmy fragrance of spring, and delighting and astonishing the eye with their Oriental splendour of colour—blue and violet creepers, acacias and palms, fields "full of summer

* "The evenings in Upper Egypt and Nubia are of matchless beauty. It is so hot in the daytime, and the sun's rays are reflected so dazzlingly from the water, the desert sands, and the calcareous mountains, that you are unwilling to leave the cabin of the boat in which the voyage up the Nile is performed. Towards evening you come out to inhale the mild and salutary air. The sun sinks behind the Lybian hills, which cover themselves with dark blue shadows, while the rays of light play upon the Arabian hills as upon a prism, and deck them with the fleeting hues of flowers, jewels, and butterflies. Single heights resemble large fiery roses, while the more extended ones seem like chains of purple amethysts. Date-palms, in groups or garlands, or in less graceful straight rows, here and there a single nabek-tree, with its slender branches, or a stiff dom-palm, and the *Acacia nilotica*, sprinkled with millions of yellow blossoms . . . all this is reflected in the still waters." (*Orientalische Briefe*, see *Lives of the Fathers of the Desert*, by Hahn-Hahn, *p.* 71.)

sounds and scents," of opulent beans, and vetches, and cotton. Even to this day, the woods are vocal with flights of wild doves, the Nile swarms with water-fowl circling in the air, and following the stream, or dozing in the sand, or screeching their monotonous cry as they plunge out of sight into the water. The solemn pelican is there, and the graceful heron; whilst the eagle soars up into the blue vault, and balances himself over river, field, and wood, as if to gather all under his imperial protection.*

Such is the magic action of the water when controlled by the energy of man. Such were the places chosen for the site of great cities. Men built their homes by the great highways of water. Such was Nineveh, on the left bank of the Tigris —the capital of the Assyrian Empire; such was Babylon, lying on the Euphrates—the emporium of the commerce of the world; such, once again, was gigantic Thebes, on the Nile—"the city with a hundred gates," and the ancient metropolis of Egypt. Then there were the gay towns dotted along the seaboard of Asia Minor, and Syria, and

* For these facts see *Orientalische Briefe, Loco Citato:*—"These pictures are not to be seen everywhere upon the Nile. Sometimes, especially in Nubia, the vegetation on its banks dwindles down to a narrow strip of bean-fields, which scantily feeds the population of a poverty-stricken village. Sometimes it disappears altogether, when walls of rocks or boulders line the bank." *(The Desert, Loco Citato.)* This suffices to suggest the great contrasts which exist in the East, especially when the desert borders great towns, or is cut through by irrigating water-courses. In Nubia, on the Lybian side, the gigantic temples of Abusimbil are by degrees disappearing in the sand. At the great cataracts of the Nile the desert spreads out like a boundless ocean of tawny sand, and carries on to the very centre of Africa.

Palestine, and Egypt—on the one side looking out over the blue Mediterranean, bearing on its bosom the richest merchandise in the world; and on the other, encompassed by gardens and orchards, and all the charms and perfumes of a luxuriant vegetation. Wherever man has had the chance, he has pushed back the desert from his door, and has extended the sweep of his possessions, and has enriched them, like Damascus, with an expanding circle of bud and of blossom, amidst flashes of cool sparkling water.*

But with all his energy, man, after all, can make but small impression on the trackless desert. Like an island in the ocean, the refreshing oasis, with its palms and pools, simply seems to testify, by the very contrast, to the world of barrenness which surrounds it. See the great Syrian desert, stretching out from Anti-Lebanon to the Euphrates, or the lesser Arabian desert between Gaza and Cairo, from the Mediterranean to the mountain chain running from Arabia into Egypt. Excluding the vegetation of the Delta, the fertile valley of the Nile, and the islands of flowers which live in the river's midst, excluding the work

* "Wherever the hand of man arrested for a moment his labours, and where the water of the river did not penetrate, there the characteristics of the desert instantly asserted themselves. Such is the great Syrian desert, from Anti-Lebanon to the Euphrates, at the entrance to which lies Damascus, with its vast circle of green orchards, in which walnut-trees, apricots, olives, pomegranates, and fig-trees thrive in indescribable profusion, watered by the seven branches of the Barrada, a small river which rises in the caverns of Anti-Lebanon. Only ten paces from its bank begins the desert, where the sand lies in heaps." (Hahn-Hahn's *Fathers of the Desert*, *p.* 69.)

of water, and the work of man—in Egypt, endless barrenness spreads itself abroad. Enormous cities, rank vegetation, sublime solitudes of burning sand, tombs, pyramids, temples, sphinxes, all on a gigantic scale, and over all and above all the open eye of the glaring sun :—such is the general character of the Eastern world which gave birth to Moses and to Christ.*

In all this magnificence and immensity, both in the works of nature and the works of art, there is something which leaves an impression on the mind, distinct, *sui generis*, yet difficult to describe. We seem to be looking on a first creation, where the best and the boldest did the greatest and mightiest deeds, where men were giants by growth of nature, and had been cast in a larger and more generous mould than we. Their very tombs, in their grandeur and proportions, dwarf our most solemn minsters in comparison ; their temples are splendid creations of boundless wealth and endless toil ; those sphinxes staring over the sand, and those everlasting pyramids, all speak of a race of men (if so it may be said) living gigantically once : now, crumbled into dust for evermore.† Even the

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* "The Nile valley is but one narrow strip of green rescued out of the sandy desert. Close upon the beautiful cities, swarming with life, centres of commerce for the Jew, of learning for the Greek, of easy living and frantic joy for every race under the sun, lay the sands of the desert." (See Dalgairns, *The Holy Communion*, *Part III., Chap. I., p.* 199.)

† And the history of Egypt seems to bear this out. There was a monarchy in Egypt in the time of Abraham. At the time of Herodotus the priests claimed for the monarchy an antiquity of upwards of 11,000

dynasties of Egypt, counting back two thousand years before Christ—composed of men of the stature of giants—bewilder the mind whilst trying to unravel them. Egypt was living in refinement before Europe had a history, before Greece knew anything of the arts of life, before Carthage, or Athens, or Rome had entered the dreams of men. Her sphinxes, her obelisks, and her pyramids have survived many a polity and civilization. They had looked down on the conquering Persians, they were there when the Macedonians took possession of the land and founded the dynasty of the Ptolemies, and they still lived on, as changeless as ever, when, under Augustus, "the Mother of Wonders" was reduced to the condition of a province of imperial Rome (B.C. 30).

All this beauty and exuberance of nature, all this grandeur and magnificence even of the desert, together with the vast works left by the hand of man as eternal monuments of his own decay, must have sealed the minds, even of Christians, with a special impress; must have coloured their imaginations, and furnished them with certain

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years. Between B.C. 2700—1525, there were many contemporary kingdoms in Egypt. Two thousand years before Christ, writing, drawing, and mechanics flourished amongst the people. They had their priests, their policy, their methods of war. The history of the Hyksos, their victories, and their expulsion, and then the expansion of Egypt into a single monarchy, is worthy of study. Now came the real greatness of the country. The temple-palaces of Thebes were built, obelisks were set up; Ethiopia, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia were invaded. All this strange almost preternatural history impresses on the mind a sense of greatness and aboriginal and human perfection. (*Cf.* Rawlinson's *Manual of Ancient History, Part II., p.* 58—74.)

characteristics in harmony with such marvellous creations.*

But what of the morality and religion of the East?—who were the rulers?

In the first century of Christianity, the imperial power may be said to have been coextensive with the limits of the known world. From Rome, the centre-point of its gigantic polity, spread out its influence from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, and from the Danube to the cataracts of the Nile. In the Western half of this mighty empire, the Roman culture was predominant; in the East, since the conquests of Alexander, the Grecian culture everywhere obtained, and penetrated more and more into the civilization of Rome itself.†

The immensity of the empire proves that the Romans must have been of a tough and vigorous

* In reading Rosweide's *Vitæ Patrum*, an impression is made upon the mind which harmonizes with the sensation produced by the study of Egyptian antiquity: I mean, that there is something awfully simple, large, and enduring in those lives and methods. Total abandonment to God; risking *all* for Him. Not being content with being devoted in the world, but flying away as far as might be, even from nature itself, into caves and pits. Then the rigid perseverance for long trying years in the same course. Then the leading motives of their minds, their governing thoughts—they were all sublime in their grand simplicity. Death was so realized, that earth corrupted in their sight. Judgment became so awful, that they were ever in spirit before the Judge; hell so terrific, so real, that they would not trust their bodies to ordinary food or sleep; and Christ's love so overpowering, that they would willingly endure all this, and more, for His love's sake. They were spiritual pyramids built with divine hands—simple, immovable, and ever pointing up to Heaven.

† Thus in the space of seven hundred years, beginning on the banks of the Tiber, imperial Rome, from a nest of thieves, became the ruler of nearly an hundred millions of souls. Physical difficulties alone seemed to have held back the advance of its conquests. Africa's desert, Ethiopia, Arabia, Hibernia, and Parthia, if they were not absolutely under Roman control, at least had felt the force of the great tide of conquest which swept over more favoured portions of the world. Octavian was only manifesting his political wisdom when he declared that "Rome must not enlarge the borders of her empire." (*Cf.* Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew, Vol. I., Book I., p.* 1—2.)

race. But a venomous poison had been poured into their blood, which was stronger even than they; and it finally eat into, and brought to nought, their iron constitution. It seized upon, and corroded, the wide framework of their polity, till at last, being weakened and undermined, the shocks and jars administered to it by rough barbarians dislocated all its jointures, and it heaved, broke up, fell to pieces, and became absorbed into a stronger life. Rome itself, the imperial city, the centre of the vast system, was the terminus of a network of grand highways and military roads which radiated into far-distant provinces and dependencies; in the East, they penetrated as far as Thebaïs and Arabia, and ran up to Caledonia in the West. But the blood which had been urged, healthy and pure, through these arteries, returned at length, tainted with germs of disease and impregnated with a thousand corruptions. If Rome sent forth her mighty armies to subjugate the nations, the nations flowed back into Rome and took a terrible revenge.* Thousands, from all

* Abject servility to authority reigned in Rome. Despotism was its natural result—despotism which was fostered by women, freedmen, flatterers, spies, and informers, and which resulted in wanton abominations, thirst for blood, scorn of humanity, and all those horrors which tyranny, when freed from shame and all manner of control, freely indulges in. Slaves, dragged together from every land, imported their foreign manners into families, and poisoned society with their iniquitous teachings. "Rome had become a Greek city in language and manners, and 'the Syrian waters of the Orontes streamed into the Tiber,'—so the poet afterwards complained in his picture of the manners of his day; while, in a century and a half from Augustus, Athenæus could say, whole nations of the East had settled themselves in Rome. Thus Rome, since Augustus, maintained a population approaching, or perhaps equal to, that of London of the present day—of a million and a half, possibly two millions." (See Döllinger's *Jew and Gentile, Vol. I., Book I., p.* 5.)

quarters of the earth, streamed into the imperial city—not with the bow and the spear and the vigour of manhood, but with music and dancing, with softness and enervating passion. Greece brought in her sensuous poetry and her mind-polluting mythology; Asia brought with her a gorgeous and magnificent luxury. Greeks and Syrians, Asiatics and Egyptians, corrupted the minds and the bodies of the people, till the Romans became, like themselves, monsters of debauchery and impurity, of cruelty and superstition. Of nearly two millions of men—most of them aliens, slaves, sinks of utter depravity, formed one half the population, and nurtured the children of the other half. Abject poverty and boundless wealth stared each other in the face and hated each other. It seemed as if all the vices and concupiscences, all the corruption and pestilences of every nation under the sun, taking advantage of the great highways of the world-city, had set out together from their natural homes, and had poured into her streets and squares and temples :—suicide, contempt of life, hatred of the poor, child-murder, female debauchery, and the gratification of the most brutalized sensuality, became the ruling passions of the Romans.*

* "Side by side with the enormous opulence of a small number of families, such poverty prevailed that Augustus, in his time, had been obliged to provide upwards of two hundred thousand of the inhabitants with money, corn, and bread . . . The old pure citizen blood . . . kept continually dying out . . . proceeding partly from a wide-spread disinclination to the state of marriage. . . . Rome, therefore, inevitably

The rest of the empire seems to have taken its tone from the centre city, which all looked upon as the metropolis of fashion and of thought. The corruption which Asia and Greece had carried into Rome was here stamped with the imperial image, and then passed current in the provinces, ennobled and sanctioned by the highest authority.

But our subject at the present moment is the East. In the great cities of Asia Minor and Egypt, the native immorality of the population was fused with a mixture of Greek and indigenous philosophy, and was sublimated or debased, as the case might be, by the mythologies and religions which were common amongst the people.

The refined idolatry of Greece was brutalized in Asia Minor, and intensified by the wickedness of Rome. Fear, sensuality, and utter prostration of soul marked out the religion of the masses. They would cut themselves with knives, and slash their face in honour of the "Great Mother." During the orgiastic dance, whilst the Phrygian flute was playing, they would howl, and stab themselves, and career about with blazing torches in their hands.* Blood, laceration with swords,

became the city in which all the vices of different zones, all the defects and excrescences of human society, were gathered together and blended—the city in which a homeless population, roaming about in idleness, beggarly, and yet habituated to all the requirements of luxury, were maintained out of the public revenues; and that was the plebs, forming the greater proportion of the free community." (See Döllinger's *Jew and Gentile, Vol. I., Book I., p.* 5.)

* The religion of the Oriental was essentially brutal and slavish. The strange mixture of fear and sensuality which is manifested in their worship, has nothing of the polished wickedness of Greece about it. It is

frenzy, and sensual debauchery, constituted the principal ingredients of the Asiatic worship. Lust and debauchery were practised in honour of the gods. No idea was more profoundly engraved on the mind of the people than that their deities were to be propitiated by acts of unchastity. The most revolting wickedness was elevated into a *cultus*. Men bit their arms, and hacked themselves with swords, and reeled and danced with the intoxicating frenzy of bacchanalian ecstasy, thinking by so doing to gain the protection of their gods. In Egypt, the religion of the people was a passionate, sad, and tenacious clinging to the worship of the burning sun above them, and of the brute creation at their feet. They adored innumerable sun-gods, who were represented in grotesque forms of animals and men. Their idolatrous system spread like a net-work over Upper and Lower Egypt, and was fostered by a strong caste of circumcised priests, who formed corporations, and served in their temples. They worshipped the bull and the goat.* Swallows, frogs and toads, weasels and

curious to study the blending of Greek and Asiatic idolatry, to see how the fusion takes place, and when the more refined and cultivated intellect of the Hellenic nature essayed to metamorphose the beasts and coarse brutes of the Orientals into something like a respectable shape. The Greeks turned the first-class god of Asia at once into Zeus—if he were a male. Thus, in Caria, Zeus becomes "an hermaphrodite, with beard and woman's breasts, and swathed like the Ephesian Artemis; so that everything about him was foreign to the Hellenic Zeus." (*Jew and Gentile, Vol. I., Book VI.*, § 1, *p.* 373—374.)

* "The worship of the sun formed the basis of the Egyptian system. The first group, as well in the cycle of the gods of Upper Egypt as in those of Memphis, was composed only of sun-gods. . . . The Egyptians saw in the sacred beasts not merely symbols of the gods, or emblems of divine properties; the people worshipped beasts,

otters, cats, dogs, and sparrow-hawks, were embalmed when they died. If a cat expired, all the members of the household cut off their eyebrows. If a dog died, they shaved themselves all over as a token of bereavement. Incense was burnt before these nasty animals when alive. They were washed, anointed, richly dressed, and put to bed on soft couches. The usual gross immoralities accompanied the worship of them. Man, the crown of God's beautiful creation, the heir of eternal glory, was lowered to so deep an abyss of abject depravity, that he became more abandonedly degraded than the vile reptiles which he adored.

Thus Rome, Asia, and Egypt, were steeped in the rankest corruption. Greek philosophy and poetry, Egyptian animalism and brutality, Asiatic lust and frenzy, Roman dishonour and thirst for blood, each acting on the other, changed the fair order of God's beautiful world—taking the imperial city as a centre, and her possessions as a circumference—into a dark and hideous ruin. There lay the vast empire of Rome, as a strong woman borne down by a boiling fever running in her veins, poisoned by some "wicked broth" in

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as Plutarch observed, directly and immediately; in their eyes they were the bearers and vessels of deity; the gods made them the medium of their intercourse with man. . . . Worship was universally paid to cattle, lions, cats, dogs, weasels, and otters; amongst the birds, to the sparrow-hawk, the hoopoe, the stork, and the sheldrake; and amongst fish, to the eel and lepidotus." Then the sheep, wolf, hippopotamus, the crocodile, the oxyrhynchus, and serpents and fish, were eaten in one part of the country, and were adored in another. (For full information, see the *Jew and Gentile, Vol. I., Book VI., p.* 438, 454, 456; or, from *p.* 437—488.)

every artery, and half stifled by the horrors of the diseases which were eating out her life.*

But the fulness of time at length came. The "Prince of Peace" was born in Bethlehem of Juda. To those who in gross darkness had been yearning for the dawn, for the Orient from on high, who were looking for "the Expectation of the Nations," the Light at last had arisen.

Christ came unto His own, and suffered for them, and was crucified. The Life-giving Spirit came down. The fishermen preached. The poor and illiterate, then the learned and mighty, began to become sensible to the action of a novel influence which had come upon them. The new leaven pierced into the hideous mass of Roman imperial corruption. The gates of heaven had been opened upon the world. The cold speculations of Platonic philosophy warmed into the energy of a practical devotedness. The irons of the slave dropped from his wrist, as he looked up from his chains to a glorious inheritance. The new religion, radiant and spotless, gracious and severe, bore in her hand the image of the Crucified, and proclaimed Him the Saviour and Physician, not alone of the

* The persecutors of the Church seem to have ended miserably. Lactantius has left an interesting treatise on this point. Nero stabbed himself (A.D. 68). Domitian died by the hands of his wife (96). Septimius Severus died of a broken heart. Maximin was made away with by his soldiers (237). Decius perished miserably in his expedition against the Goths (251). Valerian was taken by the Persians, and flayed alive. Aurelian was murdered by his secretary. Maximian was put to death. Galerius rotted into his grave. Diocletian starved himself to death (307). Then came the ravages of the Goths, Germans, Sarmatians, and Parthians.

empire, but of the whole of the human race. She claimed world-dominion.* She pointed from earth to heaven's gates. She drew men off their sorceries, idolatries, and lusts, from their crawlings in the slime, and their adoration of animals and insects, and pointed through death's gate to the Judgment to come, and beyond that to the eternal lake, and then again to the great Spiritual City of the Lamb. There she showed them the Father Everlasting, His adorable, true, and only Son, Christ the Crucified King of Glory, and the Holy Ghost, the Comforter. There she pointed out to them the angels, and all the heavenly hosts, adoring for everlasting before the throne of the Almighty God.

O what a change! when the gates thus parted, and the black earth looked up into the glorious heavens! What a stir amongst the people who were creeping in gross darkness amongst the shadows of death!

The great Roman empire, though writhing on her couch of agony, was startled by this new and

* It is a pity that Gibbon was not alive when Dr. Newman burst his fallacies into fragments regarding the cause of the spread of Christianity. "It is very remarkable that it should not have occurred to a man of Gibbon's sagacity to enquire what account the Christians themselves gave of the matter. Would it not have been worth while for him to have let conjecture alone, and to have looked for facts instead? Why did he not try the hypothesis of faith, hope, and charity? Did he never hear of love towards God, and faith in Christ? Did he not recollect the many words of Apostles, Bishops, Apologists, Martyrs, all forming one testimony? No; such thoughts are close upon him, and close upon the truth; but he cannot sympathise with them, he cannot believe in them, he cannot even enter into them, *because* he needs the due preparation of mind." (*Grammar of Assent, Chap. X.*, § 2, *p.* 456.)

mighty influence. She lay in her lethargy whilst the Persian, and the Chaldean, and the Egyptian, and the Syrian, performed their unclean orgies around her bed.* But when she perceived the fair form of Christianity approach, and felt her draw back the curtain,—she shrieked. She was conscious that now her hour had come. Just as when the gentle priest, with candle, and stole, and holy oils, approaches the bed of a woman whose intellect is shaken and whose blood is on fire, of one whose soul is possessed by the foul demon,—just as when he opens the curtain and meekly shows himself, she stares at him with blood-shot eyes, and shrinks from the sacred instruments and emblems of Redemption, and utters loud cries and suppressed moans, and frenzied, strikes wildly at the cross, and at the minister of her Salvation—so was it with the dying empire of Rome. Ten several times did she, with savage violence, summon up all her strength to shake Salvation from her. With the rack and the stake, and the amphitheatre and the *barathrum*, with blood and with iron, did she think to accomplish her task. It was the agony of her last convulsions, the death-struggle of a woman of robust consti-

* As the terror of a whole life of sin, when vividly brought by reviving faith before the conscience of a dying man, makes him shrink with horror from himself, so the Roman Empire, or those who governed it, were terrified by the very purity of Christianity, which was their absolute condemnation. Slavery, the great cause of Roman decay and poverty, child-murder, the practice of abortion, female debauchery, contempt of life, gladiatorial games, and love of cruelty—these had little in common with the teachings of the Cross.

tution, who had shamefully abused herself with vice, and had intoxicated herself with many sorceries. She tore men to shreds by dogs, crucified, burnt, and wrenched them asunder, shoved them into red-hot chairs, dug out their eyes, seared the sockets, chopped off their fingers, stripped them, scorched them with plates of brass, cut the tendons of their thighs, cast them in dungeons, sent them to the mines, and broke them and maimed them in all their organs; but she expired at last and rotted into the earth, and the fair form of religion, like some beautiful pageant, took possession of the land.*

Yes! look on the work of her hands for one moment. Open the map. The centre of Christianity has been carried westward. Jerusalem has given way to Rome. Spain, France, Germany, England, and the North, are subject, not to the galling oppression of the victorious Roman, but to the sweet and light yoke of Divine Christianity. The influence of the Church, unlike the culture of the Greeks and the law-loving genius of the

* And the spirit which made her so unapproachably great, is drawn out in these words:—"When the persecution raged in Asia, a vast multitude of Christians presented themselves before the Proconsul, challenging him to proceed against them. 'Poor wretches!'—half in contempt, half in affright—he answered, 'if you must die, cannot you find ropes or precipices for the purpose?' At Utica, a hundred and fifty Christians of both sexes, and all ages, were martyred in one company. . . . In Egypt, a hundred and twenty confessors, after having sustained the loss of eyes or of feet, endured to linger out their lives in the mines of Palestine and Cilicia. In the last persecution . . . the slaughter of men, women, and children went on by twenties, sixties, hundreds, till the instruments of execution were worn out, and the executioners could kill no more." (*Grammar of Assent, Chap. X.*, § 2, *p.* 477—478.)

Romans, has never degenerated into sensuality or despotism. She gradually extended her sway more and more abroad, and increased in popularity in proportion as she grew in power. What brought destruction upon the vast imperial rule of Rome, melted before her glance, and, losing its aboriginal barbarism and sterile wildness, simply added to her fertility, and helped to advance, on all sides, those fundamental principles of truth which are at once the origin of her greatness and the secret of her rapidity in success. First, the Goth, and then, the Hun, and finally, the Lombard—they came with their rough clubs, and thundered blow upon blow, and smashed to pieces the civilization of Greece and Rome, making a clearance, as it were, certainly unknown to themselves, for the expansion of that supernatural polity which was not only to absorb into itself what they had broken up, but which, more marvellous still, was to draw within its influence, and thoroughly to impregnate with its spirit, those adventurous barbarians who had been rash enough to dispute its power.*

* "Während der Jahre der Verfolgung verbreitete sich das Christenthum durch die inwohnende Kraft der Wahrheit und durch äussere günstige Umstände nach allen Himmelsgegenden, so dass es schon im dritten Jahrhundert die Grenzen des Römerreichs überschritt. Es entstanden Kirchengemeinden in Syrien, Kleinasien, Armenien, Mesopotamien und Persien; in Aegypten und Nordafrica, in Griechenland, Makedonien und Italien; in Gallien (Lyons), Spanien und Britannien." (See Weber's *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte, Erster Band, Zweiter Cursus*, § 230, *p.* 270.) Weber gives five causes, in the natural order, which go towards accounting for the spread of Christianity; and which, when taken with the supernatural action of the Church herself, form a very adequate reason for the marvellous rapidity of her advance. The whole of that portion of Weber's work treating of *Die Völkerwanderung und die Begründung des Monotheismus. (Vol. I., p.* 270—294) is well worth reading.

She still has no rival in the West. The cities of Ionia and Æolia, Corinth and Athens, Marseilles and Cyrene, Gaul and Africa, the seaboard of the Euxine, Syria, Parthia, and even Bactriana—all these basked in the light of Greek thought, and delighted in the sweetness, freedom, and sensuality of the religion of the beautiful; but they all faded away, like the colossal empire which succeeded them. Imperial Rome, beautiful Athens, voluptuous Corinth, "many-peopled" Alexandria, the cities of Achaia and Laconia, have followed great Seleucia, thoughtless Nineveh, Babylon, "the hammer of the universe," Memphis, with its splendid colonnades and palaces, Heliopolis, with its temple of the sun, and Thebes, the "great Diospolis," the oldest city in the world. Polities which once seemed as if they had to last for ever, dynasties which appeared superior to decay, conquests so vast that their very greatness afforded a sort of guarantee of their stability, civilizations so fascinating to human nature, answering so harmoniously and so completely to the refined and educated sensuality, to the exquisite fastidiousness of a cultivated people, that they promised to endure so long as man remained the same,—all have perished, or have been swept away, or have been so far absorbed with other systems as to have lost every vestige of an independent autonomy.*

* The fact seems to be that this lasting influence alone can be ascribed to Truth. However much the teachings of philosophers or sensualists may seem to fit in with man's nature, if they be not conformable to what

One only power remains, losing here yet gaining there, ever advancing if sometimes receding, and always manifesting a vitality witnessing to an indestructible principle which cannot have anything in common with those ephemeral energies which spring to the surface, spread over it, flourish for a season, and, like all else that is mortal, wither and die into the earth. Greece founded in human passion, and Rome set up in mental pride, contained within themselves the elements, not only of their temporary vigour, but also the germ of their inevitable decay. Supernatural faith, energizing in the mind and hedged round by Divine protection, alone possesses the vitality necessary, not merely for holding her own amidst the shocks and throes of the battle, but—whilst all else rises, falls, and disappears around her—for proceeding with unruffled step towards the fulfilment of her destiny, and for proving to things which die that she remains fresh and young and beautiful as before, almost reversing, in her own case, the order of nature,—increasing in the elasticity of youth, as she advances in the experience of age.*

is true and good, they will, like the deordination which they produce, in their own time be brought to nought. Thus what could be more fascinating than the high, generous, noble-minded picture which the Greek would paint of the genuine Grecian. Beauty and propriety are blended here, and serve each to heighten the interest of the picture. But beauty and propriety are like lovely blossoms, they must grow from a stout root—they cannot of themselves live to a very old age; they must be the legitimate daughters of Truth and Justice, then they will live and multiply their power.

* The Church has made a steady progression beginning with the conversion of S. Paul to the present hour. In the epoch of persecutions, we have missions to India and to Gaul. The Æthiopians are

Such has she proved herself to be. But at the period of which I am writing, she was engaged in her mighty struggle—wrestling with the maddened frenzy of falling Rome. The contest lasted, with the rack and the knife, with intermittent periods of repose, for about three hundred years. It was an awful period in the world's history—the possessed soul struggling with its Saviour. This one heinous sin, added to the animalisms, depravities, and slaveries, of which sufficient mention has been made, scared those who had received from the lips of saints the awful truths of religion. It cannot be too vividly realized that the great doctrines of Christianity broke in upon the world's darkness, as if the night were suddenly lighted up by a flame bursting from the heavens.* These doctrines wholly transformed the minds of those who received them: their entire moral nature was revolutionized. Men of honest purpose, of deep thought, of generous impulse, shrank from the moral leprosy around them.

converted after the First General Council. In 399, there is the mission to the Scythians; 496, conversion of Clovis; 558, conversion of the Visigoths; 596, conversion of England; 648, mission to the Low-Countries; 690, mission to Friesland; 725, the Germans are converted; in 778, the Saxons; in 826, the Danes; Sweden in 830; Russia in 844; Bulgaria in 855; Bohemia in 880; Poland, 964; Hungary, 1001; and so on.

* It is difficult to throw oneself into a state of mind altogether different from that in which we habitually live. Not less astonishment and a less shock was the opening of heaven's gates to the heathen than would it be were the darkness of midnight suddenly, without any warning, to turn into the brightness of day upon us. He who had been crawling all his life after creeping things, and adoring them in his slavish, melancholy, passionate way, is taught to look on the beautiful face of Christ, and to believe. Superstition gives way to genuine belief; and the horrors of an uncertain future, and the insecurity of the present, disappear, as religion teaches man a certain creed with certain prospects, and secures to him a firm and healthy hope in future happiness.

They perceived that the world was steeped in wickedness, and they knew that it would perish. They felt deeply convinced that death is certain, that there is a hell beneath, a heaven above, that sin is to be repented of, that there is a judgment to come, that man has but one soul and that immortal, and, finally, that the love of Christ is beyond all price, to gain which love is to possess all things, and to forfeit which is to suffer irreparable loss. To love Christ, to save their souls, and to maintain truth—these were the master-thoughts, and the motive-principles of action, in many noble minds during the early struggle.*

Thus men fled from the contamination of the vast luxurious cities, into the boundless deserts, to "work out their Salvation in fear and trembling." The world might go on and have its fill of wickedness, but they tear themselves away, to meditate on death, and on the judgment to come, and on the everlasting recompense.

It was thus in tombs, and caves, and pits, under

* See what profound simplicity there is in the *Verba Seniorum* given by Rosweide; for instance:—"1. Dixit Abbas Antonius; Ego jam non timeo Deum, sed amo, quia amor foras misit timorem. 2. Dixit iterum: quia de proximo est vita et mors: si enim lucremur fratrem, lucrabimur Deum; si autem scandalizamus fratrem, in Christo peccamus. 3. Abbas Ammon de loco Nitrionis, venit ad abbatem Antonium, et dixit ei: Video quia majorem laborem quam tu sustineo, et quomodo nomen tuum magnificum est in hominibus super me? Et dixit ei Abbas Antonius: quoniam et ego diligo Deum plus quam tu. . . . 6. Dixit Abbas Agathon: quia secundum voluntatem meam nunquam dormivi, retinens in corde adversus quemquam dolorem, neque dimisi dormire alium habentem adversum me aliquid. . . . 9. Dixit Abbas Pastor: Conare secundum virtutem tuam nulli omnino facere malum, et castum serva cor tuum omni homini." (*Vitæ Patrum, Vol. I., Lib. V., Libellus XVII., p.* 973—974.)

the palm-tree in the blinding desert, amidst the haunts of wild and odious monsters, or in the forlorn and solemn wilderness, that the mustard-seed was planted which was the germ of great glories in the Eastern and Western Church.

These mighty men, these Fathers of the desert, formed a race of themselves. They are the primeval men of the Oriental Christianity, the granite rocks upon which a superstructure might be raised which should endure for ever. They seem as full of stability as the pyramids and sphinxes amongst which they dwelt. From youth to old age would they live in the desert, on roots, dates, leaves, or dry bread, and water gushing from the rock.* Their life was a continual fast, they slept on the bare ground, they fought with demons, they encountered the hyena and the bear, they wore scarcely any clothing, they continually prayed and toiled, they were stern men, with intensest passion controlled by severest discipline, they were assaulted by terrific temptations, they had iron frames, they lived to a patriarchal age, they were simple, fundamental, and direct in their teaching: to love Christ, to trample on the flesh,

* In more modern times, religious men were called after their founders, *e.g.*, Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, &c. In the first ages they took their names from the place which they inhabited, as the solitaries or monks of Mount Scethis, Tabenna, Nitria, and Canopus in Egypt. Anchorets lived in private cells. The monks of Mount Casius, near Antioch, lived in caves; others, in tents or cells; the Cenobites lived in common; the Sarabites, whom S. Jerome calls the pests and banes of the Church, were vagrants, wandering, without rule, wherever they had a mind. They loved to dwell in cities and castles, and to make a great show of piety, when they were not overtaken by riotous excesses.

to resist the devil, to quench bad thoughts, to pas through life, and to get to heaven—such is a summary of their theology.

S. Paul lived on a few oats and a little water, and fought sleep as he would a tyrant. S. Hilarion, who at fifteen years of age "went naked into the wilderness, though armed with Christ," and whose countenance beamed with a heavenly radiance, lived in a morass, with gnats and flies, amidst reeds and rushes. Peter the Simple became a hermit when sixty-eight. Paphnutius, whose eye was pulled out in the persecutions, was brought up in a hermitage. Ammon was twenty-two years in the desert. Serapion only wore a piece of linen about his loins.* S. Onuphrius was seventy years in the wilderness. Spyridion was a shepherd in the isle of Cyprus. Abbot Mark was shut up in a cave thirty years. Didymus dwelt ninety years alone.† Abbot John lived three years on a bare rock, without covering, in a mournful solitude. Auxanon, when a child, inhabited a mountain cave. Some passed half a century without seeing a soul.

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* The *Stylitæ*, or Pillarists, lived on pillars. Simeon Stylites was the founder of this system. He lived about the time of the Council of Chalcedon. He had a disciple named Daniel. The Simeon Stylites Junior dwelt sixty-eight years upon a pillar. Bishops sometimes left their Sees to live in penance on a pillar. It is said that Alipius, remained seventy years on one, and that two choirs of virgins and one of monks attended him alternately day and night, singing psalms and hymns with him :—"Habuit sibi adjunctos duos choros virginum et unum monachorum cum quibus alternatim hymnos et psalmos die noctuque decantavit." So says Surius. (See Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church, Vol. II., Book VII., Chap. II.*, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, *p.* 247—253.)

† See Socrates *Hist. Eccl., Lib. IV., p.* 511 ; *Patrol. Græc., Tom. LXVII.*

James of Nisibis lived for years in caverns and forests, on roots and leaves, clothed in a goat-skin. S. Auxentius dwelt on a wild mountain, and S. Zeno in a tomb. Some lived in fissures in the rock, or on pillars, or in holes in the earth, or in woods and caves, or in the midst of dank marshes, or amongst the ruins of palaces or of the temples of the sun. So powerfully had the influences of the Unseen taken hold of men in these terrible times, that what was begun by Paul, and was continued by Anthony, Macarius, Pachomius, Moses, Arsenius, and others, grew into gigantic proportions.* As early as the time of S. Anthony, "the cells in the mountains were like tents filled with divine choirs, singing, discoursing, fasting, praying, rejoicing over the hope of the future. . . . So that any one seeing the cells, and such an array of monks, would have cried out and said: 'How fair are thy dwellings, O Jacob, and thy tents, O Israel; like shady groves and like parks beside a river, and like tents which the Lord hath pitched, and like the cedars by the waters.'" †

* There were also, though at a later date, religious men in Constantinople, about the middle of the fifth century, who were called "watchers." Their office was to so combine, that the divine service should always be going on, something like the "perpetual adoration" of our own day. Studius, a rich Roman noble, joined the Order. He built a monastery for the brothers, which was called Studium, and the brothers are named Studitæ—probably the first religious institute which took the name of its founder. Sozomen speaks also of the "Grazers" *βόσκοι* who lived on the mountains, never living in house, or eating bread or meat, or drinking wine. They prayed in hymns and psalms till the time came for their dinner, then each would take out his knife, and search the mountain-side for herbs or roots to make a meal. (*Cf.*, Bingham, *Vol. II., Book VII., §§ X.—XI., p.* 264—265.)

† "Erant igitur in montibus monasteria quasi tabernacula repleta divinis choris psallentium, lectionis studiosorum, jejunantium, orantium,

Of all the Fathers of the Desert, S. Anthony is the greatest, for he has left a deeper mark upon the world than all the rest. He was the patriarch of solitaries, the keen discerner of spirits, the mighty example, after whose pattern the greatest men of the Church have modelled their lives.

The grand simplicity of primeval principles, of foundational example, is exhibited in him. There is but one other who is more overpowering to the imagination than he, and that is Elias the Thesbite. As others moulded themselves on Anthony, so Anthony formed himself on Elias, and thus is brought about an intimate ascetical relationship between the two covenants. Elias,* Anthony, Basil, Benedict, Dominic, Thomas of Aquino—these are the links which connect together, in a harmony which testifies to truth, the heroic teachings of God's purest and noblest servants.

The broad principles of S. Anthony's life must be indicated, the grand corner-stones must be pointed out, in order that the reader may examine

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exsultantium spe futurorum, laborantium ad eleemosynas erogandas, mutua charitate et concordia junctorum. Ac revera videre erat quasi aliquam segregatam regionem pietatis atque justitiæ. Nullus ibi qui injuria vel afficeret, vel afficeretur; nulla exactoris increpatio, sed multitudo ascetarum, quorum unum omnium erat virtutis studium; ut qui monasteria vidisse talemque monachorum constitutionem, exclamasset haud dubie: *quam pulchræ domus tuæ, Jacob, et tabernacula tua, Israel! ut nemora umbrosa, ut paradisus juxta fluvium, ut tabernacula quæ fixit Dominus, quasi cedri prope aquas.*" (S. Athanasii Alexandrini Arch. *Opera Omnia, Pars I., Hist. et Dogmat., Tom. II., Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, p.* 835—976, *n.* 44, *p.* 907; *Patrologiæ Græcæ, Vol. XXVI.*) When the words of S. Athanasius are quoted in the English, Kingsley's translation has been made use of: see *The Hermits* (*p.* 32—82), in which, however, much of S. Athanasius's *Life*, as it stands in Migne, is omitted.

* Elias seems to have been S. Anthony's model. (See *Vita S. Antonii, n.* 7, *p.* 854; also *Versio Evagrii, ad calcem.*)

the basis on which the splendid edifice of religious perfection is constructed.

The one living image in Anthony's mind was Christ. This solitary lays down the monastic principle of S. Benedict. "He exhorted all," says S. Athanasius, "to prefer nothing in the world to the love of Christ." * His one toil in life was to fit himself for heaven. His great wrestling was with the devils, and with his own thoughts. His marked characteristics were indomitable perseverance and stability in an arduous life. He never looked back, he abode in the wilderness, he fasted rigorously, his bed was the ground, and he strove with hell during a space of nearly ninety years without a single break.†

His history is briefly this :—His parents were noble Egyptians of Middle Egypt. Like S. Benedict, he despised letters from early youth; like S. Benedict, as a child, he preferred solitude as his best companion. When he was eighteen, his parents died. His ardent, generous mind loved to dwell on the mighty acts of the Bible saints. He knew the Scriptures by heart. He

* These are S. Benedict's words :—"*Nihil amori Christi præponere.*" (*Reg., Cap. IV., n.* 21.) Again, :—"Christo nihil præponant." (*Cap. LXXII., n.* 11.) These are the words of S. Athanasius giving S. Anthony's Sermon :—"Hortans omnes ut nihil mundanorum rerum anteferrent charitati Christi." The Greek runs thus :—"πᾶσιν ἐπιλέγων μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τῳ κόσμῳ προκρίνειν τῆς εἰς Χριστον ἀγαπης." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 21, *p.* 874; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.*)

† *Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 21, *p.* 874; *n.* 24, *p.* 879; *n.* 29, *p.* 887; *n.* 31, *p.* 890; *n.* 37, *p.* 898; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.* In fact, this *Life*, with S. Anthony's discourse on evil spirits (whether it was ever made by him or not), is a useful treatise on that fearful subject.

could not get over the thought of the Apostles abandoning all for Christ. Like S. Francis, going into the Church one day he heard the words: "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor; and come, follow me, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven;" * and he was so deeply moved on hearing these other words: "Be not solicitous for to-morrow,"† that he rid himself at once of all his possessions.‡ He wished to exchange this visible world for the unseen kingdom.§ He took lessons of perfection from holy men; "he stamped upon his memory their devotion to Christ, and the mutual love which all in common possessed." Satan, perceiving how formidable an adversary he was likely to become, buffeted him. But Anthony spurned his impious suggestions, "setting his thoughts on Christ, and on his own nobility through Christ." This was Anthony's first struggle against the devil; or rather this mighty deed in him was the Saviour's,

* *Matth., XIX.*, 21. † *Matth., VI.*, 34.

‡ "Sex autem nondum exactis mensibus a parentum exitu, cum de more ad Dominicum procederet, atque secum animo cogitaret, qua ratione Apostoli relictis omnibus secuti sunt Salvatorem, et qui pretia afferebant, ut egenis distribuerentur: nec non quænam quantaque istis spes in cœlis reposita sit; hæc secum reputans, in Ecclesiam ingreditur, contingitque ut tum Evangelium legeretur, et audivit Dominum diviti illi dixisse: *Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende omnia quæ habes, et da pauperibus, et veni, sequere me: et habebis thesaurum in cœlis* . . . . mobilibus vero omnibus venditis, multamque hinc collectam pecuniam pauperibus distribuit, paucis solum sororis causa reservatis. . . . . Rursus in Dominicum ingressus, audivit Dominum in Evangelicum dicere: *Nolite solliciti esse in crastinum.* Nec ultra illic remanere sustinens, egressus, illa quoque tenuioribus largitus est." *(Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n. 2, p. 842—843; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.)*

§ S. Anthony born, 251; adopts a solitary life, 270; goes into the desert, 285; supports S. Athanasius, 355; dies, 356; S. Athanasius writes his life, 364.

who condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the Lord might be fulfilled in us.*

"He watched so much, that he often passed whole nights without sleep; and that not once, but often, to the astonishment of men. He ate once a day, after the setting of the sun, and sometimes only once in two days, often even in four; his food was bread with salt, his drink nothing but water . . . . he mostly lay on the bare ground." †

Yet in spite of his terrific austerities, the spirits of the air attacked him like vultures, and almost destroyed him. He shut himself up in a tomb. A multitude of demons set upon him and smote him till he swooned away under their blows. He was taken for dead, and was carried out of the tomb. But he slipped back again at midnight, and cried out to the demons: "Here am I Anthony; I do not fly from your stripes; yea, if you do yet more, nothing shall separate me from the love of

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* "Sustinebat miser diabolus vel mulieris formam noctu induere, feminæque gestus imitari, Antonium ut deciperet; at ille Christum cogitans, ac propter illum nobilitatem spiritualitatemque animæ secum reputans, carbonem illius fallaciæ restinxit." *(Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 5, *p.* 847; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.)* Again:—"Hæc prima fuit Antonii contra diabolum victoria: imo potius in Antonio egregium facinus Salvatoris, *qui damnavit peccatum in carne, ut justificatio legis impleretur in nobis, qui non secundum carnem ambulamus, sed secundum spiritum." (Ibidem.)*

† "Magis igitur magisque corpus macerabat, et in servitutem redigebat, ne forte in aliis victor, in aliis succumberet. Asperiori igitur vitæ genere assuescere in animum induxit; quod multis admirationi fuit, ipse tamen ejusmodi laborem facile tolerabat: animi enim alacritas diuturnitate temporis, habitum illi bonum afferebat; ita vel minima oblata ab aliis occasione, permagnum ipse hac in re studium exhiberet." *(Ibidem, n.* 7, *p.* 851.)

Christ."* The devils tried another plan, at midnight, whilst Anthony was in the tomb, he suddenly heard a great crash, the walls of the place seemed to burst asunder, and the foul fiends poured in upon him, changing themselves into the shape of all manner of hideous beasts and loathsome reptiles. The tomb swarmed with fierce lions, savage bears, bulls, snakes, asps, scorpions, and wolves, and all of them, each making its own frightful noise, rushed upon him to destroy him. Though almost speechless from their blows, he cried out to them: "A seal to us and a wall of safety is our faith in the Lord."† After this the Lord said to him in vision: "Since thou hast withstood, and not been worsted, I will be to thee always a succour, and will make thee become famous everywhere."‡

* "Delatus a viro, clausisque de more foribus, iterum solus erat intus: atque ob plagas stare cum non posset, decumbans orabat. Et post orationem edito clamore aiebat: Hic adsum ego Antonius: non vestras fugio plagas, etiamsi plures inflixeritis, nihil me separabit a charitate Christi. Psallebat deinde: *Si consistant adversum me castra, non timebit cor meum.*" *(Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n. 9, p. 855; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.)*

† "Noctu itaque tantum excitavere strepitum, ut totus concuti videretur locus et quasi ruptis quatuor casæ parietibus irrumpere dæmones visi sunt, variis ferarum reptiliumque induti formas: fuitque statim locus spectris repletus, leonum, ursarum, leopardorum, taurorum, serpentum, aspidum, scorpionum, atque luporum. Horum unumquodque forma propria movebatur. Rugiebat leo quasi invasurus, taurus cornu petere videbatur, serpens reptando non accedebat tamen, lupus irruens retinebatur. Erat demum omnium quæ apparebant ferarum horrendus strepitus, feroxque animus." *(Ibidem, n. 9, p. 858.)*

‡ "Sublatis itaque oculis tectum vidit quasi apertum, ac lucis radium ad se descendere . . . Auxilio Antonius animadverso, postquam amplius respirasset, doloribusque levatus, visum quod apparebat his verbis compellavit: ubi eras? cur non ab initio apparuisti, ut meos levares dolores? Tum vox illi emissa: Hic eram, ait, Antoni, morabarque tuum spectans certamen. Cum itaque sustinueris, neque superatus fueris, ego ero semper tibi adjutor, tuumque nomen ubique terrarum celebre reddam." *(Ibidem, n. 10, p. 859.)*

And Christ poured into him supernatural strength, and he yearned to give himself with still greater abandonment than ever to the service of the Crucified.

He was now thirty-five years old. He set off for the wilderness. The devils tried to seduce him, putting the likeness of a silver plate in his way, and dropping bags of gold. But he buried himself in a crevice in a mountain, and here he wrestled and struggled with the fiends of hell, who, with yells and clamour and in fearful shapes, attacked and molested him. And thus he continued serving God, battling with temptation for the space of twenty years.*

Hundreds now came to him to gather wisdom from his lips. His friends, who had not seen him for many years, marvelled at two things in him: at the vigour of his body, for it "had kept the same habit, and had neither grown fat nor lean from fasting, nor worn by fighting with the demons;" and at the "purity of his soul." And here S. Athanasius makes purity identical with self-control and unmoved serenity. Do not these words seem to be written of the Angelical?—"They wondered again at the purity of his soul,

* "Verum inimicus, ejus ardens propositum, conspicatus, ejusque impediendi cupidus, magni argentei disci speciem in viam projecit (*n.* 11, *p.* 859.) . . . Rursumque cum progrederetur non vanam speciem, sed verum aurum in via projectum conspexit . . . Copiam solum miratus Antonius, tanquam ignem prosiliit, atque sic pertransivit, ut ne quidem vultum converteret: imo cursum ita concitavit, ut extra conspectum esset lateretque sibi locus." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 12, *p.* 862; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.*)

because it was neither contracted as if by grief, nor relaxed by pleasure, nor possessed by laughter or by depression; for he was neither troubled at beholding a crowd, nor over-joyful at being saluted by too many, but was altogether equal, as being governed by reason, and standing on that which is according to nature." *

He who lived in the sand, under the burning eye of the sun, amidst demons and wild beasts, thus for a hundred years possessed his soul in patience! It was this mighty force of character, this divine stability, which made him the stem and root of the Tree of Life.

As birds in the spring-time fill with noisy life the sandy places which had been forlorn before, so companies of men, seeking the gate of heaven, surrounded Anthony, and made the waste desert teem with an angelic host, who sent up through the hot air, to great God on high, acts of love, reverence, and adoration, with the fragrant incense of complete self-sacrifice.

"And Anthony groaned daily, considering the

* "Viginti itaque prope annos ita degit, asceticam seorsim agens vitam, neque inde progressus, nec nisi raro visus ab aliquo . . . . [Familiares] ut viderunt illi, mirati sunt corporis habitum eumdem ipsum esse qui semper fuerat, nec per quietem obesum pinguedine, neque macie confectum per jejunia dæmonumque certamina; talis quippe erat, qualem ante secessum ejus conspexerant. Animi item puri mores erant: nam nec mœrore coarctari, nec voluptatibus diffluere, neque vel risum, vel tristitiam præferre, neque conspecta multitudine turbari, neque tanta salutantium frequentia lætari visus est. . . . . Gratiam item Antonio loquenti dederat Dominus; ut mœstos plurimos consolaretur . . . . hortans omnes ut nihil mundanarum rerum anteferrent charitati Christi." *(Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n. 14, p. 863—866; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.)*

mansions in heaven, and setting his longing on them, and looking at the ephemeral life of man."*

There was only one influence capable of drawing Anthony from the desert. His mind filled with envy when he thought on the crown of the martyrs.† To his enthusiastic temperament, to his large generosity, there was something of magic in the attraction of suffering for Christ. His mind lived and fed on that Image, and for it he would have freely died; or if he were not permitted to die himself, at least he could exhort others on the way, and indicate the road towards their everlasting recompense.

He left his wilderness, and during Maximin's persecution ministered to the Confessors in the mines, and to those in prison. "Let us depart too," he said to his followers, "that we may wrestle, if we be called, or see them wrestling." He entered the judgment-hall in Alexandria, and to the amazement of the judge, with intense fire exhorted all to fight manfully for the Kingdom to come. The judge ordered him

* "Ipse vero more solito secedens intra monasterium suum, majore vitam asceticam studio adiit, ingemebatque quotidie cœlestium memor mansionum, earumque desiderio captus, ac humanæ vitæ fragilitatem animo versans: cibum quippe aut somnum, aut cæteras corporis necessitates, nonnisi cum rubore capiebat, secum reputans animæ vim intelligendi." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 45, *p.* 910; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.*)

† "Post hæc Ecclesiam excepit Maximini persecutio; sanctosque martyres Alexandriam adductos, relicto ille monasterio, secutus est aiens 'Pergamus et nos, ut vel vocati congrediamur, vel præliantes spectemur.' Et martyrii quidem desiderio flagrabat; sed cum nollet sese tradere, confessoribus in metallis et carceribus ministrabat." (*Ibidem, n.* 46, *p.* 910.)

to be turned out of the hall, and to be expelled the city. On this, Anthony washed his cloak, and standing next day on a high place, appeared to the judge in shining white.* "He himself," says S. Athanasius, "prayed to be a martyr, and was like one grieved because he had not borne his witness."†

Now he returned to the desert, and increased still more his severity with himself. He put on, and wore till his death, a beast's skin with the hair turned inside. He never washed, "and no one ever saw him unclothed till he was dead." ‡

So importunately did the multitude press around him, on account of the startling miracles he worked in Christ's name, that he hurried away from them into the "inner desert," and at length he came to a very high mountain: a stream of clear cold water gushed out of its base; a few neglected date-palms were the only vegetation which met the

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* "Judex itaque, viso tam illius quam suorum intrepido hac in re animo, jussit neminem monachorum in judicii loco interesse, vel in urbe prorsus versari. Tum aliis omnibus visum est illo die sese occultare: Antonio autem tantum jussio curæ fuit, ut loto ependyte, insequente die in edito loco conspicuus staret, atque præfecto sese nitidus exhiberet." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 46, *p.* 910—911; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.*)

† "Omnibus rem mirantibus, ipsoque judice id perspiciente, et cum militum suorum turma prætereunte, stetit ille intrepidus, ut nostram Christianorum ostenderet animi alacritatem: nam, uti superius dixi, martyrii desiderio flagrabat." (*Ibidem, n.* 46., *p.* 911.)

‡ "Asceticam enim vitam ferventius iniit; jejunabat quippe quotidie, vestimento usus interno quidem cilicino, externo vero pelliceo, quod ad usque mortem servavit: neque corpus ad deponendas sordes aqua lavit, neque pedes unquam abluit, vel solum in aquam nisi postulante necessitate demersit: nec unquam exutum illum conspexit quispiam, vel nudatum corpus Antonii, nisi cum post mortem suam sepultus est." (*Ibidem, n.* 47, *p.* 911.)

eye. He tilled a patch of ground on the other side the mountain; the wild beasts came, and upset his work; but he forbade them, and they obeyed; the demons still swarmed about him; tumults, and sounds of many voices, and crashing of arms broke through the solitude. At night, the mountain was full of savage monsters, glaring with their eyes, and making the darkness hideous with their bellowing and roaring; all the hyenas of the wilderness crept out of their burrows at dusk, and surrounded Anthony where he lay, gaping at him with white teeth and red jaws, and threatening to tear his body into atoms. But the Cross and the love of Christ were too powerful for the phantoms. This was Anthony's one stay, the Image of the Crucified, in whom he "trusted as Mount Sion." When he uttered the simple words: "I am the servant of Christ," the devils "fled away, pursued by his words as by a whip," says S. Athanasius.*

It would take too long to speak of his wonder-working power, of his visions and his prophecies: he saw the soul of Ammon carried up to heaven, he cured Fronto of a grievous disease, he brought

* "Et diabolus quidem, ut canit David, observabat Antonium, et stridebat dentibus in eum: Antonius vero a Salvatore consolationem accipiebat, nullo ex calliditate et dolosa vafritie illius accepto detrimento. Ipsi itaque noctu vigilanti immisit diabolus feras, ac prope omnes quæ in illa eremo erant hyænæ, ex latibulis egressæ, medium ipsum circumdedere, singulis hianti ore morsum minitantibus. Animadversa ille inimici techna, ait illis omnibus: Si accepistis adversum me potestatem, paratus sum vorari a vobis; sin estis a dæmonibus submissæ, ne moremini, sed abscedite: Christi enim servus sum. Hæc Antonio dicente aufugere illæ, quasi verbi flagello pulsæ." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 52, *p.* 918—919; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.*)

health to the Christ-bearing maiden of Laodicæa,* he cast out devils, and cured numberless sicknesses, in the name of our Lord. He foretold the horrors of the Arian domination, and he heard a voice saying: "My sanctuary shall be defiled." He prophesied the fate of Balacius the persecutor, who had his thigh torn open by the bite of a horse.

He abhorred heresy, and shrank from contact with the Meletians and Manicheans. He loathed the Arians with all the force of his nature—he knew they struck at the divinity of that Lord whom he worshipped as the Ark of his Salvation.

These unprincipled heretics circulated a report throughout Egypt, that the great Father of Solitaries favoured their blasphemous tenets. Knowing his boundless influence, they thought to use his name as a tool to push forward their wicked policy. When Anthony heard of this, he was filled with grief and indignation. At the request of the bishops, especially of Athanasius, he hurried off at once to Alexandria.† Here he

* *Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 61, *p.* 931; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.*

† "Per id circiter tempus Ariani, rumoribus spargendis semper invigilantes, temere jactitabant magni per Egyptum nominis virum Antonium monachorum patrem doctrinæ suæ favere et astipulari. Perlata res Antonio dolori fuit; graviterque succensens novatoribus, hortatu episcoporum, et maxime Athanasii, Alexandriam se confert. Tum cœpit Arianos publice coarguere, hæreticos appellare, hæresim eorum vocare Antichristi prodromum, prædicare Filii æternitatem, Deitatem, populum voce monitisque in vera doctrina confirmare. Ingens fuit multitudinis lætitia, grande odium conflatum hæresi adventu viri Dei. Accurrebant cives videndi Antonii cupidine flagrantes. Ipsi gentiles conspecta viri litterarum imperiti vi orationis stupefacti signis miraculisque ad preces ejus editis . . . tanto numero ad Christianam fidem confluxere, ut plures paucis diebus, quam alias per integrum annum, veræ fidei viam ingrederentur." (S. Athanasius Alex. Archiepisc., *Prologomena, p.* 80; *Patrolog. Græc.*; *Tom. XXV.*)

argued, with mighty energy, against the Arians. He declared them to be the precursors of Antichrist; and burning with divine love, he preached Christ, and His Eternity, and Divinity, to the people. Great was the exultation of the faithful when they heard him speak thus. The whole city turned out to look upon the renowned Solitary of the desert, as he declaimed in vast wicked Alexandria, and attacked the blasphemers of the Lord. The worshippers of the sun, and of the the bull, and of the beasts, were struck dumb with astonishment to see an unlettered man manifest so great a fire and ability in confronting error and in advocating truth. They were wholly overcome by the stupendous miracles wrought through the prayers of Anthony. He made more converts in those few days than others were in the habit of making in twelve months. All Alexandria, pagans included, was loud in proclaiming him to be "a man of God."*

His energy against heresy caused his fame to spread into distant cities, amongst Greek philosophers, potentates, and priests. He became known as "the man of God." His supernatural power was acknowledged on all sides. Once, two Greek sophists went out to tempt him, and he overset them

* "Lætabatur porro populus omnis, audiens a tanto viro anathemate damnatam Christo inimicam hæresim, civesque omnes videndi Antonii desiderio accurrebant. Gentiles ipsi, imo eorum sacerdotes, ut vocant, ad Dominicum accedentes, aiebant: Rogamus ut hominem Dei videre nobis liceat: omnes quippe ita eum appellabant." *(Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 70, *p.* 942; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.)*

in their own fashion: when they reviled him for not knowing letters, he asked them this question: "'Which is first—the sense, or the letters? Is the sense the cause of the letters, or the letters of the sense?' They answered 'that the sense came first, and invented the letters.' He replied: 'If then the sense be sound, the letters are not needed.' . . . So they went away wondering," says S. Athanasius, "when they saw so much understanding in an unlearned man." *

His fame spread even to the courts of kings. Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, wrote to him as to a father, asking his advice. When he received their letters, Anthony called his monks together, and said to them: "Wonder not if a king writes to us, but wonder rather that God has written His law to man, and spoken to us by His own Son." † He did not wish to have to do with kings, but his monks persuaded him to send a reply, and so he laid down for them the one principle

* *Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 73, *p.* 946; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.* Another example is the following:—"Aliquando ad eum accessere duo Græci philosophi, rati se Antonii posse periculum facere: qui tum erat in exteriore monte. Agnitisque ex vultu viris, illisque occurrens, per interpretem ait: Quid tantum suscepistis laborem, O philosophi, ut stultum hominem conveniretis? Respondentibus illis nequaquam stultum ipsum esse, sed perquam prudentem, dixit: Si stultum adiistis hominem, illud certe inani labore: sin me prudentem arbitramini, mihi estote similes, cum quæ bona sunt imitari par est. Nam si ego vos adiissem vos imitaturus eram, cum autem ad me vos accesseritis, mei similes efficiamini: Christianus quippe sum. Admirati illi abscessere." (*Ibidem, n.* 72, *p.* 943.)

† "Ne miremini si ad nos scribat imperator, homo cum sit; sed miramini potius quod legem hominibus scripserit Deus, et per proprium Filium nobiscum locutus sit." (*Ibidem, n.* 81, *p.* 955.)

"Rescripsit, laudans ipsos quod Christum adorarent; dabatque monita salutem spectantia; monebat item ne præsentia magni facerent, sed potius diei judicii recordarentur, scirentque Christum solum æternum esse imperatorem." (*Ibidem, n.* 81, *p.* 955.)

which dominated his own life. "He counselled them for their Salvation," says S. Athanasius, "not to think the present life great, but rather to remember Judgment to come; and to know that Christ was the only true and eternal King."

"He was like a physician given by God to Egypt. For who met him grieving, and did not go away rejoicing? Who came mourning over his dead, and did not forthwith lay aside his grief? Who came wrathful, and was not converted to friendship? What poor man came wearied out, . . . and did not despise wealth, and comfort himself in his poverty? What young man coming to the mountain, and looking upon Anthony, did not forthwith renounce pleasure, and love temperance? * Who came to him tempted by devils, and did not get rest? Who came troubled by doubts, and did not get peace of mind? . . . How many maidens, too, who had been already betrothed, and only saw Anthony from afar, remained unmarried for Christ's sake?" †

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* "Demum quasi medicus Ægypto a Deo datus erat. Quis enim mœstus illum adiit, quin gaudens recesserit? quis accessit mortuos lugens suos quin statim luctum deposuerit? quis iratus advenit, nec in amicitiam redactus est? quis pauper ad illum demisso animo accessit, auditoque ac viso illo, divitias non contempsit, et non de paupertate sua consolationem admissit? quis monachus remissior illum conveniens, non fortior postea fuit? quis adolescens in montem profectus, visoque Antonio, non abnegans illico voluptates temperantiam est amplexus? quis a dæmone tentatus ipsum adiit, quin liberatus sit?" *(Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n. 87, p. 966; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.)*

† "Quot jam procos habentes virgines, tantum Antonio eminus conspecto, Christi virgines mansere? Veniebant etiam ad illum quidam, ab exteris regionibus, qui percepta cum aliis omnibus utilitate, domum redibant, quasi a patre suo deducti." *(Ibidem, n. 88, p. 966.)*

At length, when nearly a hundred and five years of age, Anthony fell sick, and he called two young monks who had supported him in his feebleness, and said: "I indeed go the way of the Fathers, as it is written—for I perceive that I am called by the Lord." And he bade them give one of his sheep-skins to Athanasius, and also the cloak which was under him, which had been a present from the bishop, for though it had grown old, he desired to return it to him.*

"'And for the rest, children,' said the dying solitary, 'farewell, for Anthony is going, and is with you no more.' Saying thus, when they had embraced him, he stretched out his feet, and, as if he saw friends coming to him, grew joyful on their account (for, as he lay, his countenance was bright), he departed, and was gathered to his fathers." †

Such was the end of the great Patriarch of the Desert. The love of Christ, the shortness of time, and the length of eternity,—these great

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* "Vocatisque iis qui secum erant . . . ait illis: Equidem ut scriptum est, viam ingredior Patrum; video enim a Domino meo vocari. Vos autem vigilate. . . . Christum semper respirate. . . . Nulla vobis sit communicatio cum schismaticis, aut prorsus cum hæreticis Arianis . . . Meum itaque corpus humate. . . . Ego quippe in resurrectione mortuorum incorruptum ipsum a Salvatore recepturus sum. Mea dividite vestimenta, Athanasioque Episcopo melotem date unam, palliumque quo obvolvebar, quod novum ab ipso cum acceperim, jam detritum apud me est." *(Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 91, *p.* 970—971. *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.)*

† "His ille dictis, postquam ipsum osculati sunt, erectis pedibus, ac quasi amicos se adeuntes contemplatus eorumque causa lætus, nam dum decumberet hilari erat vultu, exspiravit, et appositus est ad patres suos." *(Ibidem, n.* 92, *p.* 971.)

influences fashioned him into the spiritual gladiator that he was. So fixed was he on attaining heaven, that the powers of hell could not turn him one inch out of the way. S. Athanasius says that "he looked not back," saying to himself continually, in the Apostle's words: "Forgetting what is behind, stretching forward to what is before." It would seem that this great athlete was especially raised up to be a pattern for men living in a tempestuous age; a model for those champions to form themselves on who were to command in the great fortresses of the Church. He who could succeed in being in the world what Anthony was in the desert, would become a mighty ruler and a king of men.

So beautiful and striking was Anthony's personal appearance, that men could pick him out of a multitude.* "His countenance had great and wonderful grace; and this gift too he had from the Saviour. For if he was present among the multitude of monks, and any one who did not previously know him wished to see him, as soon as he came, he passed by all the rest, and ran to

* "Magna mirabilisque vultui ejus inerat gratia. Illudque præterea donum a Salvatore consecutus erat, ut si, dum in monachorum cœtu adesset, aliquis eum sibi antea ignotum videre vellet, statim accedens, prætergressus alios, ad eum accurreret, illius quasi aspectu attractus. Neque statura, aut latitudine aliis præstabat, sed morum compositione atque animæ puritate; namque cum imperturbatam gereret mentem tranquillos item habuit externos sensus . . . pulchros quippe habebat oculos, dentes tamquam lac candidos. Eo ipso modo dignoscebatur Antonius; præ mentis enim serenitate nunquam perturbabatur: ac præ animi lætitia, nunquam tristi erat vultu." *(Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n. 67, p. 939; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.)*

Anthony himself, as if attracted by his eyes. He did not differ from the rest in stature or in stoutness, but in the steadiness of his temper and the purity of his soul." When over a hundred years old, "he remained uninjured in all his limbs: for his eyes were undimmed and whole, so that he saw well; and not one of his teeth had fallen out, but they were only worn down to his gums, on account of his age; and he remained sound in hand and foot; and, in a word, appeared ruddier and more ready for exertion than all who use various meats, and baths, and different dresses." *

The state of the Roman empire, and of Egypt, has already been referred to. We have seen what pagan philosophy, literature, and religion can effect. Anthony stands up in the desert, a marvellous contrast to the popular teaching and practice of the world; he does not write treatises, or enter into polemics; he preaches by pattern, he converts, and argues by example.† He stands before the eye of pagan Alexandria and Rome, as a fruit of the tree which is called Christianity.

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* "Omnino incolumis perduravit. Illæsos quippe oculos atque integros habuit, ita ut recte videret: dentiumque illi ne unus quidem excidit, solummodo prope gingivas attriti erant ob grandem senis ætatem. Pedibus autem manibusque sanus omnino permansit, et sane omnibus, qui variis cibis, lotionibus, variisque vestibus uterentur, vegetior apparebat, atque omnino robustior. . . . Nequaquam enim scriptis suis, non gentili sapientia, non aliqua arte sed sola ergo Deum pietate celebris fuit Antonius." *(Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n. 93, p. 974; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.)*

† How marvellously his fame spread!—"Unde enim in Hispanias, in Gallias, Romam, in Africam, in monte latentis degentisque viri fama delata fuerit, nisi Deus suos ubique terrarum claros notosque redderet, qui idipsum Antonio sub initium pollicitus est?" *(Ibidem, n. 93, p. 974.)*

The Greek could write exquisite verses on the beauty of virtue, the Roman could speak of probity and justice, the philosopher could descant on the good, the beautiful, and the true,—but where they failed, where paganism and rationalism always have failed, and always will fail, was in presenting the spectacle of a living breathing man, with soul and passions, abiding from childhood to old age in an undeviating course of fidelity to the highest aspirations of the human heart. All men can appreciate this; none are so obtuse as to be blind to generosity, self-sacrifice, devotedness,—to sincerity of purpose, singleness of aim, and spotlessness of life.* Arguments in the shape of facts, principles in the form of practice, dreams which are realized, and hopes which are fulfilled before the eyes,—these are palpable enough to affect the grossest mind, and startling enough to shake the most sluggish disposition out of its habitual lethargy.

It was the intense simplicity and reality of S. Anthony's life—his being so thoroughly Christian, Apostolical, and Scriptural—that made him in the order of action what first principles are in

* It need hardly be said that we in England have not been without Hermits and "Ankers." The remains of their cells are still to be found in many churches in England—once Catholic, now Protestant. In the diocese of Lincoln, they were very common in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The "incluse" could see into the church and attend mass from his cell, built conveniently for that end. Twelve feet seems to have been about the size of the cell. S. Gilbert of Sempringham drew seven young ladies to follow this life. S. Hutta immured herself at Huy, near Liège. In England, Gilmichael was a hermit, so was Roger Eller, so was Hugh Cominch. (*Cf.*, Kingsley's *Hermits*, *p.* 329—334.)

the order of ideas. He himself is a living *Summa Theologica*. And what the Angelical, so many years afterwards, threw into the form of a magnificent scientific exposition—that, Anthony, "the Physician of Egypt," had already acted out, in the practice of his life, under the palm-trees of the Egyptian desert. Love of Christ, stubbornness of purpose, the Holy Scriptures, and the unseen world, hatred of error, and sympathy with truth, the Judgment, and the recompense :—these influences formed the great heroes of the wilderness.* And their principles were transplanted into the noisy world, and animated the spirits of those chosen athletes who were battling amidst the din and strife of life, teaching men how to govern others, by first governing themselves.

Now consider for a moment the history of the great champions of the Church from the beginning —excluding the Apostles—till the death of Pope Gregory the Great (604). Study the history and character, realize the weight, of the Greek and Latin Fathers. There is evidently a vast develop-

* Montalembert seems fully to have appreciated the greatness of these men :—"L'Egypt, cet antique et mystérieux berceau de l'histoire, cette terre déjà consacrée dans la mémoire des chrétiens pour avoir été la prison du peuple de Dieu et le refuge de l'enfant Jésus et de sa mère, l'Egypte fut encore choisie pour être le berceau de ce monde nouveau que vont créer la foi et la vertu chrétiennes. La vie monastique y est définitivement inaugurée, au sein des déserts, par les Paul, les Antoine, les Pacôme, et leurs nombreux disciples. Ce sont les fondateurs de ce vaste empire qui a duré jusqu' à nos jours, les grands capitaines de la guerre permanente de l'âme contre la chair, les modèles héroïques et immortels offerts aux religieux de tous les siècles." (*Les Moines d'Occident, Tom. I., Liv. II., p.* 55—56.)

ment, and a decided ethical advance, perceptible at a certain point in the enquiry.

Take S. Anthony as a stand-point.* Observe the Patristic stream as it approaches him—it is either comparatively shallow, or it is comparatively obscure ; look at it as it careers past him, down the bed of time—it is larger, fuller, clearer than before.† To escape from figures, those champions who preceded S. Anthony had either smaller opportunities, or were less rigid in their expressions, than those who came after him.‡ This change is traceable, amongst other causes, to the marvellous influence exerted by this Saint's teaching and example upon the great columnal Fathers of the Church. What names of renown do we meet before that of S. Athanasius, the familiar friend of S. Anthony ? §

* "Anthony was born A.D. 251, while Origen was still alive, while Cyprian was bishop of Carthage, Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, and Gregory Thaumaturgus of Neocesarea. He lived till A.D. 356, to the age of 105, when Athanasius was battling with the Emperor Constantius, nine years after the birth of S. Chrysostom, and two years after that of S. Augustine." (See *Church of the Fathers, Chap. VII., p.* 178. *Fourth Edition.*)

† Dr. Pusey says, in quite another connexion:—"Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Basil, Athanasius, Jerome, have left a much deeper impress, and moulded succeeding periods in their own character far more than the Apostolic Fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, or Tertullian." (*Preface to Vol. I. of the Library of the Fathers, p.* 22. *Oxford, MDCCCXL.*)

‡ Let this not be misunderstood :—The primitive Fathers handed down the full tradition ; yet all their expressions have not been understood even by saints. S. Basil and S. Gregory are severe on S. Dionysius. S. Hippolytus, S. Methodius, S. Ignatius, and S. Justin may be, and have been, misunderstood. All that is here asserted is, that as the Church gained on the world, her teaching expanded, and its details became more and more defined.

§ "Nothing is more striking than the last will of S. Anthony. He sends his garments to Athanasius. This seems to signify that he sent him, or rather wished him to be clothed with, his spirit. And indeed, S. Athanasius, in his *Life*, evinces how highly he prizes the legacy of

The Churches of Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Gaul had been founded, not to speak of Edessa, and of India. Then we meet the Apostolical Fathers—S. Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias, and Hermas, witnesses of truth in their day, but whose extant writings are few in number and fragmentary in form. Next, we come upon the Greek apologists, who represented Christian science to a corrupted world. It cannot be denied there are great names amongst the Fathers of the second and third centuries. We have the rise of the Alexandrian school, with Pantænus, Clement, and Origen amongst the Greeks; whilst we find S. Irenæus, and Tertullian, and S. Cyprian amongst the Latins.* But we only possess one considerable work of S. Irenæus. Tertullian lapsed, through his violent impatience, into heresy; whilst the most famous name of all, that of Origen the Adamantine, is not free from grave suspicion. His writings have had, in several points of no small importance, to be either defended or explained away. The Church does not seek for talent alone, or industry,

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Anthony, and seems to look upon it as a constant reminder to follow his example. He says:—"Qui autem accepere beati Antonii utramque melotem, et detritum ab eo pallium, quasi res *magni pretii* ambo illa custodiunt, atque in illis Antonium conspiciunt; iis quoque amicti, se Antonii monita cum gaudio gestare videntur." (*Vita et Conversio S. P. N. Antonii, n.* 92, *p.* 971; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.*)

* Catechetical school of Alexandria from 180—254. Pantænus (180), in youth a Stoic, converted by a disciple of the Apostles—S. [Titus Flavius] Clement (213 or 217), probably born at Athens, succeeds Pantænus; Origen (254), S. Irenæus (202), though a Latin Father, wrote in Greek; Tertullian (220), of Carthage; S. Cyprian, Bishop and Martyr (262).

or knowledge of many tongues; she loves him and trusts in him who loves her and trusts in her; and he is her choicest advocate who knows best how to assimilate her spirit, and, with the most perfect accuracy, to reproduce her mind.*

To do this a man must learn to be humble, to sink self, and to seek Christ, as S. Anthony did in the wilderness. Indeed, a whole army of splendid captains seems to have been created by the drill and discipline of the desert. A race of stern, strong, and stubborn men arose, fit to cope with the great powers of darkness, and with an idolatrous generation. What S. Anthony had to do with the demons and the beasts, that the Fathers had to do with heretics and schismatics; and they had to maintain themselves unscathed by the same methods as had been adopted by him.†

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* The fact of Origen having exerted in the East an influence somewhat analogous to that of Augustine in the West, makes it all the more certain that there must be some want of harmony between his mind and that of the Church—otherwise, since he was so unquestionably great as a religious teacher, she would have ranked him amongst her Doctors. The Church did not so rank him and others, says Alzog:—"Parceque, malgré leur valeur littéraire et leur piété, ces auteurs n'ont pas constamment et partout expliqué et défendu la doctrine chrétienne selon l'esprit de l'Eglise." (*Patrologie*, § 2, *p.* 3.)

† P. de Ravignan is not less terse than true when he says:—"La solitude est la patrie des forts, le silence leur prière." (*De L'Institut des Jésuites*, *p.* 31.) "L'histoire monastique," adds Montalembert, "tout entière n'est que la démonstration de cette vérité. Et comment en eût-il été autrement? qu'était-ce que leur vie, si ce n'est une protestation permanente contre la faiblesse humaine? une réaction chaque jour renouvelée contre tout ce qui rabaisse et énerve l'homme? une aspiration perpétuelle vers tout ce qui plane sur la vie terrestre et la nature déchue? . . . . L'âme, toujours élevée à Dieu par les moindres habitudes de la règle quotidienne, lui offrait sans relâche le triomphe des forces les plus pures et des instincts les plus généreux de la nature humaine sur les sens et sur les passions." (*Les Moines d'Occident*, *Tom. I.*, *Introduction*, *p.* 32—33.)

And they appear on the world's stage, as if they had been moulded into form by some unusual influence. So many and such names do not fall so close together in the whole range of Church history. Here, within a space of sixty years, we have S. Athanasius (373), S. Basil (379), S. Gregory Nazianzen (389), S. Ambrose (397), S. John Chrysostom (407), S. Jerome (420), and S. Augustine (431).

The Church had gone through three hundred years of persecution. For four centuries all her popes were saints. She had had her apostles, her confessors, her martyrs, and her apologists. Now came the period of consolidation, organization, and expansion. This was the time of wide-spread heresies and General Councils, which, in condemning error, defined and developed the initial teachings of the Church. The Donatists, the Arians, the Macedonians, the Pelagians, and the Nestorians, drew out from her the riches of her wisdom, and called forth from her greatest champions the highest efforts of their genius.* Nicæa, Constantinople, and then Ephesus, saw the

* *Persecutions.*—First, 64; second, 95; third, 106; fourth, 166; fifth, 202; sixth, 235; seventh, 249; eighth, 257; ninth, 275; tenth, 303.

Councils.—First General Council of Nicæa, 325; second, of Constantinople, 381; third, of Ephesus, 431; fourth, of Chalcedon, 451;—then comes the fall of the Western empire.

Heresies.—Montanists, 171; Schism of Novatus, 251; Manichæans, 277; Donatists, 314; Arians, 319; Macedonians, 360; Pelagians, 412; Nestorians, 420; Eutychians, 448. After this begins the era of great national conversions, to which reference has been made in another place.

beautiful Mother of men exert her influence, and grow out towards the full expansion of her beauty. With such mighty powers in active motion, during times pregnant with huge events, men of more than ordinary calibre, of extraordinary energy, purity, and stability, were called for, to fight her battles and to advocate her cause. Such men arose, and their greatness has been in proportion to the fidelity with which they emulated, in the world, those principles of perfection which Providence held out to them as a pattern, in the marvellous life of "the Physician of the Egyptians." *

If it was heroic love of Christ which carried the boy Anthony into the wilderness, and maintained him there for nearly a hundred years, it was the same mighty charity which put a fire and a fortitude into the spirit of S. Athanasius—which bore him through six and forty years of bitter persecution, and sustained him, against the machinations of Bishops, Emperors, and Councils, in the undeviating prosecution of one dominant idea.

* See how mightily the followers of S. Anthony opposed the Arians. Sozomen gives a vivid account of the persecutions of the Arian Lucius :—"Multi enim tunc temporis admirabiles viri regionum illarum monasteriis præerant, omnesque pariter opinionem Arii aversabantur. Quorum testimonio adhærens multitudo vulgi, eamdem cum illis doctrinam fidei profitebantur." He goes on to show how some of these monks, on account of their maintaining the teaching of Nicæa, were banished to a pagan island, and how they converted it from a nest of devils to the true Christian faith; and turned the much venerated temple of idols into a church of God. This is but a miniature of their general influence. (See Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl., Lib. VI., Cap. XX., p.* 1339—1343; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. LXVII. Migne.)* The heretics Eunomius and Apollinaris were checked by the Solitaries just as the Arians had been. "Id porro istis accidit," says Sozomen, "quod antea Arianis acciderat." (Vid. *Hist. Eccl., Lib. VI., Cap. XXVII., p.* 1370.)

He was born about the year 296. His parents were Christians, most probably Egyptians. From boyhood, he loved and closely watched the ceremonies of the Church. The venerable Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, when looking out on the sea from his high tower, perceived a group of children playing on the sands. They excited his curiosity; and on sending for them, he discovered that they had been administering the rite of Christian Baptism to each other in play, and that the boy called Athanasius had acted the bishop's part. The holy prelate thereupon took the boy-bishop under his protection.* And this was the beginning of that long career of brilliant and arduous service which has immortalized the name of S. Athanasius, and which has left its mark for all time upon the Church of God.

To give a detailed description of his life—with its contests and vicissitudes, with its romantic episodes, its daring deeds, its ceaseless toil, its dauntless bravery, with its weariless perseverance in prosecuting the one cause he had espoused—

* And the Baptism seems to have been declared valid by the holy bishop:—"Tum abire eos, et comprehensos ad se perducere omnes pueros imperat. Cumque adessent, quis eis ludus, et quid egissent vel quomodo, percontatur. Illi, ut talis habet ætas, pavidi negare primo; deinde rem gestam per ordinem pandunt, et baptizatos a se esse quosdam catechumenos confitentur per Athanasium, qui ludi illius puerulis episcopus fuerat simulatus. Tum ille diligenter inquirens ab his qui baptizati dicebantur, quid interrogati fuerint, quidve responderint, simul et ab eo qui interrogaverat, ubi videt secundum religionis nostræ ritum cuncta constare collocutus cum concilio clericorum, statuisse traditur illis, quibus integris interrogationibus et responsionibus aqua fuerit infusa, iterari baptismum non debere, sed adimpleri ea quæ a sacerdotibus mos est." (*Vita S. Athanasii Archiepiscopi Alexandrini.—Vid. Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena, p.* 61; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV. Migne.*)

would occupy too large a space. But the general outline must be touched upon, and that soul or spirit indicated which was at once the cause and the explanation of the whole course of his career.*

Naturally of a religious turn of mind, endowed with a retentive memory, an extraordinary self-command, a keen, incisive, ready, and versatile intelligence, Athanasius gave promise, from an early age, of that eminence to which he afterwards attained.

He studied under Alexander; but it is evident from his life, and from the whole bias of his mind, that he had been impregnated with the spirit of the martyrs of the Church, and of the Fathers of the desert.

What S. Anthony was in the wilderness, that, Athanasius was in the world. The one was persecuted, worried, and, had they possessed the power, would have been destroyed by demons; the other was persecuted and worried, and would have been murdered by wicked men. The devils

* He appears to have been born about A.D. 296; is received by Alexander, 313; seeks S. Anthony, 315; writes *Contra Gentes*, 319; Arian strife, 323; Constantine becomes aware of the heresy, 324; Synod of Nicæa called, 325; death of Alexander, 326; Athanasius succeeds, 326; goes into the Thebaid, 327; Arius goes to Alexandria, 332; Synod of Cæsarea, 333; S. Anthony enters Alexandria against the Arians, 334; Synod of Tyre, 335; Athanasius exiled to Trèves, 336; death of Constantine, 337; return of Athanasius, 338; Alexandrian Synod, 340; Synod of Antioch, 341; Synod of Sardica, 347; Gregory murdered, 349; Athanasius energizes against the Arians, 350; Synod of Smyrna, 351; Athanasius writes *De Nicænis Decretis*, 352; death of Magnentius, 353; Synod of Milan, 355; Athanasius writes his *Apologia de fuga sua*, 358; Synod of Constantinople, 360; Julian, Emperor, 362; troubles in Alexandria, 367; Synod of Rome, 368; of Alexandria, 369; of Rome, 370; Athanasius writes against Apollinaris, 372; death of Athanasius, 373.

hated Anthony, because Anthony loved his Heavenly King; men hated Athanasius, because he loved the Incarnate Word. If Anthony, without wavering for a moment, resisted the devils during a long life of temptation, S. Athanasius, during forty-six years, without showing the slightest symptom of weakness, withstood the terrors of persecution, the artfulness of dialectical pretence, and the weariness of many and tedious exiles, in the service of his Lord.*

The one paramount life-giving principle in the mind of either was devotedness to Christ—not Christ as an abstraction, or an idea without energy, a simple picture in the mind, but Christ as a living, personal, mighty Master, as King of Glory, as Eternal Judge, as the Resurrection and the Life, as the Alpha and Omega, the Begin-all and End-all of human destiny, and as the Sovereign of the mind, the Possessor of the heart, and the Imperial Ruler of the Universe.†

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* And in fact, looking on the Arians in the light which S. Epiphanius throws on them in his *Adversus Hæreses (Tom. II., Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLII.)*, and also with the eyes of S. Athanasius and S. Anthony, they seem to have been possessed by a spirit of pride, cruelty, and hypocrisy, more in keeping with the popular notion of evil spirits that with that of men. The picture drawn of Arius by S. Epiphanius is sufficiently expressive:—"Porro inflatus opinione sui senex ille a scopo veritatis excidit. Fuit hic proceriore statura, tristi oris specie, totaque corporis configuratione, subdoli serpentis instar, ad fraudem et fallaciam composita, ita ut callido illo externoque habitu facile simplicioribus animis obreperet. Nam hemiphorium et colobium indutus in colloquiis ac salutationibus blandus erat imprimis, atque omnium animos adulationum illecebris devinctos tenebat." (S. Epiphanii *Advers. Hæreses, Tom. II., Lib. II., Hæres. LXIX., p.* 206—207; *Patrol. Græc., Vol. XLII.)*

† This personal love of our Lord and Master seems to be as the very marrow and fibre of religious life. In proportion as this personal love of the living Christ possessed the men of old, in that proportion they

Both Anthony and Athanasius felt, not only that Christ was their one Supreme Lord, but that He was the "Physician of the world." They saw around them on every side the loathsome leprosy of lust, idolatry, and degradation. They burnt with charity towards man, because they loved God truly. Could they, as men with human hearts in their breasts, suffer that Physician to be deprived of His credentials and shorn of His *prestige?* Was it tolerable that the claim which He had upon the attention of mankind should be ignored, argued away, expunged? Was the Saviour of souls to be banished out of His own kingdom, and no effort to be made in His defence?

What was Arianism but the destruction of the very brain of Christianity? Deny the divinity of our Lord, and creation at once falls into the darkness of eclipse—the unclean monsters creep from their lairs, the impurities of heathen worship poison the land again, and the latter state of the world becomes worse even than the first.*

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were mighty. This it was that made martyrs and confessors. Only read the lives of the Solitaries, beginning with the First Hermit, and this great love explains the whole action of their lives. The more one reads the writings of the great Columnal Fathers, the more it becomes evident that it was the flame of this divine fire which made them strong and operative. It was love more than science, Christian chivalry more than the forms of logic, which lent to them their marvellous power, and made their names a pillar of strength. Their personal sway did great things in their day, and the human beauty of their minds is still found reflected in their works—read their orations and letters.

* This fact S. Athanasius felt intensely. It was, indeed, *Athanasius contra mundum*, inasmuch as he was fighting the world on a world-question. It was a question of Christ, or of idolatry—just as the grand division of human thought in these days is between Christianity or infidelity. S. Athanasius shows that the falling-off from Christ leads men to adore the sun, moon, and stars, then they sink lower and lower still, then :—"Quia

The saints were jealous lovers of the Crucified. They became flames of devouring fire when His honour or good name was menaced. And their love increased in proportion as they studied the condition of the world, and saw what would become of it without Him—what would ensue if His name were blotted out, and the earth made desolate.

Such, then, was the grand informing principle which is at once the explanation and the cause of the indomitable energy, the unconquerable tenacity, the violent enthusiasm, which come out in the eventful life of the great S. Athanasius. He was a world-saint, for he had a world-battle to fight and win; and the spirit which was in him, leading him on, and giving him light, prudence, acuteness, and force, was his unquenchable love of the Incarnate Word.*

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etiam pejora meditati, in lapides et ligna, in reptilia, aquatilia, et terrena atque in feras et brutas animantes divinum et cœleste Dei nomen transtulerunt, omnesque soli Deo debitos honores illis attribuerunt: verum autem Deum Christi Patrem rejecerunt." (*Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Pars I., Oratio Contra Gentes, n.* 9, *p.* 18—19; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*) These great men took large views of the world, and felt that Christianity was an all-embracing good.

* To give a few of his expressions:—"Ubi ille in nostram regionem introivit, et sibi domicilium in uno corpore ex nostris elegit, mox omnes hostium adversus homines insidiæ finem habuere, et mortis corruptio, cujus vires adversus illos tantæ antea erant, penitus evanuit. Periisset enim hominum genus, nisi omnium Dominus et Servator Dei Filius mortem consumpturus advenisset." (*Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Pars I., Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi, n.* 9, *p.* 111; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*) Again:—"Verum ubi advenit Dominus, humanamque ejus dispensationem experientia inimicus cognovit, cum non posset carnem decipere, quam gestabat Christus: tunc ille qui universum orbem se comprehensurum pollicitus sibi fuerat, jam inde propter Christum etiam pueris, tanquam passer, superbus cœpit esse ludibrio." (*Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Pars I., Epistola ad Episcopos Ægypti et Lybiæ, n.* 2, *p.* 542, *Vol. XXV.*; see also *Tom. II., Pars I., Oratio II., contra Arianos, n.* 39, *p.* 223, *Vol. XXVI.*) In fact his writings are made up of a profound love and deep appreciation of Christ, the "*omnium Servator Dei Filius.*"

The superficial historian, who looks upon a saint as he would upon a clever statesman, an able chief, or a righteous king, holds in his hand the lock, and may examine its wards, but he does not possess the key. Athanasius fighting for an abstraction till wearied out at eighty years of age; or Anthony living his life away in the wilderness, in obedience to a mere idea;—men consuming their strength, wasting their gifts on an unreality, or on any object inadequate to their exertions, are simply exhibitions which scare and shock. But let the object be worthy of the effort, let it be Christ, and then the picture represents a splendid hero, who can never suffer enough, who can never be spent too much, who can ever offer more—in the service of so high a Lord and Master.*

Athanasius loathed the Arians, because they struck at Christ: he tenderly loved the monks and Solitaries, because they worshipped and defended Him.

Indeed, the Solitaries who spent their time in

* In fact his zeal may be said to have looked beyond the grave. When in the hands of death, he declared that if he found mercy with Christ his Lord, he would prostrate before Him, and not lift his face from the earth, till he had shut the gates of the idolatrous temple of *Rarail* in Alexandria:—"Erat Alexandriæ idolum nomine *Rarail:* cum vero Athanasii jam febre correpti quies appropinquaret, dixit: Si invenio misericordiam apud Christum Dominum meum. procidam coram eo neque faciem meam levabo, donec claudantur fores templi idoli istius. Testati vero sunt sacerdotes Alexandrini, quod septem diebus elapsis ab ejus obitu, misit Jovianus imperator fidelis mandata, secundum quæ templum illud occlusum est." (*Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Vita S. Athanasii ex Arabico Versa, p.* 251; see also the *Elogia Veterum,* if they really relate to the Saint, *Ibidem, Prolegomena, p.* 274—280; see *Apologia Contra Arianos, n.* 6, *p.* 258, *Tom. I., Pars I.*; *Patrol. Græc., Vol. XXV.*)

silence, penance, fasting, and wrestling, formed a species of basis of operations for those fighting for Christ in the busy world. To look on them, and to converse with them, was to acquire new strength, and fresh courage; the fires of devotedness were stirred up, and the athlete went forth from the wilderness into the tumult of the battle, refreshed and invigorated, joyously to spill his blood in the service of his King.*

Thus S. Athanasius found a sure *point d'appui* amongst the Fathers of the desert. From Anthony he learnt what it was to love Christ indeed.† He could see love's flames lighting up the countenance of that devoted man. His one delight was to be in his company; he often visited him; he wrote his life. Anthony was no less drawn to Athanasius. When the archbishop was driven into exile, Anthony often sent letters to Constantine, urging his return. ‡ The emperor answered him with respect, for he looked upon Anthony as one of "the pillars of the world."

* See how beautifully Sozomen describes the method of the solitary life. (*Hist. Eccles., Lib. I., Cap. XII., p.* 890—895, *Patrolog. Græc. Vol. LXVII.*)

† "Magnum quippe mihi lucrum vel ex sola Antonii memoria obvenit . . . . Litteris itaque vestris acceptis, volebam quosdam monachos accersere, ex iis maxime qui frequentius illum adibant: ut ab illis edoctus plura vobis possem transmittere; sed cum ad finem jam vergeret navigandi tempestas, urgeretque tabellarius: ideo quæcumque novi (sæpe enim illum vidi) et quæ ab eo ediscere potui, qui non modico tempore virum secutus sum atque lavanti manus aquam effudi . . ." (Vid. *Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. II., Pars I., Vita S. Antonii, Proœmium, p.* 838—839; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.* See also *Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii, p.* 61; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*)

‡ See Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles., Lib. II., Cap. XXXI., p.* 1025—1026; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. LXVII.*

S. Anthony's last words referred to S. Athanasius. He sent him as a memento, at his death, his sheepskin and his cloak. So Paul, the first hermit, when dying, said to Anthony : "Bring the cloak which Athanasius the bishop gave thee, to wrap up my corpse." * Just as Athanasius gave his covering to Anthony, and just as S. Anthony, dying, sent his cloak to Athanasius, so it may be said that they partook of each other's spirit :—Anthony was the Athanasius of the desert; Athanasius was the Anthony of the world.†

In fact the whole bias of Athanasius was towards the ascetic life. He loved all the desert Fathers. He gave a cloak to Abbot Macarius. S. Ammon and Theodore were his familiar companions. He took the Egyptian hermits to the Eternal City, and set men's hearts on fire with a love of the heroism of the Cross. He spoke amongst the Roman nobility of the wonders of Anthony's life, of the devotedness of the Solitaries, and of how Pachomius had peopled the banks of the Nile with families of Saints. Though the history of Aglaës and

* Paul said to Anthony :—"It would indeed be a happy thing for thee, and I could desire it for thee, to be already allowed to follow the Divine Lamb ; but thy life and thy example are still necessary to the brethren, therefore wait patiently. But thou shalt bury me like a dutiful son, and I beg of thee, if thou art not afraid of the labour, to fetch the cloak which the bishop Athanasius gave to thee, and clothe me in it for my burial. . . . . Anthony was amazed to find that Paul knew of Athanasius and the cloak, and he kissed his hand silently and tearfully." (See Hahn-Hahn, *Fathers of the Desert, Paul of Thebes, p.* 88.)

† Vid. *Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. II., Pars I.—Vita S. Antonii, n.* 91, *p.* 971 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXVI.*

Boniface were known to the Roman people, the narratives of Athanasius came upon them like a new revelation. Roman nobles abandoned their pride, and, leaving a life of luxury, and the pomp of place, bound themselves over to a life of poverty and obscurity, out of love of Christ. Roman ladies, who were so delicate that they could hardly bear the movement of their gilded chairs, or the weight of their splendid apparel, or the pressure of their embroidered slippers, cast all this on one side, to live to God in prayer and fasting and terrific penance. The children of Scipio, Camillus, and Anicius, wiping from their minds all thought of human glory, sought Christ in poverty of life, in blind obedience, and in chaste abandonment of love. One can see now, in imagination, the beautiful and high-minded Marcella, the noblest of Rome's daughters, hanging entranced upon the lips of Athanasius, as he relates to her the marvels of the desert, and how Christ could turn the terrors of the wilderness into a home of happiness and joy.* And well may Athanasius have loved the Solitaries.

* This was in the year 341. The two monks whom he took with him were Ammon and Isidore. The former had so utterly renounced the world, that he did not care to raise his eyes to look upon the splendour of the imperial city :—"Quorum prior tanta erat humanarum rerum incuria ; ut etsi Romæ amplitudo omnes vel longe terrarum sitos homines ad sui spectaculum evocaret ille tamen amphitheatra, plateas et opera publica, Romæ degens, ne conspectum quidem ire vellet." This same Ammon, when he heard that there was a probability of his being made a bishop, mutilated his body, thinking by so doing to escape such an infliction. "Isidorus autem non minore virtutis fama et fluxarum rerum abdicatione florebat." (*Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena, Præfatio Editionis Benedictinæ, n.* 21, *p.* 39 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*)

The desert was his safest retreat, his sweetest home in trial. He trusted the Solitaries, wrote to them, made them his confidants, and loved them as no others. They were his joy and his crown, and his firmest stay in the great struggle he had to carry on against the world. Had he not drunk deeply of their fountains, he never would have ridden out so many tempests, such fierce hurricanes, and have remained without a spar broken, or a line out of place. His love of Christ dominated him so masterfully that, whilst it kept all taut, it propelled him forward with greater power than could be brought to bear upon him through the continued action of the world, the devil, and the flesh.*

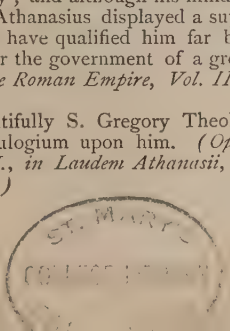
What saint of the Church, save those who sat on Peter's chair, has at the same time held so high a position, has confronted such mighty enemies, and has left such a splendid name? The Chair of S. Mark was, next to that of Rome, the most exalted in the Church; Alexandria was the most flourishing city in the Empire; the Bishop of Alexandria was Primate, with almost boundless power over the whole of Egypt; he exerted a sway in the civil order which enabled him, when supported by the Egyptian people, to withstand

* Read his letters, orations, and apologies—they speak of a personal, living war against the *Hostes Christi*, as he continually calls them. He is defending one he *loves*, as well as serves. See also *SS. Patrum Ægyptorum Opp. Omnia, S. Pachomius Tabennensis Abbas*, § 1, *p.* 943; *Patrolog. Græc. Vol. XL.*

the arrogance of emperors, and to preserve the independence of the Church. Constantine, it is supposed, ostracised Athanasius through jealousy. Constantius at first was afraid to banish him, whilst the Apostate Julian drove him into exile, because his vast influence was oversetting all the pagan temples in Alexandria. And in spite of the power of counts, prefects, tribunes, eunuchs, bishops, emperors, and armies,—in spite of malice, perjury, and fraud, he held his own, and proved himself equal to the combined malice of his enemies.* There is something great in his whole career. There is something sublime in the way he bears the weight of calumny and condemnation. † Coalitions may form, and meet, and plot; courtier-bishops, men of subtle intellects and large acquirements, may use shallow-minded emperors as their tools against him; Tyre, Antioch, Arles, Milan, in council assembled, may

* Even Gibbon is forced to speak well of Athanasius. After treating of his becoming Archbishop of Alexandria, Gibbon says of him :—"He filled that eminent station above forty-six years, and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merit, and his sufferings in the cause of the Homoousion, which he considered as the sole pleasure and business, as the duty, and the glory of his life. Amidst the storms of persecution the Archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, Athanasius displayed a superiority of character and abilities, which would have qualified him far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine for the government of a great monarchy." (See *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. III., Chap. XXI., p.* 357. *London,* 1820.)

† See how beautifully S. Gregory Theologus speaks of the great Athanasius, in his eulogium upon him. (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I., Oratio XXI., in Laudem Athanasii, p.* 1082—1128; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)



pass sentence. He may be accused of murder, sacrilege, tyranny, oppression, of whipping and imprisoning bishops, of sedition, treason, theft, of robbery of widows, and of violating virgins consecrated to God. Constantine may cast him out, the impious Constantius may try to ruin him, Julian may attempt to murder him, and Valens may deliver him to his enemies; he may be banished to Treves, and Antioch, he may be driven to Rome, or forced to fly into the inmost recesses of the desert, or to hide himself away in his father's tomb, or to conceal himself six years under the roof of a pious virgin; armed men may break into his church at midnight, to pierce him with their spears and arrows—it matters not :* he knows in Whom he believes, and though he is well aware that one simple blow at the divinity of his Lord would free him from the implacable malice of his enemies, yet he perseveres, with one resolve fixed in his mind immovably—that the cause of Christ his King should not be compromised, but rather that all this opposition should testify in the face

* The following is sufficient testimony to the brutality and lawlessness of his enemies :—"Ariani omnibus terrori erant, imperatorisque formidinem opponentes, apud omnes venditabant sese, comminantes illius iram. Virginibus autem Christi implacabile bellum indixerant impuri homines, quia eas impietatem detestari compererant. Quamobrem alias ex ædibus dejecerunt, alias affecere contumeliis; earumque capita, quæ potissima tunc erat ignominiæ nota, nudari jusserunt a petulanti illa juvenum caterva. Mulieribus quoque suis facultatem dederunt contumelias arbitrio suo cuivis illarum inferendi. Honestæ igitur ac fideles matronæ, his conspectis, declinabant occursum hujusmodi." If such was the treatment of women, we may imagine what the feeling against S. Athanasius was. (Vid. *Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii, n.* 9, *p.* 129; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*)

of the world to all time, and bring out into luminous relief this one dogma of religion, viz., that the Christ who possessed his heart, and reigned in his intelligence, is Consubstantial with the Father by Whom all things are made.

Nor was he without his triumphs. Deep-rolling clouds, and bursts of piercing sun-light, made up the summer of his day. See him at Nicæa. Three hundred prelates from all quarters of the East are there. Asia and Egypt, Rome, India, and Armenia are represented. The cultured Greek, the vehement Egyptian, Syrians, and bishops from Palestine fill the great hall, with one thought living in their minds—whether Christ should be declared to be God, or to be a creature merely.* Hermit-bishops like S. James of Nisibis, courtly prelates like Eusebius of Nicomedia, or Cæsarea, venerable men, with their eyes dug out, or their hands scorched, or their legs disabled—the tokens of recent persecution—have come to bear their witness to the truth. There is Potammon, the friend of S. Anthony, and the venerable

* Alexander and Athanasius were from Alexandria on the orthodox side; on the heterodox, Arius and his followers, Saras, Euzoius, Achillas, Theonas, and Secundus from the Delta. Then there were Eustathius, Macarius of Jerusalem, Paul of Neocæsarea, Ait-allaha, Aristaces, son of Gregory the Illuminator, and John of Persia. Then again, Leontius of Cæsarea—claimed by both parties—and Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, Maris, Menophantus, who occupied churches of great position, but who were strongly in favour of the Arian heresy. Many more names might be mentioned, such as Alexander of Byzantium, Acesius, Marcellus, Spyridion, Nicholas Marcus, Victor and Vincentius—but space does not allow. For the list and description of the Council, see *Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Prolegomena, Tom. I., Vita S. Athanasii, p.* 65—67; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.;* also Stanley's *Eastern Church, Lect. III., p.* 97—112. *Second Edition.*

Paphnutius who had suffered for the faith and lived like a hermit. All these martyr-bishops were devoured by zeal for the house of the Lord, and were ready to lay down their lives, as they had been ready to suffer in their organs, in its defence. Many a heart must have leaped up in that meeting, when the question was raised regarding the Godhead of the Incarnate. See, then, this magnificent assembly of the most learned men in the East, full of the wisdom of the ancients, and of the experience which is gained in a chequered and an eventful life. See the great Emperor Constantine, a stout warrior clothed in gorgeous magnificence, with his sparkling diadem pressing his flowing hair, and enveloped in a purple or scarlet robe trembling all over with stones and with gems.* See the venerable Alexander, bent with years, slowly advancing to address the Fathers. Remembering how Christ, showing the seamless garment all torn by the Arians, had appeared to his predecessor, he solemnly proclaims his testimony to the Godhead of the Redeemer. Hardly has he

* "His towering stature, his strong-built frame, his broad shoulders, his handsome features, were worthy of his grand position. There was a brightness in his look, and a mingled expression of fierceness and gentleness in his lion-like eye. . . . . The bishops were further struck by the dazzling, perhaps barbaric magnificence of his dress. . . . His long hair, false or real, was crowned with the imperial diadem of pearls. His purple or scarlet robe blazed with precious stones and gold embroidery. He was shod, no doubt, in the scarlet shoes then confined to the emperors. . . . As he advanced up the hill, he cast his eyes down, his steps faltered, and when he reached the throne allotted to him, he stood motionless, till the bishops beckoned to him to be seated." (Stanley's *Eastern Church, Lect. IV., p.* 122—123.)

done speaking, when suddenly a young man, bright, beautiful, short in stature, with auburn hair, breaks in with a torrent of fiery eloquence, and holds that great assembly speechless, as, full of the spirit of Elias and of Anthony, he pleads the sacred cause of the Saviour of the world. He is but a deacon, he is scarcely five-and-twenty years of age; but he, in the face of that august meeting, with as great chivalry as any knight of Arthur's table, throws down the gauntlet, and initiates a struggle which only ended with his life.* The friends of Alexander were rapt in admiration of his splendid gifts and masterful self-possession, whilst the eyes of Arius and his party were lit up with no ordinary fire, seeing themselves confronted with such uncompromising boldness by a mere scribe of Alexander.

To paint the gleams of light which shot across his path, when he confounded his accusers, or when he was triumphantly received in the desert by hosts of anchorites, who issued forth from their tombs and caves, with torches and songs, to

* "Hic complurium antistitum emicuit vis ingenii vera fidei amor, studium ecclesiasticæ pacis . . . maxime tamen omnium Athanasius: qui tametsi diaconus solum erat, et ait Theodoretus, juvenilis ætatis, nemini uni quantumvis grandævo secundus erat studio Arii confutandi; qua de re audiendus Gregorius Nazianzenus 'In sancta synodo Nicæna atque illo trecentorum et duodeviginti virorum numero, quos Spiritus sanctus in unum coegerat, quoad facultas tulit, morbum compressit. Nondum quidem in episcoporum numerum allectus, verum primas tenuit inter eos qui una eo commigrassent, non minus enim virtute quam graduum dignitate, honoris præstantia censebatur . . . Quo factum, ut tota vis mali in capitis ejus periculum postea immineret, ipseque unus omnium impetum exciperet." (Vid. *Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii, n.* 7, *p.* 68; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*)

meet him, would take too long.* But think of his favour with the Roman Pontiff, or recall the time when the whole of Alexandria turned out to salute him on his return from exile! The multitude strewed their embroidered carpets on the ground, and bore green boughs in their hands, and, like a moving forest of evergreen and blossom, they accompanied him in triumph back to the many-peopled city. The clapping of hands sounded like the voice of thunder, and the air was heavy with the fragrance of incense and ointments, whilst the night quivered with the myriad flashes of light betokening a vast illumination of the city, which no doubt threw its beautiful reflection far out into the sea.† Athanasius had many, and able, and scheming enemies, but he also had many devoted friends. The people were with him; the army of the desert was at his back; and his glory, far from growing dim as it recedes into the past, seems rather to display the brightness of

* Here is another example:—"Usque Syenem autem, extremum versus Æthiopiam Thebaidis oppidum, contendit adverso flumine. Cumque Tabennensin navigio transmitteret, exit obviam Pachomius magna comitante monachorum frequentia, qui adventantem hymnis, psalmis, cantu, nulla prætermissa gaudii significatione, virum excepere." (*Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii, n.* 6, *p.* 73; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*)

† "Nam per sexus, ætates atque artes singuli divisi, quo pacto solet civitas illa instrui, cum publico aliquem excipit honore . . . fluvius omnes unus erant? Nilum etiam quivis poeta dixerit, illum, inquam vere aurifluum et spicis uberem, ab urbe ad Chereu retroacto cursu fluentem, diurno, imo longiore itinere . . . Nam quid publicos plausus commemorem, et aromatum profusiones, pervigilia et totam urbem lumine coruscantem, cæteraque omnia lætitiæ argumenta, quæ Athanasio amplissime, imo supra fidem conferebantur? Sic vir eximius, ac cum tali pompa et celebritate civitatem suam ingreditur." (So says S. Gregory Nazianzen, see *Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii, n.* 10, *p.* 109; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*)

its shining with all the more unapproachable intensity.

How different was Athanasius, both in appearance and in character, from the satanic Arius! Whilst the former shrank with terror, like S. Thomas, from being highly-placed, the latter, with an ungovernable ambition, longed to be Archbishop of Alexandria.* We are assured that it was the bitterness of his disappointment, at seeing S. Athanasius preferred before him, which soured his temper and drove him into open rebellion against the teaching of the Church. He was brimful of overweening self-conceit; he had powerful abilities; he was artful, sly, cruel, cunning, and a master of spiritual hypocrisy. S. Epiphanius says that he was possessed by the devil.† S. Athanasius maintains the same. In appearance he was a tall, thin man. He did not set out on his full course of blasphemy till late in life. When at Nicæa, he was sixty years of age.

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* "Arium igitur cui erat explanandæ sacræ Scripturæ provincia, Alexandrinæ sedis occupandæ libido incesserat." (*Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii, n.* 3, *p.* 52; see also an account of his subtlety and artfulness. *Ibidem, n.* 4.)

† "Hunc igitur Arium Alexandri presbyterum Satanæ spiritus invadens impulit (quemadmodum scriptum est) pulverem adversus Ecclesiam excitaret." (*Opp.* S. Epiphanii, *Tom. II., Adversus Hæreses, Lib. II., Hæres. LXIX.*, § 2, *p.* 203; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLII.*) Again:—"Inflatus opinione sui senex ille a scopo veritatis excidit." (*Ibidem*, §§ 3—4, *p.* 206—210.) The ancient writers speak of the great dialectical skill of Arius, *e.g.*, Socrates—*Hist. Eccles., Lib. I., Cap. V.*, *p.* 42. "Erat porro dialecticæ artis aliarumque disciplinarum scientissimus; et quæ opportunior ad existimationem via, præferebat pietatis religionisque studium singulare." (*Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena, Vita S. Athanasii, p.* 60; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV.*) Natalis Alexander says:—"Dialecticarum argutiarum erat peritissimus." (Vid. *Hist. Eccles., Tom. VII., Sæc. IV., Art. III.*, § 1, *p.* 48.)

There appeared to be a fire burning within him. He could be calm and solemn, like a beast of prey after gorging; whilst, at times, the glare in his eyes and the fierceness of his gesture would reveal the demon which kept watch within. He seemed to possess two personalities :—he had the animal elements of the leopard, and at the same time he was smooth and insinuating, speaking on spirituality with the most melodious of voices. The cooing of this half dove, half tiger, drew women by hundreds under his despotic sway, and, attaching themselves to him, they abandoned the orthodox teaching of the Church.* Like Apollinaris, he set his doctrine to the music of obscene songs, to render it popular amongst the people, and left no stone of cruelty, hypocrisy, and lying unturned, to forward the evil cause he had espoused.† His death, which is described by S. Athanasius, is a worthy conclusion to his life; and he represents the most revolting spectacle of unscrupulous self-sufficiency and of turbulent ambition which is to be met with in the annals of ecclesiastical affairs.

S. Athanasius not only dedicated his tongue, and his unapproachable knowledge of the world

* For a description of him, see *Opp.* S. Epiphanii, *Adversus Hæreses*, *Tom. II.*, *Hæres. LXIX.*, § 3, *p.* 206. Or see his picture in *Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I.*, *Prolegomena*, *Vita S. Athanasii*, *p.* 60; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XXV.* A modern sketch of his appearance can be seen in Stanley's *Eastern Church*, *Lect. III.*, *p.* 100. *Second Edition.*

† He used to sing these airs himself, and plunge and dance in wild violent excitement, as if possessed by the fiend, during his performance. S. Ephrem, on the other hand, fitted holy doctrine to popular songs, and thus made truth enter the minds of men in the amusements of daily life.

and of human nature, to the support of Christ's divinity, but he also vigorously wielded his pen. There is a freshness and a vivacity in his writings, which, after so many hundreds of years, make them read as if his soul was still heated with emotion, and as if the ink in his pen had not had time to dry.*

In his "*Oratio Contra Gentes*," which he wrote before he entered the Arian battle, he points out, with great precision and force, the position of the Word in the economy of the world. He speaks of the original uprightness of man; he treats of the various gradations by which, at length, he arrives at the lowest and most degrading form of Egyptian idolatry; he shows how the mind, by degrees, abandoning the contemplation of the Word, is drawn to self, and in the darkness of nature loses its only good; he speaks of the nature of the soul, of its immortality, and indicates how the thought of eternity strengthens man in heroic love, and enables him to live a virtuous life, and to face death bravely.† And if the

* Erasmus, who was an expert with regard to style, speaks in the highest terms of S. Athanasius's compositions :—"Erat vir ille sæculo tranquillissimo dignus, dedisset nobis egregios ingenii facundiæque suæ fructus. Habebat enim vere dotem illam, quam Paulus in episcopo putat esse præcipuam, τὸ διδακτικόν, adeo dilucidus est, acutus, sobrius, attentus, breviter omnibus modis ad docendum appositus. Nihil habet durum, quod offendit in Tertulliano: nihil ἐπιδεικτικόν quod vidimus in Hieronymo: nihil operosum, quod in Hilario: nihil laciniosum, quod est in Augustino, atque etiam Chrysostomo: nihil Isocraticos numeros, aut Lysiæ compositionem redolens quod est in Gregorio Nazianzeno, sed totus est in explicanda re." (*Opp.* S. Athanasii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena, Præfatio Editionis Benedictinæ*, § 2, *n.* 2, *p.* 23.)

† The influence of the Alexandrian school is very evident in all the writings of S. Athanasius, especially in his *Contra Gentes*, and his *De*

soul is spiritual, must not its author be spiritual too ?

He seems deeply impressed with the fact that Christ was the Sun of the world : that He, and He alone, could melt men's hearts, and draw them off the horrors of idolatry and the follies of Greek mythology. His "*Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*" is the natural sequel to the former discourse. His polemics against the Arians, his apologies, his letters, and the history of the Arian question which he sent to the monks,—all his main writings on theology, breathe one spirit, speak of one object, pursue one end, maintain one cause, and that is, the Divinity of Jesus Christ. In this his life's energies were absorbed, for this he wrote, fought, suffered, and died.*

And thus was one splendid career dedicated to carrying out one aim. Just as the Angelical, in his place, spends his life in preparing for, and realizing, a scheme of Christian theology, so S.

Incarnatione :—" Die der Mahnrede des Clemens Alexandrinus zu Grunde liegende Idee des Logos ist in zwei apologetischen Jugendschriften des heiligen Athanasius (*a.* 319) : *Oratio Contra Gentes—De Incarnatione Verbi*, umständlicher ausgeführt und näher entwickelt." (See *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der Christlichen Theologie*, von Dr. Karl Werner, *Erster Band*, §§ 47—48, *p.* 166—171.)

* Werner says of the *De Incarnatione* :—" Eine zusammenhängende Entwickelung der christlichen Lehre von der Menschwerdung Gottes und von der Erlösung durch Christus findet sich in der . . . Schrift des heiligen Athanasius *De Incarnatione Verbi*, einem der schönsten und ausprechendsten Scriftdenkmale welche das christliche Alterthum uns überliefert hat. Athanasius setzt sich in dieser Schrift zum Zwecke, zu beweisen, dass die Fleischwerdung des Wortes Gottes nothwendig, möglich und Gottes würdig gewesen." (*Ibidem*, § 90, *p.* 390 ; *Cf.* Alzog, *Patrologie*, § 45, *p.* 227—240 ; also, Andres, *Dell' Origine, de' Progressi e dello Stato Attuale d'ogni Letteratura, Tom. VI., p.* 69—72.)

Athanasius spent his in displaying, by his writings and his ceaseless battlings, the one dogma of the Consubstantiality of the Son of God. He fixed that truth for ever; there could be no mistake after Nicæa, and the struggles which followed it. He brought out the Lord vividly before the consciousness of Christendom: he caused men to think of Him, to write of Him, to defend Him, to elicit the Church's mind concerning Him—in one word, to prepare materials for a work which he could not have accomplished himself, that is, for a scientific exposition—fitting in with the organism of the entire revelation—of the claims of our Lord's divinity upon the adhesion of the world.*

Now what is there in common between S. Anthony, and S. Athanasius, and the Angelical, and what is the difference between them? Is it possible that the Prince of Theologians, in the thirteenth century, owes anything to, or is connected in any way with, a Solitary of the Egyptian desert,

* His principal works are *Tom. I., Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXV;* his *Oratio Contra Gentes, p.* 5—96; *Oratio De Incarnatione Verbi, p.* 96—198; *Apologia Contra Arianos, p.* 248—410; *De Decretis Nicænæ Synodi, p.* 415—476. Then, *Tom. II.*:—*Quatuor Orationes Contra Arianos, p.* 13—526; *De Synodis, p.* 682—794; *Vita S. Antonii, p.* 837—975; *De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos, p.* 985—1027; *Contra Apollinarium, Libb. II., p.* 1094—1166; *De Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto, p.* 1191—1218. His numerous apologies, and letters, and instructions to monks and others, are all filled with the same burning spirit of championship of Christianity, showing the inner spirit of the man, and telling us at this day what a consuming fire of love had been lit up in that great heart of his. He who would learn that theology is no mere abstraction, and that God's honour is not a mere scholastic subtlety, might read with profit the works of Athanasius.

or with the hero of a battle which was waged so many hundreds of years before his time? *

As one golden cord can run through beads of silver, pearl, and lapis-lazuli, each keeping its own shape and colour, each different from each, and yet all dependent on and held together by the single thread,—so with the master-heroes of Christianity. Anthony, in the midst of the swarming devils of the East, scared by terrific visions and scourged by the ministers of hell, ever in agony with the fiend, ever battling with his flesh, is essentially the great wrestler of Christianity. With him, it was "violence" which bore away the prize. His mighty work for humanity was to combat and to die, and then to be the pattern man of Christian heroism, and to read to a future world the lesson of a life. Though no one, save perhaps Elias, ever exerted so great a sway, still, it was not by learning—of which he knew but the name, nor by science—of which he was absolutely ignorant, that he was to impress the consciences of men; but it was by the great example of his unwearied and entire abandonment of himself to Christ.† Blot

* The influence of man upon man is simply the power of principle which acts, as lightning flashes from one cloud to another, through its own inherent power. Men are not separated so much by years, occupations, or circumstances, as by motive-principles of action. A man who really loves Christ is in far more intimate union with S. Anthony, S. Athanasius, and S. Thomas, than he is with his next-door neighbour, nay, even with his own brother or his child, if that brother or child has abandoned the principle upon which Christian love is founded, as it is the only bond which can bind men in harmony together for any length of time.

† It was the "follow me" of Christ that acted with such magic in the third and fourth centuries of the Church. In fact a few simple words heard sometimes by accident in the "Gospel" have done more for the

out S. Anthony's life, and his whole influence has gone. His "Life" is his "*Summa Theologica.*" His course is marked at every turn by the dogmatic principle; and the wealth of moral and positive teaching enshrined in his career, energizing in it and practically realized by it, was afterwards cast into system by the theologian. What is the "*Summa Theologica,*" after all, but the grand principles of Anthony's life, seized, expanded, arranged, and thrown into the symmetry of scientific order? Is there not a striking relation between the two?—are they not as nearly connected as practice is allied to theory? And if they be so intimately bound up, are they not strung together upon one simple thread or principle? That which gives unity to the manifold splendour of the lives of the great Church heroes, is this abiding fact—that they abandoned their entire being to an intense personal love of Christ.*

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world than all the scientific pedantry of pretentious learning has been able to effect with years of toil. S. John Chrysostom calls the abandonment of all things to possess Christ fully—"*philosophia a Christo introducta*"—"the philosophy introduced by Christ." In fact, S. Jerome, S. Bernard, Cassian, and others, insist that our Lord Himself, and then the Apostles, by their example, introduced the action of monastic heroism into Christian society. (See, besides, *Mark, X.*, 21, 29, 30; *Matth., XIX.*, 21, *XVIII.*, 22; *Acts, II.* 44, 45, *IV.*, 32, 34, 35, 37.)

* Thus we find that the nearer men lived to primitive times, the more they approached in their lives to the practices of monastic life:—"On pourrait même affirmer," says Montalembert, "que pendant les trois premiers siècles tous les chrétiens gardèrent un certain caractère monastique. Ils étaient austères et rigides jusque dans la sérénité de leur foi et la jeune ardeur de leur enthousiasme. Ils restaient purs au fond de la corruption universelle. Leur vie était plus ou moins cachée au sein de la société païenne. Ils étaient de ce vieux monde comme n'en étant pas. . . . Et parmi eux, d'ailleurs, il s'en est toujours trouvé un grand nombre que le goût de la perfection ramenait à l'abnégation des premiers jours." (*Les Moines d'Occident, Tome Premier, Liv. II., p.* 48.)

They may be moulded and changed, and formed into different shapes, yet one thing is ever the same in all—the risking of this life, and all it offers, that they may lay hold on Jesus crucified. This was the grand work performed for the world by Anthony—he burnt into men's minds, for all time to come, by the splendours of his majestic solitary life, a living picture of passionate devotedness towards the Incarnate Word. It is comparatively an easy thing to write upon, and expound in theory, the high principles of heroic sacrifice ; but to put them into practice is a far more difficult task.* A high courage, a divine self-forgetfulness, a giant energy of purpose, a heart throbbing with love and chivalry, a heroism beyond all words,—this all men must feel—must have animated, during ninety years, the entire moral and intellectual system of the great Solitary of the Eastern desert.

It was this principle which the Angelical had in common with S. Anthony—a supreme and personal intimacy with Jesus Christ. True, all holy men love our Lord, He is their King and

* Frigerio shows very powerfully how the Angelical, in theory as well as in practice, understood the principles in question :—"Lasciossi consumar come holocausto dal fuoco del divino amore secondo la sentenza di lui medesimo da esso non men praticata, che giudicata espressiva del perfetto Religioso : *Cum omne quod habet, omne quod vivit, omne quod sapit, Deo voverit, holocaustum est ;* poiche a simiglianza dell'holocausto, che tutto ardeva e riducevasi al niente in honor di Dio, così egli talmente s'accese del divino amore, che, per usar le sue parole, *amans non sui ipsius remanserit, sed amati*, a guisa dell'Apostolo, che francamente dicea : Vivo io non più io, ma in me stesso vive Christo ; potendo egli che così altamente parlava col medesimo Apostolo gloriarsi e dire : *Non enim audeo aliquid loqui eorum, quæ per me non efficit Christus.*" (*Lib. II., Cap. I., n.* 10, *p.* 70.)

Master; yet still the intense heart-attachment to Him, as to a living, breathing friend, a real possessor of the heart which beats and of the brain which energizes—so personal, so intimate, that He can be almost seen with the eyes, and almost spoken to with the tongue; so real, that His presence satisfies all the longings of the restless human spirit—such a Love as this, so marked and so intense, absorbing into itself all other interests, seems to be special to a certain class of men, whose course has run in the direction of monastic life.*

Great stress has been laid already upon this marked characteristic of the Benedictine Rule. No love, except a personal love of Christ hanging in all His beauty on the Cross, is strong enough to attract men into the wilderness, or to urge them to throw up all that nature prizes most, to gain that love without impediment. To worship Christ, to make Him first and last in all things, to realize Him and see Him in all men—such is the teaching of the great Patriarch of Western monks. It is the spark of living fire in his Rule, and lends to it

* See how, as has been shown in another place, in early years the Angelical abandoned his entire intelligence to Christ:—"Per la qual cosa vestito che fu del sacro habito, non volea pensare, ne parlar d'altro che del suo amato Signore; e se accadeva, che nelle comuni conversationi s'introducesse qualche ragionamento, che non fosse di Dio, egli immediatamente si partiva, in tal maniera, mostrando, che simiglianti discorsi ad esso non appartenevano, ne aggradivano: anzi era suo detto familiare, che non sapea capire. come un Religioso pensare e discorrer potesse, che del suo Signore." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. I., p.* 67.) See also the lines written by the Angelical, beginning thus:—

"*Te mea Christe Jesu videat mens, spesque requirat;*
Diligat affectus, os laudet, vita sequatur." *etc.*

its special character, and forms the explanation of its wide-spread success.*

Here, then, S. Anthony and S. Thomas met, at the foot of the Cross of Christ; here their souls seem to mingle, and are lost; here is the secret of their heroism and the key to all their influence.

And there is a more intimate relationship of master and disciple between the two than at first sight may be supposed. In proportion as the Angelical was influenced by S. Benedict, in that same proportion S. Anthony was his master. The energy of Eastern monasticism sprung from S. Anthony; Athanasius was his disciple, especially in his chivalrous personal love of Jesus; S. Athanasius introduced the principles of S. Anthony into Rome; the family of S. Benedict was impressed by the splendid heroism which surrounds a life of abandonment to Christ,† and it was simply the traditions of Athanasius which

* See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XI., p.* 216—222; also the *note, p.* 217. The principles drawn out in those pages, and so much insisted on as being creative in respect of the Angelical, were not of Western invention. They came from the East. S. Benedict had been under the influence of Athanasius and of Anthony. He does not consider his Rule to be more than an introduction to their teaching: though he certainly seized the master-principle and made it his own, and expounded it with power.

† "Parmi les grandes maisons qui donnaient l'exemple de cette transformation chrétienne du patriciat romain il faut surtout signaler la *gens Anicia*, qui . . . semble avoir été la plus riche et la plus puissante de Rome à la fin du IV^e^. siècle. Elle comptait alors parmi ses membres le fameux Anicius Petronius Probus . . . Petronius, fut, selon quelques-uns, moine avant d'être évêque de Bologne. Elle devait produire plus tard les deux plus grands personnages de l'histoire monastique, saint Benoît et saint Grégoire le Grand: et dès lors les deux plus illustres docteurs de l'Occident, saint Jérôme et saint Augustin, célébraient à l'envi la gloire d'une race où tout le monde semblait naître consul, mais qui avait donné encore plus de vierges au Christ que de consuls à la république." (*Les Moines d'Occident, Tome Premier, Liv. III., p.* 148.)

induced the boy Benedict to fly away from the world, and bury himself in solitude, to live to God alone. The spirit of S. Benedict is identical, in its main features, with the spirit of S. Anthony and S. Athanasius ; and the spirit of the Angelical, if it was Benedictine in anything, showed itself above all else in his sensitive love of the Incarnate Word of God. He, indeed, seems to have possessed that love in its fullest intensity. So much, indeed, did he realize our Lord's presence, that Christ absolutely spoke to him from the Cross, and conversed with him as a friend converses with his friend.*

Thus the man of heroic pattern, S. Anthony, manifests the power of Christ in his marvellous life ; S. Athanasius shows him forth by his chivalrous battling in His cause and for His honour in the concrete world amongst the din and noise of men ; whilst the Angelical, possessed of the very same spirit, proceeding from the same source, manifests the power of his Master in the order of abstraction, conceiving, through His assistance, the splendid scheme of Salvation ; drawing principles and traditions from the life of

* Doubtless the experience of the Angelical, in his relation with the sacred humanity of our Lord, urged him to write as he did regarding it. Frigerio says :—"Lasciò scritto, che la sacratissima humanità di Christo serve a noi di guida per condurne e sollevarne alla considerazione della Divinità in cui principalmente la divotione consiste ; e che questa virtù porta all'anima spirituale allegrezza, tuttoche per accidente la mestitia, in ricordarsi delle propre colpe, che perciò ne riman compunta e contrita." (*Lib. II., Cap. II., n.* 12, *p.* 78.)

Anthony, and the writings of Athanasius, and exhibiting to the world the most perfectly organized system of religion which has ever been presented before the mind of man.

Three saints as different in their natural characters and in the circumstances of their lives as can be well conceived, namely: the Solitary of the wilderness, the ecclesiastical Politician of the city, and the Student of the schools—Example, Practice, and Theory—all harmonize with exquisite perfection, through the overpowering mastery of one simple principle, which taught them to abandon all things, that they might grasp and possess one only treasure—the personal love of Christ the Incarnate Word.*

* These most important words of S. Benedict show, with luminous evidence, how intimately his spirit was bound up with the monasticism of the East. If his master-principle of life had not been the personal love of Christ he could not have written thus: after speaking of the scope of his Rule, he says:—"Cæterum ad perfectionem conversationis qui festinant, sunt doctrinæ sanctorum Patrum, quarum observatio perducit hominem ad celsitudinem perfectionis. . . . Quis liber Sanctorum Catholicorum Patrum hoc non resonat ut recto cursu perveniamus ad Creatorem nostrum. Nec non et Collationes Patrum, et instituta, et vita eorum . . . " Then, as if his spirit was meant to lead to theirs, he says:—"Quisquis ergo ad patriam cœlestem festinas, hanc minimam inchoationis Regulam descriptam, adjuvante Christo, perfice," etc. (S. Benedicti, *in Reg., Cap. LXXIII.*)

CHAPTER IV.

S. THOMAS AND S. BASIL.

PART II.

THE high principles of Christianity which manifested themselves to mankind in the desert-saint, Anthony, and the world-saint, Athanasius, were too noble and too full of divine fire not to work their way into many earnest hearts. The desires of the flesh, and the pride of the spirit, when once these principles possess a man, are, like dross, gradually burnt out, and in their place the power of sacrifice and the vigour of devotedness take hold of, and transform miserable clay into something like a resemblance to the image of Christ crucified.*

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* S. Gregory expresses this devotedness in the following lines :—

"Gradior, non sine præmii spe, inter currendum membra protendens,
Christum habens pro afflatu, Christum pro robore pro opibus amplissimis :
Qui mihi et perspicaces oculos et prosperos cursus præstat.
Sine ipso omnes vana ludibria sunt mortales,
Et mortui viventes, fœtidi peccatis.
Neque enim sine aëre vidisti volantem avem ;
Neque sine aqua maris cursor natavit delphinus.
Sic nec sine Christo mortalis pedem attollit."

(Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I., Præf. General., p.* 130 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.)*

Though we must now quit Alexandria and Egypt, we cannot leave those principles of Christianity which displayed themselves there so masterfully. For they were in fact the lever-powers of the earth. They seem, looking on the most distinguished exponents of them, to have travelled steadily westward. The great strategic centre-cities of Christian illumination, as the faith spreads through the darkness of pagan night, throw out their bright comfortable rays across a world black with immoralities and wearied by the contentions of Christian Churches.* Antioch, Cæsarea, Neocæsarea, Constantinople, Athens—all these great *foci* of wickedness, of commerce, and of letters, were in turn blessed with the presence of men filled with the inebriating love of Christ, and bearing in their hearts yearnings and aspirations which so far transcended the dreams of the noblest of pagans, as the glory of heaven surpasses the shadow of the earth.

At present we are to consider the two Roman provinces of Pontus and Cappadocia. To the

* "The disorders of Christendom, and especially of the East, and still more of Asia Minor, were so great in Basil's day, that a heathen spectator might have foretold the total overthrow of the Church. So violent a convulsion never has been experienced in Christendom since, not even in the times of S. Gregory the Seventh, and S. Pius the Fifth; it would almost seem as if the powers of evil, foreseeing what the kingdom of the saints would be, when once heathen persecution ceased, were making a final effort to destroy it. In Asia Minor the Church was almost without form, and 'void and empty;' religious interests were reduced, as it were, to a state of chaos, and Basil seems to have been the principle of truth and order, divinely formed, divinely raised up, for harmonizing the discordant elements, and bringing them to the unity of faith and love." (Newman's *Church of the Fathers, Chap. III., p.* 52.)

North-East, along the shores of the Black Sea, lies Pontus, stretching down to Colchis and Greater Armenia. Its inhabitants are formed of many different tribes, speaking many different tongues. Greek cities, busy marts of commerce, are dotted all along the coast. Neocæsarea, a large and beautiful city, is its capital.* To the South of Pontus is Cappadocia, an extensive province, but for the most part rough, wild, and sterile. Here the Romans came and settled, and eventually established great military towns; Cæsarea soon vied with Tyana and Comana.

In these two divisions the population was made up of a fusion of the Syrian and Armenian races. The country was steeped in the most brutalized idolatry. "Ma" was the ruling goddess. Her temple was at Comana, on the Iris. It is sufficient to hint that Strabo calls this town a small Corinth, on account of the thousands of infamous women who carried on the "sacred rites." As may be imagined, the men dwindled into effeminacy; and mental hallucination, fanaticism, and madness were the natural issue of immorality of life.†

* "Asia Anterior remained one of the brightest jewels in the Roman territorial crown, being blessed above other lands with natural beauty, inexhaustible resources, and abundance of population, and was, moreover, the great industrial workshop of the empire. Here, in the countries of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, which together with a part of Phrygia formed the Roman province of Asia, five hundred cities arose, all richly endowed with works of art, public buildings, and monuments of various kinds. Later on, there were reckoned to be at least one thousand cities, if the smaller towns were thrown into the computation." (*The Gentile and the Jew*, by Dr. Döllinger, *Vol. I., Book I., p.* 12—13. Darnell's translation.)

† There were several other important temples besides the one at Comana. There was one dedicated to Zeus at Venasa, with its three

Sensual debauchery, slashing the body with knives, spilling human blood, and the worship of fire, were amongst the religious practices of the people.

Into the midst of all this crime and prostitution, the steady light of the New Covenant shone with its spotless splendour. Cappadocia and Pontus will ever be memorable, in the Christian mind, as the birthplaces respectively of S. Emmelia and her gifted husband,—the parents of S. Basil the Great. This columnal Father sprang from a race of Christian athletes, who had known how to brave hunger, cold, and exile out of love of the Crucified, and who, in reward of their high courage, had received miraculous protection from the hand of God.* Basil's father was distinguished for his eloquence and learning; his mother was a woman of extraordinary beauty; and both mother and father loved God with all that force and tender-

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thousand hierodouli; another at Cabira, dedicated to a moon-god called Men-Pharnac. It was in his name that the sovereigns of Pontus swore their most important oaths. The god Junus was worshipped very extensively in Asia Anterior, as well as in Syria and Albania. The city of Zela, in Pontus, was a stronghold of Persian worship. Here was to be found the famous temple of Anaitis and other Persian gods, with their attendant priests and temple-servants. (*Cf.* Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew, Vol. I., Book VI., p.* 377—378.)

* "Receperunt se in quamdam Ponticorum montium silvam, paucis adhibitis fugæ consociis et victus ministris. In hoc exilio septem annos et aliquanto amplius sub dio vixerunt, pluviis, algoribus et frigoribus expositi, ab omnibus vitæ commodis, ab amicis et omni hominum societate remoti. Sed Christus in eorum solatium concessa olim Israelitis miracula renovavit . . . a Deo summa illius potentiæ fiducia, suaviorem cibum postularunt, vel ex avibus in aëre volitantibus, vel e feris, quæ in montibus errabant. Vix locuti erant, cum eorum pedibus accidit obsonium sponte oblatum, cervi miræ magnitudinis . . . Ex his Gregorii Nazianzeni verbis perspicitur non unius diei cibum hoc miraculo provisum eis fuisse; sed ad septem exilii annos minus commode miraculum extendit Papebrochius." (Vid. *Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena in Vita*, § 3, *p.* 7; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*)

ness of heart which throw a glow of heroism over the whole character of men's lives.*

The influence of such parents was not without its effect. They had ten children: three were made bishops; four of them for certain, and most probably all of them, were saints; one died in infancy; Basil became Doctor of the universal Church; Macrina was a saint, possessing all her brother's energy of character, combined with a woman's gentleness of heart; Naucratius, abandoning all things, buried himself in a thick wood on the banks of the Iris, and lost his life in the performance of an act of charity;† S. Peter became a monk, and then Abbot; and S. Gregory of Nyssa, the eloquent theologian,‡ was famed for his simple love of God. This family, living in the very centre of Asiatic corruption, not only cast a pure and strong light into the darkness which surrounded it, but, even at this hour, through the writings of some, and

* Marano says of S. Emmelia:—"Hæc libenter matrimonio virginitatem prætulisset. Sed . . . ut vitaret pericula ob summam venustatem imminentia (plurimi enim illius nuptias ambibant, nonnulli etiam raptum meditari videbantur) ad matrimonii portum confugit." (*Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. I., Prolegomena in Vita*, § 4, *p.* 7; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*)

† He appears to have been the most gifted of all the family:—"Is post Basilium natu maximus, mira quadam indole, et corporis venustate ac viribus et celeritate, et eximia ad omnia habilitate cæteris præstabat. Sed cum annum assecutus esset vicesimum secundum, ac publica eloquentiæ suæ specimina dedisset . . . subiit illum divinæ gratiæ dono fastidium mundi, ac omnibus rebus suis projectis . . . ad solitariam ac pauperem vitam magno animi ardore accurrit." (Marano, *in Vita S. Basilii, Opp. Tom. I., Cap. III.*, § 3, *p.* 14; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*)

‡ Socrates, *Hist. Eccles., Lib. IV., Chap. XXVI., p.* 535; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. LXVII.*

the example of others, exerts a salutary influence over the minds of thinking men.

S. Basil the Great, as he not only possesses splendid natural endowments, but also the commanding and rigid self-control of a governing mind, naturally forms the centre of this glorious group of Christian saints.* He may not be gifted with the versatility and political finesse of Athanasius ; but he has all that iron in his will which made S. Anthony so sublime a figure in the desert. He may not boast S. Anthony's toughness of constitution ; but he is certainly endowed with all his heroism of soul. Basil had not only to contend against many foreign and domestic enemies, had not only to suffer countless disappointments, but he had also to bear up against the pressure of a foe more enervating and more wearing than most antagonists—a sickly body, worn to a shadow by penance, fever, and disease.† A man of robust

* His character comes out in his writings :—"Ipse vero sese in scriptis ac præsertim in epistolis mirifice depingit. Illius gravitas et constantia nonnullis fastus et superbia esse videbatur, sed demonstrat Gregorius neminem ab hoc vitio magis alienum fuisse, quam Basilium, qui ne leprosos quidem deosculari, dedignebatur. Erat illius severitas summa benignitate temperata, ita ut illius vel pertenuis risus laudatio esset, et silentium objurgatio. Non lepidus quidam erat, et facetus aut circumforaneus ; sed fatetur Gregorius neminem in cœtibus jucundiorem et in narrando festiviorem extitisse ; neminem in jocando argutiorem et in objurgando leniorem." (Marano, *in Vita*, *Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. I., Cap. XL.*, § 2., *p.* 161 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.)*

† His letters show how acutely he suffered all his life long :—"Quo in statu deprehenderit nos vir probus Isaaces, ipse tibi melius enarrabit, licet lingua illius par non sit, ut tragice exponat quæ majorem in modum patiebar : tanta erat morbi magnitudo. Sed tamen quid verisimile sit, quisquis me vel paululum novit, perspicere potest. Nam, si dum videbar valere, iis, quorum desperatur salus, infirmior eram, qualis in morbo fuerim cognoscere licet. Quanquam oportebat (da enim veniam febri ineptienti), cum mihi morbus secundum naturam esset, in hac habitus

health can endure a vast amount of punishment; but it is only a saint, one supported on Christ's Cross itself, who, when borne down by a flagging body, or oppressed by an unhealthy liver, is able to keep an even countenance, and fight on without shrinking in the battle. Basil's life was short, but full. He died at fifty; he was not made bishop till forty; at forty-six he had lost all his teeth; at forty-five he declared himself to be an old man. Forty years of preparation, ten of public service, death, and then a glorious name throughout the Church, as a firm and strong column, and as a steady and unswerving light—such was the career of the great S. Basil.

He was formed into the mighty saint he was, principally by two powerful influences. S. Anthony and S. Athanasius seem to meet in him and blend. True, he had never seen Athanasius,*

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mutatione nunc me in præclarissima valetudine constitui." (*Epist. CXXXVI. Eusebio Episc. Samosat. Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. IV. Epist. Clas. II., p.* 574; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXII.* See also *Epist. CXXXVII., p.* 578; *Epist. CXXXVIII., p.* 578—582; *Epist. CXL.*, *p.* 586—590; *Epist. CXLI.*, 590—591.) In fact he is continually speaking of his weak condition of health.

* See how S. Gregory speaks of him! He addresses his audience at the end of his magnificent funeral oration on S. Basil, and says:—"Encomium mecum conficite, alius aliam quampiam illius virtutem exponentes, et conquirentes; qui thronis insidetis legislatorem; qui rempublicam geritis, civitatis principem, ac velut conditorem; plebeii, moderatorem; litterarum studiosi, præceptorem; virgines, pronubum; conjugatæ pudicitiæ magistrum; solitarii, eum qui vobis pennas addebat; cœnobiaci, judicem; simplices, itineris ducem: speculationis amantes, theologum; hilares frenum; calamitosi, solatium; senes, baculum; juvenes, pædagogum; pauperes, largitorem; locupletes, dispensatorem." (*In Laudem Basilii Magni*, Vid. *Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II., Orat. XLIV.*, § 81., *p.* 603; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*) As the above extract shows how he resembled S. Athanasius, so § 61 (*p.* 576), of the same oration shows how he resembles S. Anthony.

but he had upon him the influence of the Alexandrian school. His tender soul had been carefully trained by his sainted grandmother Macrina. He himself declares that he never for a moment swerved in the faith which he had received from her; and that the light which she had so carefully kindled in his youthful mind, served him as a sure guide through all the fogs and mists of heresy by which he was all his life long encompassed. Where was Macrina taught? Who was her master?—It was the great wonder-worker S. Gregory, who had studied under Origen for five years at Cæsarea.*

The parents of this Gregory were amongst the adorers of the impure goddess, "Ma." Whether they slashed themselves with knives, or partook of the uncleanliness of their fellow-pagans, history does not tell. They died when the child was young. He was gifted with a quick, logical mind. He attended the schools of Alexandria, Athens, Berytus, and Cæsarea. He studied Greek letters with ardour. But the religion of the Greeks he

* S. Basil appeals to his having received the true faith from Gregory through Macrina as the strongest testimony to his orthodoxy. Writing to the Presbyters of Neocæsarea he says:—"Nostræ autem fidei quæ possit illustrior esse probatio, quam quod educati sumus sub avia beata muliere, ex vobis orta? Macrinam dico celeberrimam illam, a qua edocti sumus beatissimi Gregorii verba, quæcumque usque ad ipsam memoriæ continuatione conservata cum ipsa custodiebat, tum nos adhuc infantes fingebat et informabat pietatis dogmatibus . . . Atque ad hanc usque horam, gratias illius, qui nos vocavit vocatione sancta ad sui cognitionem, nec sermonem ullum scimus sanæ doctrinæ inimicum in corda nostra intrasse; nec animas nostras infami Arianorum blasphemia contaminatas unquam fuisse." (*Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. IV., Epist. CCIV., p.* 754; *Patrolog. Græc., Tom. XXXII.*)

found to be so unreasonable, and its teachings so full of contradictions, that, after casting about for truth, he found it at last in the Catholic Church. He studied law, rhetoric, and Latin, and proved that he could have created for himself, had he desired it, a brilliant position in the world. Origen, in 231, fled away from Alexandria to escape the persecution, and opened a school at Cæsarea.* Gregory hung charmed upon his lips, till the tyranny of Maximian broke up his classes and forced him to fly again. Gregory then betook himself to Alexandria, where he astonished the debauched young men of the period by his spotlessness of Christian life.† Even as a pagan, he does not appear ever to have committed a grievous sin. He was built by God upright; his heart was by nature pure.‡

Having learnt all he could at Alexandria, and having surprised the city by a miracle, he returned to Cæsarea in 238, and studied for two more years under the Adamantine. He had

* S. Gregory Thaumaturgus is said to have been a convert of Origen about A.D. 234. He made his conversions in spite of the Decian persecution, about A.D. 250, and the barbarian incursion, A.D. 260. He sat in the Council of Antioch in A.D. 265. Some say he lived to the year 270.

† "Ejus enim vitæ puritatis et integritatis laus impurorum probrum ac dedecus erat. Ut igitur aliquam excusationem intemperantes ac libidinosi haberent, si ipsi non soli tales esse videntur: insidias comminiscuntur, et vafrum quoddam consilium excogitant, ut aliquam notam et maculam magni illius viri vitæ inurerent." (Vid. *Opp.* S. Gregorii Episc. Nysseni. *Tom. III. in Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi, p.* 903; *Patrolog. Græc., Tom. XLVI.)*

‡ See how S. Gregory speaks of his rare abandonment of all things which young men generally love:—"Sic etiam ille a primo germine floruit, electione vitæ instituti protinus perfectus et eminentibus frondibus consurgens et excrescens." *(Loco Citato, p.* 899.)

received by this time a good eight years' course of education.* Now, an attempt was made to raise him to the episcopate. He fled, and by changing from one desert place to another, he eluded his pursuers for a time; but ultimately he had to give way, and was raised to the responsible position which he shrank from with so much fear.

Now began the wonder-working ministry. He entered the famous pagan temple, and cast out all its gods and devils; the pagan priest, who expressed himself shocked by the doctrine of the Incarnation, he converted by a miracle;† he filled his church with converts in the course of one day; he cured the halt, and the blind, and the diseased, who were brought in crowds for him to touch; he stayed a pestilence; the waters and the rocks moved at his command.‡

Two Jews thought to practise on him. One lay down, as if dead, by the way-side, as Gregory was passing; whilst the other, with a most piteous expression of countenance, and in mournful tone,

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* His enemies sent a bad woman to demand payment of him publicly, so that it might be thought that he had been in the habit of sin. Gregory caused money to be given her. This was the result :—"Simul enim atque manu pecuniam accepit, spiritu infelici atque maligno correpta fremituque immani atque ferali, diverso a voce humana sono ingemiscens, collabitur prona in medio cœtu . . . cum capillus quem suis manibus vellebat, dilaceratus atque disjectus, et oculi inversi essent, et os spumam emitteret." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Nysseni, *Tom. III., in Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi, p.* 903; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVI.*)

† *Ibidem, p.* 915—918.

‡ "Cum enim postularet antistes, ut saxum quoddam ingens, quod oculis eorum subjectum prospiceretur, et non moveretur, absque manu humana moveretur, ac per solam fidei virtutem, jussu Gregorii ad alterum locum transferretur." (*Ibidem, p.* 918; see also *p.* 927—934.)

implored him to contribute something towards the burial of this destitute man, who had fallen dead in the public road. Gregory took off his cloak and threw it upon the prostrate form. When he had passed, the supplicant thought to join in a peal of laughter with his companion; but no response came from under the cloak—the Jew removed it: the impostor was dead.*

The success of this wonder-working missionary may be imagined from a fact, stated by himself, that when he came to die he left only seventeen pagans in a city which, when he first entered it, contained only seventeen Christians.

Such was the instructor of Macrina, who exerted so powerful a sway over the great S. Basil. Thus we have the school of S. Mark,—Pantænus, Clement, Origen, Athanasius, and Gregory, bringing its influence to bear on Basil. The grand tradition of Catholic truth was working its way towards the West. The great strategic Church-positions are not only fortresses, strong in themselves, but they are greatly fortified

* "Duo quidem Hebræi, sive lucrum spectantes, sive vituperationem quamdam adversus virum, ut qui fraudi ac deceptioni opportunus esset quærentes ejus reditum observant. Atque horum unus quidem, qui mortuus esse videbatur, supino habitu extensus per transversam viam publicam projectus erat; alter vero jacentem scilicet deplorans, lamentantium voces imitabatur, ac prætereuntem magnum illum virum inclamabat dicens: Repente morte correptus hic miser nudus jacet, eique deest apparatus ad sepulturam . . . hic vero nihil cunctatus super jacentem injecta diploide . . . iter suum prosequebatur. Sed posteaquam digresso illo . . . impostor ille jacentem ut surgeret, hortabatur . . . mortuus erat . . . vera morte." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Nysseni, *Tom. III., in Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi, p.* 939–942; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVI.*)

through their network connection one with another.*

Not one amongst the Fathers received a more perfect training than S. Basil.† His father, who knew the full value of a liberal education, took special pains with the teaching of his son. He and S. Emmelia, after the boy had been imbued with Christian principles by Macrina, continued his instruction till he was fit to take advantage of the great centres of learning at Cæsarea, Constantinople, and Athens. At Cæsarea he soon gained the hearts, and, by his talents, won the admiration of all with whom he came in contact.‡ He was possessed of extraordinary personal beauty as a youth,§ and it was only through penances and the ravages of disease that, comparatively in a few years, his bloom was gone, and he was reduced

* "Cum . . . antequam excederet vita, cuperet omnes a simulacris ad salutarem fidem videre conversos, ubi suum obitum præsensit, studiose diligenterque totam urbem agrumque circa vicinum perscrutatur, scire volens ecqui adhuc essent extra fidem relicti. Ut igitur cognovit, non plures septemdecim esse, qui in antiquo errore permansissent: Acerbum quidem etiam hoc, inquit ad Deum suspiciens, deesse aliquid eorum plenitudini, qui servantur. Verumtamen magna gratiarum actione dignam rem esse aiebat, quod totidem simulacrorum cultores relinqueret ei, qui sibi successurus esset in Ecclesia, quot ipse christianos accepisset." *(Opp.* S. Gregorii Nysseni, *Tom. III., in Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi, p.* 954; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVI.)*

† Vid. *Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. I., Vita S. Basilii Magni, Auctore,* Marano, *Cap. I.—IV., p.*1—14; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*

‡ "Libentius narrat [Gregorius Nazian.] illius in virtute ac litteris progressus. Cum esset Cæsareæ, charus erat æqualibus et magistris, ac brevi tempore magno in pretio apud plebeios et primores civitatis: rhetor inter rhetores etiam ante rhetoricam exhedram philosophus inter philosophos etiam ante philosophiæ decreta, et quod maximum est, Christianis sacerdos ante sacerdotium." *(Ibidem, Tom. I., Cap. II., p.* 10.)

§ "Nemini cedebat Basilius corporis pulchritudine et robore ac proceritate, antequam illum pœnitentiæ labores debilitassent; sed eum ab ejusmodi ornamentis laudare noluit Gregorius." *(Ibidem, Tom. I., Cap. II.,* § 1, *p.* 10.)

prematurely to the condition of a superannuated man. At Constantinople, he fell in with the celebrated rhetorician Libanius, and most probably studied under him in 346 or 347.* He could not have found a more able master. Libanius was a native of Antioch, and was drawn, through his love of the classical writers of Greece, to settle for a time at Athens. During the period S. Basil was at Constantinople, Libanius, it appears, had simply a private school there; but so great was his brilliancy and his reputation as a sophist, that he emptied the public academies of the city; and in consequence, through the envy and spite of those he had surpassed, and through the influence of Limenius his private enemy, he was accused of being a magician, and driven from the town.† He possessed, together with his high natural gifts, the vices of the pagan; and was vain, proud, querulous, and impure. Still, Basil learnt much from him,‡ and though hardly

* It is not *quite* certain whether Libanius was the companion or the master of S. Basil—most probably the latter. See this point argued in the *Prolegomena* of Marano's *Life* of the Saint, *Cap. II.*, § 1, *p.* 10.

† Libanius was probably born in A.D. 314, some say in 316. His teachers were Cleobulus, Didymus, and Zenobius. He was not only the teacher of S. Basil, but also of S. John Chrysostom. He died about 391, or a few years later, in the reign of Arcadius.

‡ And Libanius thought much of Basil, he writes to him in this strain:—"Ego enim, quem tui oblit..m putas, etiam olim adolescentem reverebar; et temperantia cum senibus certantem videns, idque in illa urbe quæ voluptatibus scatet, et disciplinarum jam partem magnam consecutum. . . . . ." (*Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. IV.*, *Epistolarum Classis III.*, *Epist. CCCXXXVI.*—Libanius Basilio, *p.* 1079; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XXXII.* See S. Basil's letters to Libanius, *Epist. CCCXXXV.*, *p.* 1078; *Epist. CCCXXXVII.*, *p.* 1082; *Epist. CCCXXXIX.*, *p.* 1083—1086; *Epist. CCCXLII.*, *p.* 1087; *Epist. CCCXLIII.*, *p.* 1087; *Epist. CCCXLVIII.*, *p.* 1091; *Epist. CCCL.*, *p.* 1094; *Epist. CCCLI.*, *CCCLIII.*, *CCCLVI.*, *CCCLIX.*—*Pages* 1094, 1095, 1098, 1099—*Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. IV.*)

exhibiting the charming simplicity of the earlier Attic orators, he was, without dispute, the first amongst the countless rhetoricians of the fourth century.

From Constantinople, S. Basil betook himself to Athens. Here he met S. Gregory Nazianzen, whom he had known in Cappadocia, and who now became his bosom-friend.

Gregory's father, unlike Basil's, was a convert. He had belonged to the Hypsistarian sect, which, whilst holding some tenets of the Jews, professed many doctrines of the pagans.* His wife, S. Nonna, persuaded him to be a Christian; and he was baptized in the church of Nazianzus, which was not very far from Cæsarea.† He was finally elevated to the episcopate, and not having been as well instructed as he might have been, caused great trouble in the Church by signing the Armenian creed (360), and was only drawn out of his entanglements by the efforts of his son.‡

This son—afterwards called, like S. John, "the Theologian"—was born before his father became

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* "Hypsistariorum sectam profitebatur Gregorius pater; quæ secta 'Ex gentili errore, inquit noster Gregorius, et legali vanitate conflata erat; quarum utriusque partes quasdam fugiens, ex quibusdam partibus conflata et constituta est.'" (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I., in Vita S. Gregorii Theologi*, § 4, *p.* 150; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

† "Anno igitur 325 baptizatus est Gregorius, aut aliquanto post tempore." (*Ibidem*, § 6—7, *p.* 151.)

‡ "Quod de Gregorio e lavacro ascendente prænuntiatum fuerat, contigit. Creatus est episcopus anno 329, vel 328, ut placet Gothofrido Hermant, annos natus ferme quinquaginta; cumque Nazianzenam Ecclesiam per quadraginta quinque annos sapientissime administrasset, exactis pene centum annis plenus dierum, sanctissime obiit anno exeunte 373 vel ineunte 374." (*Ibidem*, § 8, *p.* 152.)

a bishop, but after he had become a Christian, either in 325 or 326. Before his birth, and after it, his pious mother had offered the boy to God. When he had just arrived at the use of reason, she held out the Sacred Books, and made him place his little hands upon them, as a token that Christ was to be his portion; and the boy at once, as if realizing the whole meaning of the action, gave his consent to this early dedication. Gregory was an extraordinary child.* In many things his life resembled that of the Angelical. Both were offered to God in tender infancy. Both were forcibly attracted from the visible world into the Unseen Kingdom. Both at an early age shunned pleasure, followed serious pursuits, fled the company of the vain, and sought to associate with men of God who loved sacrifice and practised virtue; and both, finally, had a special attraction towards holy purity.†

It would seem as if our Lord purposely raised up, in the midst of the debaucheries and prostitutions of paganism, certain chosen souls, who should be as lights in darkness, and witnesses at all events to the high vocation of the Christian

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* "Ab ipsis incunabulis pie a piis parentibus educatus est, qui regendæ ipsius pueritiæ curam ipsi suscepere. Cum eam ætatem, quam dicunt rationis expertem, pertransisset, eum mater, quem jam statim ab ortu Deo obtulerat, atque etiam priusquam nasceretur dicaverat, iterum obtulit et dicavit." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I., in Vita S. Gregorii Theologi*, § 23, *p.* 161; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

† "Divinus quidam incessit juvenis animum ardor servandæ pudicitiæ, quem visum cœleste ipsi in somnis ostensum magis magisque firmavit." (*Ibidem*, § 24, *p.* 161.)

calling.* The two crying sins of the world have ever been pride and sensuality, followed, as their shadow, by cruelty; and, therefore, the heroes of the Cross have ever shown forth in their careers, in a special manner, the three great gifts of a Christian life: Humility, Purity, and Charity—three virtues so sublime, requiring for their full and constant practice so high a grace, that they can only be found in the footsteps of the Cross, and only then thrive when fostered by the grace of God.†

Here again S. Gregory and the Angelical bring each the image of the other before the mind. For if in his prison the Angelical had a vision of angels, who descended after his great temptation and bound his loins with the girdle of chastity, S. Gregory also as a boy had a vision in his sleep.

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* See his poem on virginity :—

"Virginitatem coronis nostris redimire juvat,
Ex puro corde puris psallentes in hymnis,
Hoc enim vitæ nostræ præclarum est donum,
Auro et electro splendidius et ebore.
His in quibus terrenam vitam humi sternit virgineus ardor,
Mentis alas ad Deum in cœlo regnantem hinc evehens," etc.

(*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. III. Sectio II., Carmina Moralia*, § 1, *p.* 522; see also § 2, *Præcepta ad Virgines*; § 3 *Exhortatio ad Virgines*; § 4, *Ad Virginem*; § 6, *De Pudicitia*; § 7, *De Castitate*—*p.* 522—647; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*)

† How much interior trial had he, with all his virtue, to go through! Christ supported him. He speaks thus :—

"Hei mihi! defatigatus sum, mi Christe, vita mortalium!
Hei mihi! quam luctam et tempestatem a compare perpessus sum!
O diurnam vitam et incolatam!
O interna et externa certamina
Quibus corrumpitur pulchritudo divinæ imaginis!"

(*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. III., Sectio I., Poemata de Seipso*, § 33, *p.* 1306.)

He tells us in one of his poems that he beheld two beautiful, modest, simply-attired virgins, and they came up to him, and kept on kissing him : when he asked whence and who these women were, one replied, " Purity ; " the other, "Sobriety."

And they said (and here is seen how Christ was all in all) " We stand by Christ the King, and delight in the beauty of the celestial virgins." * They then invited him to join his light to theirs, and promised to carry him through the air into the radiance of the blessed Trinity. The influence of this dream or apparition left its impression on the child for life. It was one of those turning-points in a career, on which seems to revolve, not merely the destiny of one individual, but the fate, sometimes, of polities and states.

Whilst Basil was taught by Macrina to contemn the earth, and whilst he, on account of the loftiness of his great mind, was never satisfied with clay, spurning it under foot, Gregory's better nature seemed to soar after high purity and contemplative love ;—the first leaving the world because he saw its hollowness ; the other, because

* " Virgines duas videre sibi videbatur propius stantes, candidisque vestibus collucentes, ambas formosas, ejusdemque ætatis, quibus ornamento erat inornata forma. Quærenti Gregorio quænam essent, et unde venissent, altera se castitatem esse dixit, altera temperantiam ; cumque ipsum hortatæ essent, ut mentibus mentem et facem facibus jungeret, quo eum miro fulgore splendentem in cœlum ferrent, protinus in cœlum evolarunt. Cum igitur viso nocturno incensus esset Gregorius, amor castitatis, cujus fulgor intimis animi recessibus contineri non poterat, in eo splenduit." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I., in Vita S. Gregorii Theologii*, § 25, *p.* 162 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

the brightness of a pure attraction drew him away to nobler things.*

But the history of Gregory must briefly be traced up to his meeting with S. Basil at Athens. He continued some time with his parents, learning to love the Sacred Scriptures, and practising the austerities of a devoted life.† He had, as a boy, abandoned pleasure, and all those amusements which form the ambition of young men. God seemed to possess his heart. He was at length sent to Cæsarea, to acquire those elements of knowledge which would be of service to a Christian in days of conflict and of trial. Here it was that he, probably for the first time, met Basil.‡ Here they remained, knit by a close familiar tie, till they were sent to other seats of learning to complete their experience and education. Basil, as has been said already, went to Constantinople; Gregory

* Christ it was who lifted him up: see his poems, in which his heart expresses itself—poems which, though published, were never intended by him for publication :—

"Ipse enim sol oculos illustrat et oculis illucet,
Duæ quidem magni Dei ad bonus actus sunt partes,
Prima et ultima : una vero mea est.
Ille me capacem efficit boni et vires suppeditat.
Ego vero in medio, velut in stadio cursor non admodum levis
Gradior, non sine præmii spe, inter currendum membra protendens
Christum habens pro afflatu, Christum pro robore, pro opibus amplissimis"
. . . . . .

(*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. III., Carminum Lib. I., Sectio II., Poemata Moralia, De Virtute, p.* 675; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

† "Postquam intra domum paternam sic primum instituta fuit Gregorii pueritia, sacrarumque litterarum studiis et omni virtutum genere informata, extra limen prolata sunt ejus studia." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I., in Vita S. Gregorii Theologi.*, § 27, *p.* 162; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

‡ Vid. *Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I. in Vita*, § 29, *p.* 163; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*

hurried off to Palestine;* and thither he journeyed, drawn by the reputation of the schools of rhetoric which Pamphilus the martyr, Eusebius, and other men of wide renown had rendered famous in the East.† When Gregory arrived there, he put himself under Thesperius the rhetorician, and became familiar with Euzoius, who was placed later on by the Arians in the See of Cæsarea. From Palestine, Gregory betook himself to the celebrated school of the many-peopled city, and doubtless heard much of those mighty Christian teachers—of Clement, Origen, and Didymus.‡

But the great attraction for all young men who had a taste for letters seems to have been Athens. They might study in Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor, but they did not appear to think that their education had been completed, until they had drunk from the fountain-head, and had resided for some time amidst the refining influences and classical atmosphere of the mistress of philosophy, poetry, and sculpture. Gregory seems to have been quite impatient to leave Alexandria, and to

* "Idem litterarum amor, qui Basilium et Gregorium Cæsareæ Cappadocum conjunxerat, alterum ab altero distraxit. Basilius namque inde profectus est Constantinopolim, Gregorius vero in Palæstinam navigabit 'ob artis oratoriæ amorem in Palæstinæ scholis, tum florentibus moratus.'" *(Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I. in Vita*, § 31, *p.* 165; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.)*

† "Illustres enim erant scholæ illæ ac florentissimæ, in quibus ex Christianis olim, Pamphilus martyr, Eusebius, aliique doctissimi viri professi fuerant; his autem temporibus, Thesperium Gregorius, ut scribit Hieronymus, rhetorem, eloquentiæ præceptorem habuit." *(Ibidem.)*

‡ "Aliquandiu commoratus in Palæstina Gregorius Alexandriam se contulit, cujus urbis scholas olim illustrarant Clemens, Origenes, aliique viri pietate et scientia commendandi, et quas demum Didymus celebriores reddidit." *(Ibidem*, § 32, *p.* 165.)

betake himself to this seat of pagan wisdom. He would not even wait for the spring of the year.* He had the courage to brave the probability of being overtaken in one of those terrific storms which swept across the Ægean during the winter solstice. And here again we are reminded of the Angelical. For twenty long days the boat was under stress of a terrible tempest. But Gregory does not seem to have possessed the courage of S. Thomas. Yet, had the Angelical been in his position, very possibly he would have been equally overcome. Though Gregory from the first, with a full and lively faith, had given himself to the service of Christ, still he had not been baptized. He was not prepared for death.† He did not so much fear to leave this world as to meet the Judge in the other. So loud was his wailing, so

* "Demum haustis utriusque Cæsareæ et Alexandriæ scientiarum fontibus, majori animi ardore Athenarum flumina sitiens, moræque impatiens, conscensa navi Æginea circa medium Novembrem, quo tempore periculosissimæ tempestates exoriri solent, in Græciam per mare Parthenicum navigat." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I. in Vita*, § 33, *p.* 165; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

† He thus throws his thoughts into poetry:—

Solvens navigabam versus Græciam,
Cypri latus legebam, tumque ventorum impetus
Navem æstuando impulit, ac omnia una nox erant,
Terra, pontus, æther, cœlum tenebris suffusum;
Tonitrua resonabant fulgurum vibrationibus.
Stridebant rudentes velis tumentibus.
Nutabat malus, nec clavi ulla firmitas;
Vi enim rapiebatur e manibus.
Navis implebatur aquis latera superantibus:
Clamor promiscuus et lamentabilis exaudiebatur
Nautarum, hortatorum, magistrorum et vectorum
Christum una voce invocantium . . . . . ."

(*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom III., Carminum Liber II., Sectio I. Poemata de Seipso, v.* 130—141., *p.* 1038—1039; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*)

demonstrative his fear, so vehemently, indeed, did he scream to our Lord—begging for more time as he himself assures us—that the passengers who were with him seemed to forget their own peril, so much were they concerned for him.* He offered himself to God again and again, as he lay during those twenty long days, weeping and terrified in the stern of the ship. He relates that he was saved, not through his own prayers, but through those of S. Nonna, his holy mother. And so impressed were the ship's company by this visible interposition in their favour, that those amongst them who were not Christians already, joined the Church, and received the blessed Sacrament of Baptism.†

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* "Quod autem credibile non est, sed tamen certissimum
Omnes omissa sua ipsorum calamitate,
In unum jungebant clamosas precationes,
Pii in communibus malis navigatores :
Adeo condolebant ærumnis meis !"
(*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. III.*, *Carminum Liber II.*, *Sectio I.*, *Poemata de Seipso*, *v.* 170—175, *p.* 1038—1039 ; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XXXVII.*)

† It is observable that the whole ship's company appear to have called upon *Christ*. He seems to have been known and loved in a personal manner—as one who could really help and save. Christ was the one hope of young Gregory in his terror. He says :—

"Tu vero tunc etiam fuisti, Christe, magnus mihi salvator,
Qui et nunc liberas me a sæculi fluctibus."
(*Ibidem*, *v.* 175—176, *p.* 1043.)

See how he cries to Christ, as if he really knew, and could make conditions with Him :

"'Tuus sum,' aiebam, et antea et nunc quoque :
Tu bis me accipies, possessionem tibi pretiosissimam,
Terræ marisque donum, et matris
Prece, et gravissimis terroribus dedicatum.
Tibi vivam, si duplex effugero periculum.
Tu cultorem amittes, si me projicias.
Etiam nunc discipulus turbine agitatur. Excute ergo
Somnum, aut gradere, et stet metus."
(*Ibidem*, *v.* 194—201, *p.* 1043.)

Gregory must have felt that a load was removed from his heart when the weather-beaten boat, white with brine, at length cast anchor with its wearied crew in the Piræus. It was a pleasant thing to exchange the wilds of Cappadocia for the cultivated schools of Alexandria. What must it not have been to enter into the bright and beautiful *Alma Mater* of all that was perfect in art and all that was refined in philosophy? Here, for hundreds of years, had existed, through the rise and the fall of states, through domestic wars and revolutions, one supremacy: and that was the sovereignty of culture and of taste. Situated on the blue Ægean, within easy reach by water of every sunny town on the Mediterranean coast, drawing into itself the many-tongued populations of the civilized and barbarian world,—Athens was the grand metropolis of the realm of mind; the *Sedes Sapientiæ* of East and West; the shrine of the beautiful, and the home of all that was most fascinating in the arts of life.* Attica may have been less fertile than Pontus, her streams and her wood may not have satisfied the half-savage nature of

* The moral degradation, however, of the people was complete. Theory is one thing, and practice is another. So it has ever been with the best of pagans. Any fine mind may conceive a noble and pure ideal, but without supernal help no man can, for any length of time, realize it in himself. The treatment of slaves as animals had the effect of lowering respect for virtue and humanity. Plato looked upon it as a mark of education to despise slaves. Fear and sensuality were the two prime motives of action in the slaves. Debauchery and keeping slaves went bound hand in hand. Slaves were sold, let out to hire, lent for the most wicked purposes. Thus with Greece as with Rome: the degradation of one class of human beings, generated the corruption of the rest.

the Cappadocian,—the Egyptian may have longed for the unique beauty of the Nile, and Asiatic magnificence may have been unable to appreciate the simplicity of Grecian taste,—the world at large could boast of many things which Greece had not; but there was just one gift which Attica possessed, and with which no other region of the earth could vie: she alone knew how to inoculate the expanding mind with an appreciation of the Beautiful. She exhibited a refinement and a taste which seemed to belong exclusively to the magic of Athenian life.* If no honey could compare with that drawn from the thymy carpets of Hymettus, certainly no education could compete—speaking merely of human culture—with that bestowed upon the Athenian youth by this bright *Alma Mater* of the world. It was not the town itself, for that was miserable and dirty, with its houses huddled together, and narrow streets; nor was it the influence of books, or of secluded meditation in the closet,—but it was the free, elastic, inebriating air of Attica, and the presence of a tradition of philosophy and letters which hung about the place

* A Greek boy was generally educated thus:—First, his mother and women-slaves watched over him; then, from boyhood till seventeen he was entrusted to some crippled slave, who had to look after him and keep him out of mischief. The principal elements of knowledge were grammar, which meant reading, writing, arithmetic, and music—and gymnastics, the last beginning very early; children of seven were taught to run, throw, and wrestle. At thirteen they were instructed in music—the lyre and singing were specially in favour at Athens. Homer and Hesiod were taught—the former being the real classic. The national mind was formed and coloured by that poet in a remarkable manner. Dramatic poetry was not forgotten. (*Cf.* Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew, Vol. II., Book IX.*, § 1, *p.* 231—232.)

like an atmosphere, and could not be destroyed. The learning and mysticism of Egypt and Asia flowed in there and became refined.* The hundreds of merchant ships which traded along the coast, and amongst the Ionian islands, round the sea-board of Asia Minor, and amidst the bright cities of the inland sea, not only returned laden with iron and brass, with corn and wine, with coal and timber, — but also with eager youths who had heard of the reputation of some brilliant sophist in the great mother-city, and, abandoning all things, were bent upon becoming his disciples.† There was not a sailing ship which bounded out of the Piræus, and cut its way through the waves of the

* How foreigners vied with each other in their munificence to Athens, is clear from the following dates :—B.C. 275, Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, built a gymnasium there ; B.C. 240, Attalus of Pergamus ornamented the Acropolis with statues ; B.C. 167, Antiochus Epiphanes commenced the temple of Jupiter Olympus ; Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, repaired the music hall of Pericles ; Julius Cæsar helped in building the Propylæum of the New Agora. A.D. 117—138, Hadrian, Antonius, M. Aurelius, Herod Atticus, were noble benefactors. In A.D. 258, the walls of the city were repaired by Valerian, and so on. A.D. 420, paganism was generally abolished in Greece and at Athens by Theodosius, and the Parthenon was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the Temple of Theseus to S. George.

† "If we would know what an University is, we must betake ourselves to . . . Athens, whose schools drew to her bosom, and then sent back again to the business of life, the youth of the Western world for a long thousand years. Seated on the verge of the continent, the city seemed hardly suited for the duties of a central metropolis of knowledge ; yet, what it lost in convenience of approach, it gained in its neighbourhood to the traditions of the mysterious East, and in the loveliness of the region in which it lay. Hither, then, as to a sort of ideal land, where all archetypes of the great and the fair were found in substantial being, and all departments of truth explored, and all diversities of intellectual power exhibited, where taste and philosophy were majestically enthroned as in a royal court . . . hither flocked continually from the very corners of the *orbis terrarum*, the many-tongued generation, just rising, or just risen into manhood, to gain wisdom." (Newman, *Office and Work of Universities, Chap. III., p.* 26—27.)

Ægean, which did not carry with it the fame and the fascination of the place which sent it forth.

Was it possible for Phidias to throw all that was divine in human form into the living marble without creating a sensation? Could the foreigner look into the temple of the Dioscuri without returning home and speaking in wondrous admiration of the paintings of Polygnotus?* Who could walk on the banks of the Cephissus, and gaze on that temple, see those statues, and that spreading grove?—who could look upon the melancholy Plato amongst his plane-trees, or see Epicurus in his garden, or hear Aristotle pouring forth his learning, or watch Zeno with his disciples, or be present at the pleadings and haranguings of men with the loftiest abilities and of the highest cultivation?—who could listen to Demosthenes, or Lycias, or Theophrastus, or hear Pericles thundering from the *bema*, without being overpowered by the genius of the man, and departing with an image engraven for life upon the memory?†

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* Polygnotus flourished at Athens, B.C. 463—426. He appears to have been a contemporary of Phidias. Polygnotus's painting was in the *statuesque* style. He excelled in expression, colouring, and drawing. His colours were few; his forms and outlines exquisite.

† Demosthenes was born B.C., 381, in the Attic demos of Pænia. The most commonly received opinion is that he was born B.C. 385. He passed his youth in trouble and vexations. Some say Plato taught him philosophy, and Isocrates oratory. He became a public speaker B.C. 355, and began his public career as a leading statesman B.C. 356. He committed suicide by taking poison, and died in the temple of Poseidon B.C. 322. Pericles died B.C. 429; the date of his birth is unknown. He died like a pagan, hearing his own praises, and recounting what he thought his noblest deeds. Theophrastus, a native of Eresus in Lesbos, was a disciple of Plato, then of Aristotle. He had two thousand disciples—Menander amongst the number. He lived more than eighty-five years.

To listen to the pathetic drama of Sophocles and Euripides would have been an education in itself. To be brought under the influence of the splendid rhetoric of Isocrates; or to watch Diogenes, the "Dog," growling at the whole world from his tub; or to see Scopas striking the exquisite forms of Niobe or Venus out of the shapeless marble; or even to mix with the keen, witty, brilliant talkers in the *Agora* and public places, must have been, to the hardy barbarians from Germany, France, and Asia Minor, very like living in a fairy dream.

Who would not, on returning home, excite his friends with all he had seen and heard? The Acropolis and the Areopagus; the temples, the theatres, and the porticos; the vestibules and arcades; the *Agora* still kept cool by the shade of Cimon's trees; the gracefulness of the public buildings;—all this fostered the curiosity of the semi-barbarian, till he gave full play to that love of the noble and the fair which is the birthright of every nature which has not been utterly depraved.*

* Athens was about five miles from the sea-coast. It occupied part of the central plain of Attica, and also some eminences which run from the north frontier down into the plain. One of these heights was Mount Lycabettus; then came the Acropolis, on the north-east of the city; then the Areopagus, opposite the west-end of the Acropolis: the highest eminence on the south was the hill of the Museum. On the east side the little river Ilissus was found running in a south-westerly direction; while the Cephissus, about a mile-and-a-half from the walls, ran due south past the west side of the city. In its fully developed state, Athens consisted of the Acropolis, or city; and the Asty, or upper town. (For a full and interesting account of the city, with a good map, see *The English Cyclopædia, Geography, Vol. I., p.* 620—640.)

This tradition of learning and taste, of philosophy and poetry, which began with Cimon or Pericles,—and which, through the influence, first of brilliant students, and then of rich patrons, consolidated itself in Athens, — maintained a position as wonderful in its gift of attracting the world towards itself, as in the durability and extent of the empire which it founded. Athens, the Imperial Queen of Mind, achieved a conquest far more wide-spread than that of Alexander, and far more lasting than that of Rome.*

With regard to the students, they seem to have resembled those of Paris in the twelfth century. Their Professors appear to have had even less control than the Masters and Doctors of S. Geneviève or of Notre Dame.†

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* Of course it was not merely the attraction of material beauty and convenience that made Athens what she was; but it did its share. Beautiful houses, and marble courts and temples, art, and taste, drew great teachers from all parts of the world. Each race seems to have contributed its quota to the general mass of valuable and brilliant teaching. The monotony of one class of mind did not weary when there were professors from every climate holding forth in the environs of the city; Ionia, Africa, Cyprus, Thrace, Sicily, Syria, Armenia, Bithynia, Thessaly,—all these, and many others, gave to Athens teachers whose names did much towards maintaining her preëminence in the intellectual world.

† S. Gregory Theologus, in his *Oration* on S. Basil, gives a very graphic account of the students. (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni, p.* 514—515; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

He shows how they treated a Freshman:—"Primum, apud eorum aliquem, qui priores ipsum arripuerint, hospitio accipitur . . . Deinde, a quolibet cavillis lacessitur; quod quidem, ni fallor, eo faciunt, ut eorum, qui nuper advenerunt, fastum reprimant . . . Lacessitur autem: ab aliis, audacius; ab aliis urbanius . . . Tum per forum ad balneum cum pompa deducitur . . . Qui deducendi juvenis munere funguntur, ordine collocati, atque æquis spatiis distincti, bini eum ad balneum antecedunt. Cum autem propius accesserint, quasi fanatico furore correpti, clamorem ingentem cum saltitatione tollentes . . . simulque pulsatis januis, cum per strepitum juveni metum incusserint, postea concesso ingressu, ita demum cum in libertatem asserunt." (*Ibidem, p.* 515—518.

Amongst those who were attracted to Athens, about the period of which I write, were Proæresius and Hephæstion: they hurried thither almost as poor as Cleanthes. But they soon made their way. Proæresius, at all events, became nearly as rich as Marcus or Verus. He was born in Armenia (276), and studied rhetoric at Antioch under Ulpian. Here he speedily gained notoriety; but his eyes soon turned to the great *Alma Mater*, where he longed to hear the pleadings of Julian the celebrated rhetorician. Hither he came accompanied by Hephæstion. The two young men were poor almost to destitution; but their thirst to see Athenian life prevailed over all other considerations. A story illustrative of their condition is told by Eunapius.* They had but one change of clothes between them, and three thin, faded blankets. Whilst Hephæstion was attending the public school, his companion made the best of their bedding, and worked at his exercises amongst the blankets. When Hephæstion returned, they exchanged places, and Proæresius put on the clothes, and hurried off to the public school.† A

* Eunapius, born at Sardis, A.D. 347. His first master, Chrysanthius, taught him to hate Christianity. He went to Athens when sixteen years of age. He remained five years. His *Lives of the Sophists* contains twenty-three meagre biographies, miserably written, but of great historic value. Eunapius was an enthusiastic patron of Neo-Platonism.

† Himerius appears also to have taught S. Gregory and S. Basil; he was of Prusa in Bithynia; he flourished A.D. 315—386; he was probably the pupil of Proæresius, and certainly afterwards, his rival; he taught privately in Athens at first, then he received a salary; Julian heard him, and admired his talent, and made him his secretary, A.D. 362; he was a pagan, but not bigoted like Eunapius; he modelled himself on Aristides.

youth of such parts as Proæresius would soon draw upon himself the attention of his master. Julian was not long in discovering the ability of his pupil. He learnt to love him tenderly; and when he died he left Proæresius his house. The Chair of Rhetoric, which heretofore had been confined to one, was now conferred on many rhetoricians. Amongst a crowd of competitors, the successful ones were Epiphanius, Diophantus, Sopolis, Parnasius, and Hephæstion. But Hephæstion quitted Athens, as he shrank from competition with his friend. Like Lycinius, Proæresius had to suffer for his talents through the bigotry of narrow minds. Envy drove him out of Athens.* But he was speedily recalled, and appointed head of all the Athenian rhetoricians. Then he went to Gaul, and next to Rome. Here, in reward of an eulogy which he had written upon the Imperial City, the citizens erected in his honour a bronze statue as large as life, and placed under it this inscription: "The Queen of Cities to the Prince of Eloquence."

Proæresius was a man of gigantic stature—

* That Proæresius and Himerius taught S. Gregory, can be gathered from the following:—"Præceptores, quibus usus est Athenis Gregorius, apud tot homines celebres erant, apud quot Athenæ ipsæ. Hi fuere Himerius et Proæresius: primus gentilis erat, alter vero Christianus. Is, ob dicendi copiam, primum in Gallias, inde Romam a Constantio missus . . . Christianum hunc diximus, quidquid scripserit Eunapius, qui hunc ut gentilem sibi vindicat. Proæresius enim Christianæ religioni sic addictus fuit, ut cum Julianus, lege data ne Christiani liberalium artium doctores essent, ipsi Christianos docere permissiset, scholam sponte deseruerit; quod ex Hieronymo discimus." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I., in Vita S. Gregorii Theologi*, § 46, *p.* 170.)

some say nine feet high. He possessed an iron constitution. He would freely drink frozen water, and went about in the cold of a northern winter with naked feet, and in summer clothing.* He possessed an astounding memory, and had a singular gift of extemporary speaking. A flowing style, and a love of classic models, distinguished him as a rhetorician. He lived to nearly ninety.

Such was the man whose fame had drawn many promising men to Athens. No doubt Gregory had already heard of him while studying in the city of S. Mark; and it may have been his anxiety to hear him which made the Saint so impatient to embark in mid-winter, and imperil his life on the treacherous sea.†

Gregory arrived at Athens, probably in 350. S. Basil joined him there about a year later, drawn by the same attraction.‡ Here these two

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* The way Eunapius, when he first arrived at Athens as a lad, was introduced to Proæresius, shows how easy the discipline was in relation to professor and student. (See *The Office and Work of Universities*, *Chap. IV.*, *p.* 53—54.)

† He says :—

"Sed quod semper experitur juvenum fervor,
Ut motibus inordinatis facile ventiletur,
Velut animosus in cursum saliens pullus,
Id mihi evenit. Nam omnino extra
Tempus, pacato nondum mari,
Cum Tauri quamdam periculo nondum carere caudam
Dicunt periti harum rerum, ac navigare temerarii esse, non prudentis,
Tunc ego, Alexandria relicta
(Illic enim aliquid doctrinæ decerpseram),
Solvens navigabam versus Græciam."

(*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. III.*, *Carminum Liber II.*, *Sectio I.*, *Poemata de Seipso*, *v.* 121—130, *p.* 1038; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XXXVII.*)

‡ *Opp.* S. Basilii Magni, *Tom. I.*, *Prolegomena in Vita*, *Cap. II.*, § 1, *p.* 10; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XXIX.*

great Doctors of the future were joined in the intimacy of the sweetest friendship. The ties which had made them one at Cæsarea were now knit closer than ever; and no type of pure affection could be imagined more perfect than that which Basil displayed for Gregory, and Gregory for Basil.

The lives of these two gifted youths, in the midst of fascinating, wicked Athens, offer one of the most expressive testimonies to the power of genuine Christianity to be found in the annals of the Church. The general run of students who sought the Attic seat of wisdom took with them natures without control; and, if they were not Christians, they had nothing to offer equal in any way to what they were hoping to receive.* They were pleased, attracted, melted, overpowered, and enslaved. Colour, form, and taste, the noble and the fair—these they had not known before, these they were introduced to now, and these they

* S. Gregory says:—"Insano quodam erga sophistas studio Athenis tenentur quam plurimi et stolidissimi adolescentes; non modo ignobiles et obscuri sed nobiles etiam et illustres, ut qui miscellanea quædam multitudo sint, et juvenes, et ita effecti, ut eorum impetus vix reprimi possint. Quod igitur in equestribus certaminibus iis accidere videmus, qui equis et spectaculis oblectantur; exsiliunt enim, clamant, pulverem in cœlum mittunt, sedentes habenas moderantur, aërem verberant, equos digitis, quasi scuticis, in alterum atque alterum latus subinde jungunt, cum nihil horum in ipsorum potestate situm sit . . . Pauperes plerumque atque inopia laborantes, et quibus ne in unum quidem diem victus suppetit . . . Atque ea res vehementer absurda et prodigiosa est. Præoccupantur urbes, viæ, portus, montium cacumina, campi, solitudines, omnes denique Atticæ ac reliquæ Græciæ partes, atque adeo incolarum maxima pars, nam et illos in partes ac studia distractos habent." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II., Oratio in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 15, *p.* 514—515; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

seized, and made their own; and they were satisfied with their newly-acquired gifts. And indeed Athens possessed all that exalted pride, all that subtle and spiritual nobility of fantasy, which led men to imagine that because they could intellectually conceive the noble and the fair,—*therefore*, fair and noble they themselves must be.

Athens did not undertake to form men by rule, or enforce, by penalties and imposts, the teaching of true taste and wisdom. All that was refined, elevated, and great in man—like the olives of her plains and hills—was supposed to grow up and expand, and beautify the world through its own inherent vitality and innate loveliness. The deep transparent shadow, the delicate shades, the pellucid air, the harmony of rich soft colour, which came and went with cloud and sun—all this sprang from the opulent life of nature. So with the soul: original nature by itself was great; mind supreme and simple; taste, propriety, and the grace of life were but the unfolding buds and blossoms of glorious human nature.*

What could be more enthralling than such a tone as this to any pagan youth of generous

* The Athenians "professed to do right, not from servile feeling, not because they were obliged, nor from fear of command, not from belief of the unseen, but because it was so truly pleasant, because it was such a luxury to do it. Their political bond was good-will and generous sentiment. They were loyal citizens, active, hardy, brave, munificent, and because the virtuous was the enjoyable, and the enjoyable was the virtuous. They regulated themselves by music, and so danced through life." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II. Oratio in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 15, *p.* 125—126; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

mind? It appears to fit in with such exquisite nicety to his large capacity for virtue, and the wild craving of his heart. Many a young man from Syria, or Cyprus, or Ionia; many a youth from Thessaly, Sicily, or Africa; the Moor, the Spaniard, and the Gaul, as well as the haughty Roman, had left home, there is little doubt, thirsty enough, and had drunk to inebriation of the genius of the place.*

But not so Basil and Gregory. The severe, self-contained Basil carried in his heart an Image far transcending any of those created by the fascinations of Hellenic life. Gregory, too, though he travelled sea and land, and spent long years in studying eloquence,† ever bore in mind the teachings of his mother Nonna.‡

Thus, though neither Basil nor Gregory had been baptized, still they had been "spoiled" for Athens.§

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* Though most ensnaring and delusive, there is little doubt that the love of the Beautiful, which the Athenian education encouraged so much, was a great help towards preparing the way for Christianity. Thus many of the most distinguished Christians had been Greek professors. Serious men must have perceived where the concrete beauty lay. The Athenian or pagan life, compared with pagan aspirations; and the Christian life, when drawn into contact with both these, must have gone far to shake the belief of honest men in their own religious theories and religions. Christ, whenever brought fairly into relation with any work of man's creation, throws the light of His countenance upon it, and reveals all its hollowness and imperfection, not so much by the logic of reasoning, as by the logic of contrast.

† *Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. III., Carminum Lib. II., Sectio I., Poemata de Seipso, v.* 96—102, *p.* 978; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.)*

‡ *Ibidem v.* 211—219, *p.* 1043.

§ He shows clearly what his mind was about Christ. It was to follow Him that he abandoned the world, and all it offered. Here are the words of S. Anthony and S. Benedict again:—"'*Si quis vult post me venire*, abneget semetipsum,' quis unquam inter hos degens explere poterit

They lived, conversed, and worked together. Their only emulation was, who should love Christ the best; their only walks—to the schools, that they might acquire human eloquence and wisdom, the better to defend His cause; and to the house of God, where they might pray to Him. They avoided the theatres and public places. They shunned young men of evil life, and associated with the virtuous only. They walked their straight and loving road to God, with that simplicity which alone could issue out of the intense purpose of their lives.*

It cannot be doubted that it was the strangeness and beauty of their Christian purity which drew around them so many hearts in Athens. If the Greeks loved the fair, how could they help being struck by Basil and by Gregory—by those two

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[vitæ hujus negotia]? Nos enim oportet, si nosmetipsos abnegemus, et crucem Christi tollamus, sic ipsum sequi. Abnegare autem semetipsum est præteritorum prorsus oblivisci, atque a voluntatibus suis secedere . . . Nam præparare se ad mortem pro Christo perferendam, mortificare membra quæ sunt super terram, accingi quasi in instructa acie ad periculum omne subeundum, quod nobis pro Christi nomine impendeat, vitaque præsenti non affici, hoc est crucem suam tollere." (Vid. *Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. III., Reg. Fusius Tractatæ, Interrogat. VI., n.* 1, *p.* 926—927; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXI.)* Again:—"Unum corpus sumus ac caput Christum habemus." *(Ibidem, Interrogat. VII., n.* 2, *p.* 930. See *p.* 934, 935, 938.)

* "Duæ nobis viæ notæ erant: altera prima et præstantior; secunda altera, et inferioris pretii: illa quidem ad sacras ædes nostras, et ad doctores, qui illic erant, ferebat; hæc autem ad externos præceptores. Cæteras omnes, quæ ad festa, spectacula, celebres conventus, epulas, ducebant, æquo ac libenti animo reliqueramus. Nihil enim, mea quidem sententia, magni faciendum est, quod ad recte honesteque vivendum nihil affert, nec sui studiosos meliores reddit. Jam cum aliis alia quædam cognomenta sint, vel a parentibus accepta, vel ex seipsis, hoc est, ex propriis vitæ studiis institutisque comparata: nobis contra, magna res et magnum nomen erat Christianos et esse et nominari." *(Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni,* § 21, *p.* 523; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.)*

hearts in one, whose brilliant gifts and ardent friendship were talked of beyond the Greek peninsula and the islands of the neighbouring seas ?

These youths were known to hold the gods of the Greeks in great contempt, and to place their pride, not in the high-sounding name of rhetoricians, but in the glorious title of followers of Christ.*

This establishment of Christian principle in the midst of pagan Athens was not without its effect. Basil and Gregory became the centre-figures in a chosen group. Amongst their friends might be mentioned Sophronius, who became a statesman ; Eusebius, who afterwards was bishop ; and Celsus, who was made, by Julian, Governor of Cilicia.

Basil speedily grew tired of Athens. He called its joys a "hollow blessedness." He came with high anticipations, and was disappointed. † Gregory

* S. Gregory tells us how wide-spread and how honourable a reputation was acquired by himself and his friend Basil. Vid. *Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II.*, *Oratio XLIII.*, *In Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 22, *p.* 526 ; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XXXVI.*

† He shows in his *Rule* what it was that made him look with such indifference on earth : he saw beyond ; his eyes fixed themselves on the "everlasting hills : "—"Ineffabiles omnino sunt et inenarrabiles divinæ pulchritudinis fulgores : non eas detegit oratio, non excipit auris. Etsi luciferi splendores dixeris, et lunæ claritatem, et solis lumen, omnia præ illius gloria vilia sunt et obscura, atque cum vera luce comparata, magis distant ab illa, quam profunda tristisque ac illunis nox a clarissima meridie dissidet. Pulchritrudo hæc carneis quidem oculis conspici non potest, sed a sola anima ac mente apprehenditur. Ea si quando quempiam sanctorum illustravit, statim intolerandum in ipsis reliquit desiderii stimulum : quippe qui præsentis vitæ pertæsi dicebant : *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est. Quando veniam et apparebo ante faciem Dei ?* Item illud : *Dissolvi et esse cum Christo multo longeque melius.* Illud quoque : *Sitivit anima mea ad Deum fortem vivum. Et : Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine.*" (Vid. *Opp.* S. P. N. Basilii, *Tom. III.*, *Regulæ Fusius Tractatæ*, *n.* 4, *p.* 910—911 ; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XXXI.*)

and Basil made up their minds to leave. But their friends pressed around them, and so rude was their importunity, that they succeeded in persuading Gregory to remain. But Basil, with that firmness which was the secret of much of his success, broke through them all, and journeyed to Cæsarea; and Gregory was not long in following him.

Now we may consider the education of the twain complete. Basil, "the Christian Plato," and Gregory, "the Theologian," are now to sink their roots deep into the field of ecclesiastical politics and religion. Basil, the strong, stubborn oak, standing rigid against the storm, ready to break rather than to bend; Gregory, more like the elm, umbrageous, beautiful, graceful; naturally giving to the fierce pressure of the elements, though never to be moved withal.*

Basil and Gregory, when at Athens, had often talked over their future life. They spoke of how they would retire, when they had finished their *curriculum*, to serve God in solitude in the wilds of Pontus. The voice of Christ seems ever to have been speaking in their ears. But domestic difficulties prevented Gregory from carrying out his project,† so Basil, full of fiery zeal, took this

* And their very friendship made them famous in Athens, and far beyond:—"Nec vero quidquam ejusmodi apud eos erant Orestes et Pylades, nec Molionidæ illi, Homerico versu celebrati, quos calamitatum societas, atque ars egregie aurigandi nobilitavit, eodem tempore habenas et flagrum inter se partientes." (Vid. *Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 22, *p.* 526; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

† S. Basil complained that Gregory did not keep his word. (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I., Vita S. Gregorii*, § 58, *p.* 175; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

opportunity of seeing the East. He had made up his mind to go to the fountain-head of monastic life, and to return home, and establish those principles in Asia Minor which had already filled the wilderness with saints. He visited Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. He made a point of coming in contact with the great characters of the East.* He saw and marvelled at the lives of the Solitaries, who had utterly trampled on the flesh. He wondered at their patient endurance of so many labours, and at their constancy in prayer; he was struck dumb by the manner in which they battled with sleep; at the way they bore cold, hunger, and nakedness, with even minds.†

In them Basil saw more than the realization of his own lofty aspirations. He tells Eustathius that these Eastern heroes lived as if in flesh not their own. "Admiring and extolling the life of these men who could so indeed carry about with them the dying of the Lord Jesus, I desired that I

* S. Basil had been baptized, on his return home from Athens, by Bishop Dianius. He appears, also, before making for the East, to have given public evidence of his great oratorical powers at Cæsarea. But his sister Macrina was too fond of him to allow him to remain in the world if she could help it. "Qua in re plurimum illum adjuvit Macrina soror, quæ cum illum vidisset nimis magnifice de eloquentia sentire, ac dignitates omnes floccifacere, et fastu quodam supra homines potestate claros efferri, celeriter ad asceticam vitam, quam ipsa profitebatur, attraxit." *(Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. I. Prolegomena in Vita, Cap. III., § 1, p. 13; Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.)*

† See the influence of the Gospel!—"Cum legissem Evangelium, ibique perspexissem plurimum ad perfectionem valere, bona sua divendere, et cum egenis fratribus communicare, ac nulla prorsus hujus vitæ sollicitudine distringi, nec ulla affectione ad res terrenas animo converti; cupiebam

myself," he says, "as far as I could attain, might be an imitator of them." *

The example of these Solitaries made a life-impression upon Basil. He returned to Pontus. And now his great vocation opened upon its course. He established a monastery on the banks of the Iris. Here he fixed himself in a beautiful and wild spot, amid streams, mountains, and woods. Here he dwelt six or seven years, and ennobled his intelligence with the lofty principles of monastic life. †

And he broke down a body naturally sickly with the terrible severity of his penances. He took but one meal a day, and that consisting of bread, herbs, and water. "Cookery with us is idle," he says, "no knife is familiar with blood; our daintiest meal is vegetables, with coarsest bread and vapid wine." ‡ S. Gregory says of him: "he

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invenire aliquem ex fratribus qui hanc vitæ viam elegisset, ut una cum ipso brevem hujus vitæ fluctum transirem." *(Opp.* S. Basilii Magni, *Tom. IV., Epistolarum Classis II., Epist. CCXXIII. Adversus Eustathium Sebastenum,* § 2, *p.* 823; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXII.)*

* *Ibidem.*

† Nor did he live in what is called selfish ways of thinking of his own Salvation. He changed by his preaching, example, and munificence, the entire province of Pontus. "Basilius Ponti urbes," says Rufinus, "et rura circumiens, desides gentis illius animos et parum de spe futura sollicitos stimulare verbis et prædicatione succendere, callumque ab his longæ negligentiæ cœpit abolere, subegitque, abjectis inanium rerum et sæcularium curis, suimet notitiam recipere, in unum coire, monasteria construere, psalmis, et hymnis et orationibus docuit vacare, pauperum curam gerere, eisque habitacula honesta et quæ ad victum necessaria sunt, præbere, virgines instituere, pudicam castamque vitam omnibus pene desiderabilem facere. Ita brevi permutata est totius provinciæ facies, ut in arido et squalenti campo videretur seges fecunda, ac læta vinea surrexisse." *(Lib. XI., Cap. IX. Cf. Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. I. Prolegomena in Vita, Cap. VI.,* § 4, *p.* 25; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.)*

‡ *Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom IV., Epist. XLI., p.* 340; *Patrolog. Græc. Vol. XXXII.* I use Dr. Newman's translation, as unapproachable, when the words of the Saint are quoted.

had but one inner and one outer garment; his bed was the ground; little sleep, no bath; his food bread and salt; his drink the running stream; he slept in a hair shirt, or other rough garment; the sun was his fire; and he braved the severest frost in the severe climate of Cappadocia." *

And all this satisfied his lofty spirit far beyond the splendour and refinements of Athens the beautiful. Thus he became a firm column, the greatest monastic law-giver of the East, the fearless reprover of the arrogance of princes and of the blasphemies of heretics. †

His conduct before Modestus brings out the full character of the man. On the Saint refusing to communicate with the Arians, Modestus asks him whether he does not fear the consequences.

Basil.—"Fear what consequences?—what sufferings?"

Modestus.—"One of those many pains which a prefect can inflict."

Basil.—"Let me know them?"

Modestus.—"Confiscation, exile, torture, death."

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* (See *Church of the Fathers, Chap. II., p.* 22.) S. Gregory says of Basil:—"Necessariis tantum cibis, quamdiu licuit, vitam tolerabat, atque hunc solum norat, nempe a luxu abstinere; sed lilia et aves, quibus simplex atque artificii expers pulchritudo est, et victus facilis atque ex tempore quæsitus ob oculos habere, quemadmodum Christus meus monet . . . Hinc illi tunica una, et pallium unum, et status humi lectulus, et vigiliæ, et illuvies (illa ejus decora et ornamenta), et suavissima cœna et obsonium, panis et sal, novum, inquam, illud condimentum, et potio sobria et uberrima, quam nobis nihil laborantibus fontes profundunt." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 61, *p.* 575; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

† See his splendid letter developing this idea:—"Oportet Christianum ea quæ vocatione cœlesti digna sunt, sentire, ac dignam Evangelio Christi vitam degere." (*Opp. S. Basilii, Tom. IV., Epist. Class. I., Epist. XXII., p.* 287—294; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXII.*)

Basil.—"Think of some other threat. These have no influence upon me. He runs no risk of confiscation, who has nothing to lose, except these mean garments and a few books.* Nor does he care for exile, who is not circumscribed by place, who does not make a home of the spot he dwells in, but everywhere a home whithersoever he be cast, or rather everywhere God's home, whose pilgrim he is and wanderer. Nor can tortures harm a frame so frail as to break under the first blow. You could but strike once and death would be gain. It would send me the sooner to Him for Whom I live and labour, for Whom I am dead rather than alive, to Whom I have long been journeying." †

This was the man who, whilst he would resist the proud, was ever ready to spend and be spent among the sick and poor. He would not only tend the lepers, but kiss their miserable sores and wounds. Of his bounty, the vast hospitals which he established are sufficient evidence. It was Christ who made him all to all. Had he not

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* *Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II., Oratio XLIII., in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 49, *p.* 559; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*

† "Exsilium autem haud cognosco, qui nullo loco circumscriptus sum: ac neque terram hanc, quam nunc incolo, meam habeo, et eam omnem, in quam projectus fuero pro mea duco: imo, ut rectius loquar, universam terram Dei esse scio, cujus advena ego sum et peregrinus, Jam tormenta quid accipere queant, cum corpus desit, nisi forte primam plagam dixeris? Hujus enim solius penes te arbitrium et potestas est. Mors porro beneficii mihi loco erit; citius enim me ad Deum transmittet, cui vivo et servio, maximaque ex parte mortem obii, et ad quem jampridem propero. Quo sermone obstupefactus præfectus: Nemo inquit, me (nomenque suum adjungit), ad hunc usque diem, ita, nec pari verborum libertate est allocutus." (*Ibidem*, § 49—50, *p.* 559.)

been a Christian, he might have been a disdainful, scornful man; unapproachable for his gifts; feared, and indeed admired, but hardly loved. As it was, the tenderness of the Cross, joined to the grandeur of a mind little in nothing, elevated in everything, made Basil as deeply esteemed by the wise, as he was feared by the arrogant and froward.*

Mark his appearance! In person he is considerably above the middle height; he is thin, erect, and withered with the terrific austerities of his devoted life; his complexion is dark, and his countenance pale; his eyebrows large, and almost meeting above the nose; his face is oval, and his head closely shaved, and a long greyish beard flows down upon his breast;† his expression speaks of deep thought; whilst, added

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* S. Gregory defends him against the imputation of being high-minded, thus:—"Quid ad hæc nobis dicturi sunt, qui homini fastum supercilumque objiciunt? Iniqui sane et acerbi rerum hujusmodi judices, eosque, qui regulæ non sunt, ad regulam admoventes. An vero fieri potest, ut qui leprosos deosculetur, et huc usque se demittat, adversus sanos et valentes supercilium attollat? Qui carnes continentia et inedia conficiat inani animi fastu inflatur? . . . ." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 64, *p.* 579—582; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*)

† "Sancti Basilii effigiem sic descriptam reperit Baronius [Ad an. 378] in anonymo Vaticano: 'Magnus Basilius procero fuit habitu corporis et recto, siccus, gracilis; color ejus fuscus, vultus temperatus pallore, justus nasus, supercilia in orbem inflexa et adducta: cogitabundo similis fuit, paucæ in vultu rugæ, eæque renidentes, genæ oblongæ, tempora aliquantum cava, promissa barba et mediocris canities.'" (*Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. I. Prolegomena in Vita, Cap. XL., § 2, p.* 161; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*) Here again is a picture:—"Magnus Basilius habitu corporis, in multam proceritatem erectæ figuræ excurrebat. Erat siccus et macilentus, niger colore, pallore temperatus faciem, præditus decoro naso et circumflexis ad hirquum, superciliis; in vertice contractior; similis cogitabundo, pauculis in fronte rugis caperatus; malas oblongus, cavus tempora, rasus fere ad cutem, barbam nutriens, eamque satis promissam ac semicanam." (*Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. I., Historia Institutionis* [*Trip. Fest.*] *Ex Menæis impressis, p.* 391; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.*)

to the stern majesty of his appearance, there is a grace about him which recalls to mind the careful and exquisite training of his early life.

To go further into S. Basil's life would take up too much space. Of his separation from Dianius, his ordination at Cæsarea, his reconciliation with Eusebius, his episcopal labours,* his help to Gregory, his letters to Athanasius, his dispute with Anthimius, his illness, his patience under reproach, his journey to Pisidia and Pontus, and of his many writings, and incessant troubles of mind and body,—this is not the place to speak. Enough has been said of him for the present purpose. Stern, severe, self-contained, lofty and heroic in thought and word, measured in speech, noble in manner, a patriarchal man—Basil the Great stands out boldly amongst the great names of the fourth century ;† and if not so diplomatic in his dealings as Athanasius, quite as uncompromising ; if not so solitary as Anthony, quite as fond of retirement ;

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* Here he fell in with Origen's influence again. See an account of the Adamantine's Scripture teaching there. *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. II., III., Lib. de Viris Illustribus, Cap. LIV., p.* 665 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*

† "Voilà Basile tout entier : une science contenue par le dogme et qui pourtant s'y déploie à l'aise : une éloquence toujours tournée au bien des âmes, mais ornée de toutes les grâces et nourrie de toute la science antiques ; dans le gouvernement d'une seule église, toutes les facultés qui font l'homme d'Etat, tout le génie du siècle, en un mot, exclusivement consacré au service de la foi. Basile ne fonde ni une politique, ni une philosophie, ni même une littérature chrétienne, car il ne franchit pas le seuil du sanctuaire, n'affecte aucune magistrature, et ne distribue d'autre enseignement que l'Evangile . . . une Eglise qui produit des hommes tels que Basile est déjà prête à recueillir le gouvernement du monde." (De Broglie, *L'Eglise et L'Empire Romain au IV^e^., Siècle, Troisième Partie, Vol. I., Chap. II., p.* 233. *Troisième Edition.)*

and if not so gentle as Gregory, equally as full of ardent charity and noble thoughts.

The extraordinary grief created by his death is an evidence of the immense influence he exerted over thousands, many of whom most probably had never looked upon his face.

When he came near his end, he summoned up his strength and spoke with more than ordinary clearness on the saving doctrines of Redemption. And when at length his hour approached, he seemed to be looking forward to joining that heavenly choir on which his eyes were fixed.* The news of his condition drew the whole country into Cæsarea. Men, weeping like children, pressed around him, crying out in despair against the tyranny of death, and by violence they would have retained his soul. "Grief," says S. Gregory, "had driven them mad." There was not one in that concourse who would not willingly have sacrificed a portion of his life if he could have added it to that of Basil. The Saint was the only one at peace. Looking calmly on heaven, whilst uttering the words: "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit," he gave his soul into the hands of God.

When that emaciated body, which had served its master with such stern fidelity, was being borne by faithful men to the family tomb, the excitement of the populace became indescribable ;

* *Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 79, *p.* 599—602 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*

many thousands, utter strangers, who had never been seen before, crowded into the city.* Heathens, and Jews, and aliens, sobbed and wept, and wrung their hands round the bier. Hymns and psalms gave way to bursts of universal lamentation. Some pushed forward, aiming to get at the hem of Basil's garment; others to place themselves where his shadow would pass over them; others to secure some portion of his furniture, or to touch it with their fingers, or if they could not succeed in that, to see his blessed body with their eyes.† So great was the pressure in that swaying crowd, that many persons in it were crushed to death; and these were looked upon with envy as the happy victims of his funeral *(funebres victimæ)*. It was with great difficulty that the body was borne through the city. But at length the sepulchre of the family was reached, and all that was mortal of Basil the Great was placed in the silent resting place of martyrs and of priests.

His life was spent in defending the orthodox

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* "Tum vero miraculum omnium, quæ unquam fuerunt, celeberrimum designatur. Efferebatur vir sanctus, sanctorum virorum manibus elatus; unusquisque autem operam dabat, alius ut fimbriam, alius ut umbram, alius ut sacriferum lectulum arriperet, ac vel solum attingeret; (quid enim illo corpore sanctius et purius?) alius ut propius ad eos, qui corpus ferebant, accederet; alius ut aspectu solo frueretur, tanquam eo quoque utilitatis aliquid afferente. Plena erant fora, porticus, duplicia et triplicia tabulata, hominum deducentium, præeuntium, prosequentium, assectantium, sese invicem prementium; multa millia omnis generis et ætatis ante eum diem incognita. Psalmodiæ gemitibus cedebant, et animi constantia doloris magnitudine frangebatur." *(Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. II., Oratio XLIII. in Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 80, *p.* 602; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.)*

† *Ibidem.*

teachings of Nicæa; in resisting the despotism of the civil powers: in maintaining episcopal rights; in renewing the spirit of ecclesiastical discipline; and in giving a new and permanent form to the methods of monastic life.*

His five books against Eunomius, his Treatise on the Holy Ghost, his "*Hexaëmeron*," and his Principles of Monastic Rule,—as well as the example of his life,—have made their lasting mark upon the intellects of Catholic thinkers.

And if the gentle Gregory† was not gifted with the strong character of Basil, still he bequeathed

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* The funeral oration of S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Basil's brother, is well worth reading. He says:—"Magnus a Deo Basilius, quemadmodum tempore Achaabi Elias, exhibetur, ac sacerdotio, quod jam quodammodo collapsum atque neglectum erat, suscepto, tanquam lucernam, quæ defecisset, rationem fidei per inhabitantem in se gratiam relucere denuo fecit. Et cum veluti fax noctu errantibus per mare, Ecclesiæ bono apparuisset, omnes ad rectam viam convertit, cum præfectis et præsidibus confligens, cum ductoribus copiarum congrediens, apud imperatores libere loquens, in concionibus et Ecclesiis clamans, eos, qui procul abessent, exemplo Pauli per epistolas concilians atque adjungens, effugiens et evitans confligentium prehensiones, cum nihil in se haberet, quo teneretur et vinceretur ab adversariis." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Nysseni, *Tom. III., in Laudem Fratris Basilii, p.* 795—798; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVI.* See this Gregory's beautiful treatise, *De Virginitate, Opp. Tom. III., Cap. I.—XXIV., p.* 318—410.)

† See how he speaks of his friendship with Basil:—

"Namque et hoc beneficium a Deo accepi;
Duxit me et conjunxit cum viro sapientissimo,
Qui unus et vita et eloquio supereminebat omnes.
Quis ille? certe perfacile cognoscetis.
Basilius erat, ævi nostri magnum adjumentum.
Hunc et litterarum, et tecti, et consiliorum
Socium habebam, ac si quid gloriari decet,
Par quoddam eramus, non obscurum in Græcia.
Communia erant omnia: mens una
Duorum colligans corporum discrepantiam.
Quod autem nos in unum præcipue conjunxit,
Illud erat: Deus, et rerum præstantiorum amor."

(*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. III., Carminum Lib. II., Sectio I., Poemata de Seipso, v.* 221—232, *p.* 1043—1046; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*)

to posterity a charming picture of ascetic life; whilst his writings, from their genuine orthodoxy, have earned for him the distinguished title of "The Theologian." He seems to have hung on Basil's love, and to have found his one delight in that supernatural friendship.* He too had abandoned all for Christ. But his delicate and timid nature shrank, more even than Basil's, from being placed in position, and having to contend with men. One thing alone he retained—his love of eloquence. He was ever ready with his pen, ever prompt to pour out his flowing periods in the pulpit. His Athenian training, his plastic mind, his fund of gentle sympathy, his personal devotedness to the Cross, tended to render him a master of the highest powers of persuasion. He was the *vir bonus*, out of the rich treasure of whose heart flowed the full stream of all that was truly eloquent.

He would willingly have joined his friend in Pontus, according to his promise made at Athens; but it was impossible. Home duties detained him. At last he contrived to escape, and passed some of the sweetest days of his life, praying, meditating, and copying Origen on the quiet banks of the Iris. Now he is drawn out of his retreat. Against his will he is made presbyter. He flies away once more to Pontus; but his conscience will not suffer

* The principal dates of S. Basil's career are as follows:—Born, 329; went to Athens, 351—355; returns to Cæsarea, 355; goes to the East, about 357; returns, 358; retires to his monastery, 360; ordained presbyter at Cæsarea, 362; deposed by Eusebius, 364; recalled to Cæsarea, 365; relieves the starving, 367, 368; chosen bishop of Cæsarea, 370; dies, 379.

him to rest.* He returns to Nazianzus. Then come the Arian disturbances, the sickness of his parents, and the death of his brother Cæsarius, to whom he was so devoted. Now Basil, through Gregory's influence, is raised to the bishopric of Cæsarea. Basil has had his battles to fight: jealousies and misunderstandings at home, heresy and schisms abroad, afflict his mind and try his strength. He has one single aim in life—to advance Christ's glory. For this end, even Gregory must be sacrificed. To keep Anthimius in check, Basil has him consecrated bishop, and places him in Sasima, a village within the disputed jurisdiction. This is more than Gregory can patiently endure; a coolness springs up between the friends.† Gregory flies from Sasima

* The great Elias, the real father of monks, the master of S. Anthony, had his influence on Gregory too. The following gentle lines breathe the placid spirit of the Saint, and reveal his mind :—

"Magni faciebam Elian Thesbiten,
Ac inclytum Carmelum, et cibum insolitum,
Desertum Præcursoris possessionem,
Filiorum Jonadab vitam sine apparatu;
Sed me rursus tenebat sacrorum Librorum amor,
Ac Spiritus lumen in consideranda Scriptura,
Res cum deserto et quiete non conveniens:
Donec in utramque partem sæpe delatus,
Tandem inter desideria mea sic litem dirimo . . .
Videns enim quos actuosa delectat vita,
Eos aliis quidem utiles esse, his nempe qui in sæculo vivunt . . .
Eos autem qui vale sæculo dixerunt, stabiliores quidem esse . . .
At sibi solis prodesse angusta charitate . . .
Mediam inter utrosque viam ineo,
Meditari ut hi, prodesse, ut illi, statuens."

(Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. III., Carminum Lib. II., Sectio I., Poemata de Seipso, v.* 292—311, *p.* 1050—1051; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.)*

† Basil was using his friend Gregory as a tool. Basil used his friends to push his one life's cause. Gregory seems to resent this. *See Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologii, *Tom. III., Epist. XLVIII., p.* 99; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.*

into his beloved solitude. Thence he comes forth again, to assist his aged father, on the condition that his official duties at Nazianzus are to cease with his father's death. His father and mother, each fully a hundred years of age, die about 374. Fearing the responsibility of the bishopric, Gregory hurries to Seleucia, and during his retirement hears the news of Basil's death (379), which plunges him into the deepest grief. Father and mother, brother and sister, and now Basil, dead; he seems almost left solitary in the world.

With these sorrows the public life of Gregory begins. The state of ecclesiastical politics is now more cheering than it has been for some time. Theodosius becomes emperor. The Church in Constantinople is freed from her bonds. The emperor embraces the creed of Nicæa. The Second General Council acts with pacific influence in East and West. Such was the gleam of light which shot across the Eastern heavens. But Gregory was drawn into a place of storms. He felt himself bound to answer a call to go to Constantinople, and to do his best to reconstruct the Church of God.* He was now fifty years old—just Basil's age when he was called to his reward.

* "Luctuosa tunc omnium Ecclesiarum facies, sed nullius luctuosior quam Constantinopolitanæ, in qua jam ab annis quadraginta grassata fuerat Ariana lues, sub pontificibus hæreticorum antesignanis atque etiam ipsis novorum dogmatum conditoribus; sub principibus, quales fuere Constantius et Valens, qui hæreticorum partes tuebantur, Catholicos vexabant, et pro errore contra veritatem toto, ut ita dicam, imperii corpore certabant." The state of the Church of Constantinople can be realized, when it is remembered that Paul, the orthodox bishop of that See, was murdered by the Arians in 339:—"Hanc [sedem], relicta sede

The cruelty of the Arians in Constantinople defies description. Baronius says that the gates of hell seemed to have been opened upon the city. This was during the reign of Valens. The churches were "filled with furious devils and legions of unclean spirits." Priests were burnt alive. Churches were converted into sepulchres, and their walls were sprinkled with the blood of saints; whilst the Catholics were outraged, and driven into exile.* The city swarmed with various sects, Novatians, Macedonians, Photians, Marcellians, Sabellians, Eunomians, and Apollinarists,—all sunk their mutual detestation in their common hatred of the Catholic Church. How great a wrench it was for Gregory to leave his quiet wilderness for such a post as this, can only be realized by those who have read his letters and pondered on his life.†

Nicomediensi, Ariani dux agminis confestim, eo anno invasit Eusebius, post quem in Macedonii manus infelix hæc Ecclesia devenit. Expulso ab ipsismet Arianis . . . Eudoxius fæx hæreticorum . . . Aetii Arianorum longe impiissimi discipulus suffectus est." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I. in Vita S. Gregorii, Cap. CXXII., p.* 211; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

* "Ariani summa rerum Ecclesiæ potiti, vix pietatis 'reliquias,' et excitandæ a Gregorio fidei 'semina' reliquerant. Templorum alia ab hæreticis occupata, atque in primis amplissimum illud 'Sophia cognominatum,' tunc 'diaboli propugnaculum' magis quam ecclesia, ubi suos ille milites collocarat [Valens]; imo ubi 'dæmonum exercitus, furiarumque ac spirituum legiones aderant immundorum.' Alia 'ex templis in sepulchra commutata, alia cruore sanctorum aspersa profanataque,'" &c. (*Ibidem, Cap. CXXIII., p.* 212—213.)

† See how glad he was to depart; and how *Christ* was the prime-mover of his life:—

"Cunctis simul, aula et urbibus, et sacerdotibus
Sponte relictis, ut olim optabam
Cum me Deus et nocturnis vocavit somniis,
Et maris horrendi molestis terroribus.

He speaks of himself, when going thither, as coming from an obscure corner of the earth, with his limbs drawn together by old age ; his body bent to the ground ; his countenance furrowed with wrinkles, and wasting away with fasting and tears; with a harsh and uncultivated voice, and coarse raiment ;—poverty-stricken as the poorest of the poor.

He commenced his mission in an obscure room, which afterwards grew into the stately church of S. Anastasia.* In spite of what he says of himself, his mission was almost a miraculous success. His cultivated eloquence, and his gentleness, drew men of all persuasions to his little chapel.† His great charity towards his enemies, his high Christian spirit, produced a deep impression. True he was slandered, he was scoffed at, he was dragged before the tribunal, he was stoned,—but it was of no avail ; all he said of

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Idcirco lætitia exsultans invidiam fugi, atque ex magna
Tempestate in stabili portu rudentem fixi.
Ubi puris mentis cogitationibus animum evehens,
Etiam silentium, instar victimæ, ut antea sermonem, offeram.
Gregorii hæc verba sunt, quem aluit terra
Cappadocum, quique pro Christo omnibus se abdicavit."
(Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. III., Carminum Lib. II., Sectio I., Poemata de Seipso, v.* 26—36, *p.* 1030 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.)*

* "Anastasia, templorum maxime venerabile,
Quæ jacentem humi fidem exsuscitasti,
Arca Noe, quæ diluvium mundi
Sola effugisti, et alterum portasti
In seminibus mundum orthodoxum."
(Ibidem, v. 1079—1083, *p.* 1103.)

† Nothing was more marked than his moderation in controversy. See his Oration, *De Moderatione in Disputando, Tom. II., Oratio XXXII., p.* 174—211 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVI.*

his bitterest enemies was : " Lord lay not this sin to their charge." *

The fame of Gregory as an eloquent defender of the faith was soon carried throughout the East. S. Jerome in Syria heard of him, and undertook a wearisome journey to Constantinople, in order to become his disciple : " I exult and glory," says S. Jerome, " in his being my master." †

Gregory was not made for the excitements of ecclesiastical politics. ‡ He threw up his episcopal position on the first opportunity, and retired once more into his beloved solitude, to die to self, to live to Christ, to conquer his passions, to write his

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* *Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I. in Vita, Cap. CXXXVI., p.* 217—218 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*

† " Res plane admiratione digna est ut cum Baronio loquar, hominem, quem ob insignem eruditionem consulerent Occidentales episcopi, qui orbem doceret, tam longa et difficilia itinera peragrasse, ut Gregorii mereretur esse auditor ac sub tanto magistro posset profiteri discipulum ; inde sibi summum gloriæ decus conciliaturum existimans cum accessione doctrinæ. Imo eo nomine . . . gloriari consuevit : 'Ego eo magistro glorior et exsulto.'" *(Ibidem, Cap. CXXXVII., p.* 218. See also *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epist. L., p.* 513 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.* Also *Tom. II., Adver. Jovin, Lib. I., p.* 230 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.)* " Numquid in illa Epistola Gregorium virum eloquentissimum non potui nominare ? Quis apud Latinos par sui est ? quo ego magistro glorior et exsulto." *(Tom. II., Adv. Lib. Rufini, p.* 407 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.)*

‡ " Ego Jonas propheta ero.
Trado me ipse ad salutem navis,
Quamvis procellæ nulla in me causa residet
Sublatum me sortis exitu projicite.
Cetus hospitalis me ex profundo excipiet.
. . . . . Gloria hæc erit mea
Sin ad me usque perstetis, id unum
Mulctam esse, et pugnam pro thronis existimo . . .
Abscedo ; . . . . . ita affectum suadet.
Unam mortem debeo ; hæc in Dei manu sita est."
(Opp. S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. III., Carminum, Lib. II., Sectio I., Poemata de Seipso, v.* 1838—1851, *p.* 1158—1159 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXVII.* See also his *Oratio XXVI., in Seipsum,* § 4, *p.* 1231, where he calls himself " Ille timidus pastor et circumspectus."—*Opp., Tom. I., Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.)*

pious Iambics, and his letters, and then to die. His life at Arianzus was nearly as hard a one as S. Basil's had been. It "was spent in fasting, tears, and watchings; his knees were worn and wounded with kneeling; his bed was of straw, his coverlet a coarse sackcloth, his habit a single tunic; he went barefoot, lived without the use of fire, and had no company but wild beasts. But notwithstanding his austerities, his continual sickness, and his great age, he still felt violent struggles of the flesh against the spirit." *

And though his career had been one course of rigid penance, he had his trial even at the last hour, when more than ninety years of age. He seemed to see as he was dying, "the horrid darkness of hell, the flame of fire, and the blackest night." Then, stretching his hand to heaven, and calling upon the choirs of the blessed, with his whole heart yearning towards God, he earnestly besought Christ to receive him, and not to abandon His own image;—and thus he found rest at last, and delivered his pure spirit into the hands of his Creator.†

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* Fleury's *Eccles. History* (Oxford), *Book XIX.*, § 11, *p.* 156.

† "Quamvis autem asperam semper, victuque horridam duxisset vitam, sæviens in corpus, carnem vigiliis, jejuniis aliisque pœnitentiæ laboribus afflictans, extremæ vitæ certamen imminere sentiens, jamjam 'tartarum caligine horrendum' videre sibi videbatur, et 'ignis flammam, altissimamque noctem.' Tum supplex ad sidera palmas tendebat, totoque corde ad Deum aspirans, Christum enixe rogabat ut se exciperet, et imaginem suam non desereret. Ita beatissimus senex 'proxime moriturus, cycneo cantu Domino cantans purissimum Deo spiritum' reddidit, ac optatam quietem cum agminibus beatorum adeptus est. Mortuum hunc esse anno undecimo Theodosii imperatoris, sive anno 389, ex Hieronymo discimus." (*Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I. in Vita*, § 173, *p.* 236—237; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.*)

Gregory was of middle height; his complexion was pale; his nose inclined to be flat; his right eye, on account of a wound, had a melancholy cast; his expression was sweet; he was in part bald, his hair was white; his beard short and dense, and of a dusky hue close to the face.*

With all his amiability, this Father was a firm column in his defence of the teachings of Nicæa. His fourty-five discourses, or dogmatic and polemical treatises, have ever been held in high esteem. Those directed against the Eunomians and the Macedonians are called *theological*, and are looked upon as the most important of his works. How greatly his teachings on the responsibilities of the pastoral office were prized by such men as S. John Chrysostom and S. Gregory the Great, is evident from the fact that the former, in his treatise on *The Priesthood*, and the latter, in his four books on *Pastoral Solicitude*, have taken S. Gregory Nazianzen as a model. Eloquence, fidelity, and a love of truth—all subservient to an intense personal love of Christ—characterize the taste

* "Corpore robusto fuit Gregorius, sed assiduis morbis vitæque molestiis, prætereaque jejuniis, vigiliis, chameuniis ita fracto ac debilitato, ut sibi senectutem, quod ipsemet testatur, acceleraverit. Anonymus Græcus, a Baronio laudatus, qua statura fuerit his verbis exprimit in codice 540 Bibl. Vat.: 'Statura mediocri erat, pallidus aliquantulum, non tamen citra venustatem: depresso naso, superciliis in rectum protensis, aspectu blando et suavi, altero oculo nempe dextro subtristis, quem cicatrix quædam contrahebat, barba non promissa sed densa tamen. Qua parte calvus non erat nam subcalvus erat, albos crines habebat, summas item barbæ partes velut fumo obsitas ostendebat." *(Opp.* S. Gregorii Theologi, *Tom. I. in Vita*, § 175, *p.* 237; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXXV.* See also *Opp.* S. Basilii, *Tom. I., Historia Institutionis* [*Trip. Fest.*] *Ex Menæis Impressis, Prolegomena, p.* 392; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.)*

of this beautiful and gentle light of the Eastern Church.*

Well may he have gained the heart of a man of a nature sterner than his own—of the Origen of the West, the great S. Jerome. For three years did that great Dalmatian live in intimate familiarity with S. Gregory the Theologian, charmed by the eloquent flow of his cultivated oratory, and subdued by his mastery over theologic truth. Whatever bore upon it the stamp of genius, or of earnest Christian love, took instant possession of Jerome's impressionable heart. There is no Father of the Church whose character is so hard to seize as that of the Solitary of Bethlehem. The very voluminousness of his correspondence with saintly and heroic ladies, with popes, literary men, and monastic friends, makes it all the more difficult to do justice to the vigour, fire, and passion of his character.† By means of his iron will, he tamed his fierce and imperious nature, and curbed himself down with the violence

* The principal dates connected with the life of S. Gregory *Theologus* are the following :—Born shortly before 329 ; arrives at Athens about 350 ; Basil leaves Athens 355 ; Gregory leaves 356 ; joins Basil in retirement 358 or 359 ; leaves to help his father 360 or 361 ; made Presbyter 361 ; collision with Julian 361 ; leaves, and returns home 362 ; fall of Julian 363 ; retires to Pontus again 364 ; Cæsarius dies 368 or 369 ; Gregory made Bishop of Sasima 372 ; his father dies 374 ; Gorgonia dies 374 ; flies to Seleucia 375 ; called to Constantinople 379 ; Theodosius supports him 380 ; Council of Constantinople 381 ; retires to Arianzus 383 ; dies 389 or 390. (Vid. *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tomi II. III., Lib. de Viris Illustribus, Cap. CXVII., p.* 707—709 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.)*

† For a token of his retentive memory of trifling incidents in his early life, see *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tomi II., III., Apologia Adversus Libros Rufini, n.* 30, *p.* 422 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*

of a heroic love to the foot of the Cross.* The huge strength of his rebellious heart, and its fierce contest with grace, bear about them elements of the sublime. To see the strong man writhing with the supremest effort of his being, grasped in the coils of a monster serpent: to watch the breathless exertion of the one, and the silent, remorseless, ever-increasing pressure of the other, to see two mighty powers fairly matched, wrestling in a death-struggle, cannot but frighten and fascinate the mind.†

Jerome had been ordained presbyter at Antioch. He had gone through his great trial before he came to Constantinople; he had conquered; and his life was now dedicated to unwearied work in the service of the Church. Most lofty souls, men who are eventually called by God to defend His cause, have themselves to suffer trial and temptation; and often in proportion to the greatness of the test, is the largeness of the service which they are destined to perform. Jerome was no exception to this general rule. A rapid review, up to the date at which the great crisis of his life began, will throw a light upon his subsequent career.

He was born at Strido, and is believed to

* See how he lays down the principle which dominated his whole career. *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tomi II. III., Commentarius in Ecclesiasten, p,* 1030; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*

† See how he speaks as one knowing infirmity. *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epist. CXXV., ad Rusticum Monachum, n.* 17, *p.* 1076; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII. See also Epist. CXIX., n.* 5, *p.* 964; *Epist. XIV., n.* 4—5, *p,* 349, &c.

have been of Dalmatian parents.* Of his father and mother nothing is known, except that they were Christians. But it is most probable that from his earliest years the boy's heart was fostered in the love of Christ, and that the high principles of orthodox Christianity were deeply engraved upon his mind.† There is no doubt that, when he set out for Rome, at the age of seventeen, he carried with him such a store of principle as enabled him, if not altogether to lead a spotless life, at all events to appreciate Christian virtue.

Though Rome could not rival Alexandria,—with its museum and its ornamental buildings, with its theatre and *gymnasia*, with its royal palace and famous *serapeum*, with its ampitheatre and library and *stadium;* though it could not boast of such world-wide names as Athens, or of so many gifts of costly taste,—still none could excel it in instilling the elements of knowledge into the mind of youth. The Capitol seems to have been the seat of education. Teaching was placed under the protection of the State. Grammar (including language, metre, criticism, and history), rhetoric, philosophy, and jurisprudence, had each a certain number of Chairs assigned to them.

Had S. Jerome followed the usual *curriculum*, he would already have had his course of

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* *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme, ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française,* par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, *Chap. I., p.* 4—5. *Deuxième Edition.*

† *Ibidem, Chap. I., p.* 13.

geography and grammar. It is certain that he studied classics under Donatus; that he excelled all his companions in his knowledge of Greek antiquity; and learnt to speak Latin with an astonishing fluency and elegance. Then he applied himself to oratory and dialectics, and very possibly acquired a tincture of law, mathematics, and philosophy.* The impress of the Roman mind seems to have remained on him for life. That strength, vigour, and directness of intellect, which belong to a conquering and governing class, show themselves repeatedly in the various vicissitudes of his career.

Of the wickedness of Rome at the period of its decline, mention has been made. How many temptations its streets, and shows, and teeming population would offer to one in the fresh heat of youth, full of energy, impressionable, curious, imaginative, and but lately come from his wild woodlands of Dalmatia, need not be described. Perhaps they were greater than those at Athens. Gregory and Basil may have had less to undergo than Jerome and Bonosus.† Anyhow, it appears that the young Dalmatian stained his imagination with dangerous sights, and fell into the sins of youth during his academical career. It is not so surprising that he did not remain immaculate, as

* *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, *Chap. I., p.* 23. *Deuxième Edition.*

† *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epist. III., n.* 4, *p.* 334; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

that he was able, with his passionate temperament, to keep on the narrow path at all; but he bore the Image of the Crucified within him.* His mind was naturally noble and devoted, though his animal man was strong, and the grace of God at length subdued him with its impressive influence, and tamed him into one of the most indefatigable servants of the Cross.

At Rome he was baptized.† Thence, he went with Bonosus to Aquileia, and to Treves on the Moselle. Here he transcribed S. Hilary's Commentaries on the Psalms, and on the Synods. Here that mighty principle, which has fashioned so many men into saints, took possession of his mind. The great S. Athanasius had dwelt, during one of his banishments, in Treves; and had left a tradition concerning Eastern monastic life, which had not died away.‡ What

* See Alzog's *Manuel de Patrologie*, § 67, *p.* 365.

† Like S. Basil and S. Gregory, the most dangerous time of youth was allowed to pass before Jerome received the Sacrament of Baptism—that is to say, the period when the powers have begun to show their force, and are new and strange, and not yet mastered. The following is instructive:—"Non alius forsitan e catholicis Patribus absolutam accipiendi baptismatis necessitatem magis asseruit quam Ambrosius variis locis, ad potissimum *Lib. II. de Abraham*, *Cap. II.*, *num.* 84, *Serm.* 3 *in Psal. CXVIII.*, *num.* 14, *et Lib. de Mysteriis*, *Cap.* 4, *num.* 20. Verum omnia illa testimonia sic accipi debent, ut baptismus, quem dicunt in voto, cum baptismus in aqua haberi nequit, ad salutem sufficere minime negetur . . . Innocentius tertius Pont. Max. epistola Cremonensi Episcopo scripta sincerum ejusdem sacramenti desiderium, cum ipsum in re accipere non licet, salutem afferre Doctoris nostri testimonio confirmat: quam opinionem tum ejusdem Ambrosii, tum Augustini auctoritate amplecti se dicit Bernardus Tractatu ad Hugonem Victorinum . . . Denique citant Hugo Vict. *de Sacram. Baptism.*, *Cap.* 5., Beatus Thomas *III.*, *p.* 968, *a.* 2. Magist. Sent. *in IV. Dist.* 4, § *sunt et alii*, et post eos vulgus scholasticorum." (Vid *Opp.* S. Ambrosii, *Tomi Secundi et Ultimi*, *Pars Prior*, *De obitu Valentiniani Consolatio*, *n.* 30, *note f*, *p.* 1368; *Patrolog. Lat.*, *Vol. XVI.*)

‡ *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, *Chap. II.*, *p.* 51—52.

Jerome had heard at Treves, was confirmed at Aquileia, by Evagrius, who had come hither on an embassy from the Syrian Church. With him Jerome soon struck up a friendship. His ardent nature was roused by the accounts, given by the ambassador, of the lives of the Eastern monks, and of the penances of the Solitaries. That cord of heroism, which seems to be strung across the heart of every man of lofty mind, was struck, and vibrated throughout his soul. It is the old story of the constraining power of sacrifice and of holocaustic charity. It is simply Anthony, Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory over again; heaven opened in a moment of grace, and Jerome, like the rest, beheld the cardinal truth, that heaven is purchased cheaply, at the sacrifice of all the earth can offer.*

Jerome and his friends started for the East, and after a long pilgrimage reached Cæsarea, and there became acquainted with the great S. Basil. From him, Jerome would have learnt many a tradition of the Oriental Church. But he did not bide long at Cæsarea. He set out again on his voyage, and after a fatiguing journey, arrived, with Evagrius, at Antioch.†

And now it was that the great trial of his

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* *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epistola CXVIII. ad Julianum, n.* 5, *p.* 964; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.* S. Jerome puts out his whole thought in his *Life of S. Paul the Hermit.* See *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. II., Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitæ, n.* 17, *p.* 28; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*

† The death of many of his friends, about this time, turned his mind to serious thoughts. See *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, *Chap. III., p.* 83. *Deuxième Edition.*

life came upon him; now it was that that huge piece of precious ore, so rough, shapeless, and full of dross, was cast into the heated furnace,—till he who had lived too familiarly with earth, stood up, bright and purified, with all the love of clay burnt out of him.

Jerome had not undertaken this long journey without a motive: it was not merely to see the hermits, and to hear of the wondrous deeds of Anthony, and Hilarion, and Paul; but it was to give himself wholly to God, in imitation of their lives.

When at Antioch, his friends left him, and he fell grievously ill.* He abandoned the gay city, and betook himself into the wide-spread and burning desert of Chalcis, on the confines of Arabia. Here he dwelt, he tells us, "in a vast solitude, burnt up by the rays of the sun." Well may his young heart have become as sad as death, under the trial which now cast its shadow over him. He had, with all the fierce earnestness of his soul, determined to give his life to Christ alone. But he carried his nature with him into the wilderness. Forms of human beauty, and the joys of youth, assaulted his excited imagination. His great heart had to be quelled, conquered, and purified.† He clothed his

* The example of S. Malchus was not without its influence on S. Jerome. See *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, *Chap. III., p.* 98. *Deuxième Edition.*

† *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epistola CXXV., ad Rusticum Monachum, n.* 7, *p.* 1075—1076; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

body, withered and blackened by the sun, with the prickly sackcloth of a penitent. Day and night went and came, and found Jerome's eyes streaming with tears. Cold water and raw food were his only nourishment. Yet, whilst kneeling in the midst of scorpions and poisonous reptiles, in spite of his terrific self-inflictions, his mind seemed to be wrenched out of his power, and to be carried away amidst those choirs of graceful maidens who had so deeply impressed his imagination when studying in Rome.* Still he persevered in the mighty struggle. His face grew livid through the severity of his fasts ; his body was brought to the edge of the grave. Still the tempter battled in his heart. O, how forlorn he felt in that great wilderness of sand, under the scorching glare of the sun, abandoned by all, except by that one enemy which he was struggling to expel ! " Therefore," he says, " deprived of all succour, I lay at the feet of Jesus, I washed them with my tears, and wiped them with my hair."

And there was another weakness which he did not seem able to overcome—his passionate love of pagan classics. He alternated his abstinence and watchings with readings from Cicero, and he became disgusted with the language of the Prophets, because he had loved to revel in the jests

* *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epistola XXII., ad Eustochium, Paulæ Filiam, n.* 4, *p.* 396 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

and comedies of Plautus.* He could not endure the "*sermo incultus*" of the inspired writers, after the pure diction and graceful turns of that disedifying poet.

"When I could not see the light with my blind eyes," he says, "I did not blame my eyes, but I blamed the sun." † In the midst of this struggle, a terrific fever, probably brought on by excitement, bad food, and the blinding sun, seized upon his emaciated frame, already broken by penitential rigour. It appears to have struck into all his joints, and to have loosened all his bones. He lay on the sand motionless. Those about him taking him to be dead, made preparations to bury him. A mere flickering of life, too faint for them to perceive, hardly retained his soul in its frail tenement. There as he lay prone, partly on earth and yet as it were half in eternity, suddenly he was rapt in spirit and swiftly borne before the tribunal of the Almighty Judge.

So glaring was the light in heaven, and so fierce a flame flashed from those who stood around the throne, that Jerome cast himself upon the ground and did not dare to lift his head. A fierce voice asked: "What art thou?" "A Christian," replied the trembling youth. "Thou liest," exclaimed the Judge, "thou art a Ciceronian,

* *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epistola XXII., ad Eustochium, Paulæ Filiam, n.* 7, *p.* 338—339; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

† *Ibidem, n.* 30, *p.* 416.

not a Christian, for where thy treasure is, there also is thy heart!" Struck dumb, Jerome said within himself: "Who shall confess to Thee in hell?" * The ministers then smote him with their staves, whilst he cried out under their blows: "Have mercy on me O Lord, have mercy on me!" Then those at the throne falling on their knees, besought the Judge to have pity on the young man's youth, and to give him a season for repentance, if he promised to abandon the writings of the pagans. Jerome swore the oath, and thus the vision ended.† Nor was this a mere imagination. He says that his shoulders were livid with bruises, and that his body ached with pain, after the scene had passed away. Thus the dross was melted out and the gold remained. The grand principle of Jerome's subsequent life is summed up in his own pregnant words: "The perfect servant of Christ possesses Christ alone." ‡ Jerome now was free. His solitude became sweet to him as honey in the honeycomb. He had drunk of the torrent on the way, wherefore he now lifted up his head.

He remained four years in the wilderness of

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* *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epistola XXII. ad Eustochium, Paulæ Filiam, n.* 30, *p.* 416; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

† *Ibidem, n.* 30, *p.* 417.

‡ See his whole tone of mind, how it concentrates on and lives in Christ; and how Christ is his one lever and argument to move his friend to follow his example. *Ibidem, Epist. XIV., ad Heliodorum, n.* 6, *p.* 351, *n.* 10, *p.* 354; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

Chalcis. Here he worked at Hebrew, annotated portions of the Scripture, and corresponded on the joys of a solitary life and on other subjects with his many friends. But he was not suffered to bide in peace. To escape the unpleasantness of theologic strife, he betook himself to Antioch (379). Here he was ordained a presbyter. Thence he went to Constantinople, as has been said, drawn by the eloquence and fame of S. Gregory *Theologus.**

Rome, Aquileia, Treves, Antioch, Chalcis, Constantinople,—Jerome had been well prepared for carrying out a work worthy of an Œcumenical Doctor of the Church. Though Meletius had died, his schism had not expired with him. S. Jerome, to extinguish it, accompanied S. Epiphanius and Paulinus to Rome. Here he became intimate with Pope Damasus, was nominated secretary to the Council, and then secretary to the Pontiff.

Now began his career of influence. Two master-passions, intimately connected with one another, possessed his mind:—love of the Holy Scriptures, and love of the monastic state. His entire course, from this time forth, was absorbed in commenting on, translating, and spreading abroad the Word of God; and in drawing men and women away from the luxuries and hollowness of the world,

* *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, *Chap. IV.*, *p.* 180—181.

into a life of entire self-dedication to the Cross.*

He became chief councillor of Pope Damasus, and translated the New Testament into Latin at his request. Nor was he idle in pushing forward the principles of monastic life. He took up the work which S. Athanasius had begun. Marcella, who dwelt with her mother Albina and her sister Asella in a great palace on the Aventine,—a hill afterwards known so well to the Angelical—put herself under his direction; and the elegant Albina welcomed the *élite* of Christian society which was drawn to hear the austere Solitary of Chalcis expound the deep meaning of the Sacred Word.† Great, nay overpowering, was the influence of the earnest-hearted Jerome. His noble mien, his rigid ascetic face, the light in his eye when he spoke of the Crucified, his force of character, and the simplicity of his aim, fascinated the intelligences of the most beautiful and most accomplished ladies of Imperial Rome. He knew, as no other, how to display before their imaginations a scheme of life far more seductive to a really generous mind than all the charms the world is capable of offering.‡

* His letters are full of the grand principle of throwing up all, and gaining Christ. Our Lord is the solution and response to all difficulties and complaints. *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epistola XXII., ad Eustochium Paulæ Filiam, n.* 39—40, *p.* 423—424; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

† *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme* par l'Abbe Eugène Bernard, *Chap. V., p.* 252—253. *Deuxième Edition.*

‡ *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tomi II. III., Commentarius in Ecclesiasten ad Paulam et Eustochium, Præfatio, p.* 1009; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.*

Having gained a permanent hold on the intellect of high society in Rome, Jerome's mission was accomplished. Damasus had died. Envy and calumny went hand in hand to slander him who fearlessly condemned the loose lives of many of the Roman clergy.* S. Jerome bade adieu to the Eternal City, and betook himself once more to Antioch. Hither Paula and Eustochium, two of his Roman penitents, came to meet him. They then travelled into Palestine and Egypt. They visited Alexandria, and explored the wilderness of Nitria, when Isidore the Confessor came forth with "a countless multitude of monks" to meet them. Paula and Eustochium now saw with their very eyes those men of whom they had heard so much. They visited the most celebrated Solitaries, and prostrated themselves at their feet; and had it not been for their yearning after Palestine, these high-born, fastidious Roman ladies would have spent the rest of their lives amidst the burning sand of this inhospitable wilderness.†

But Christ drew Jerome and Paula both to Bethlehem.‡ After a chequered career, Jerome settled down, at forty years of age, to realize that

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* What S. Jerome said of clerks in his day, resembles what Elinand said of some priests in his time. See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. IV., p.* 65; see Fleury, *Eccles. Hist., Book XVIII.*, § 36, *p.* 81. *Oxford.*

† See Fleury, *Eccles. Hist.*, § 37, *p.* 85. *Oxford.*

‡ *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbé Eugène Bernard, *Chap. VIII., p.* 361. *Deuxième Edition.*

life of study and retirement which he had conceived to be the highest vocation of a Christian man. He chose a spot close to the cave of Christ. It was Chalcis over again. Bread and roots were his only food; he would possess nothing; he lived on the charity of Paula. His fasts were long; his sleep short; he reposed on the bare earth; the time not dedicated to prayer and penance was spent in teaching; he passed the night studying the Word of God.*

A little colony soon gathered round him. In course of time, four monasteries were erected within easy distance of his cave. The principles of Anthony and S. Pachomius lived in the hearts of many a holy monk and nun who found a retreat near the Solitary's cell. Hundreds of strangers from every quarter of the world were attracted to Bethlehem. Paula constructed a hospice to receive them. And thus an active centre of Catholic energy was fixed in the most hallowed spot of the Christian world. †

Here S. Jerome began and completed his life's work. What he had done for the New Testament, at Rome, that he was now going to spend five laborious years in accomplishing for the Old. Here it was that in his rugged cave, with indomitable courage he finished another transla-

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* *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I. in Vita, Chap. VIII., n.* 1, *p.* 63; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

† *Ibidem, Chap. XXXII.*, § 3, *p.* 143.

tion from the Hebrew. Here he wrote upon S. Paul and the Prophets; here he passed portions of the night listening to the instructions of Bar-anina; here he taught grammar and theology, translated Origen, and wrote his voluminous Commentaries on almost every portion of the Sacred Scripture. Of his disagreement with Rufinus and its cause; of his misunderstanding with John of Jerusalem; of his writings against Vigilantius, Helvidius, Jovinian, and the Pelagians; of his correspondence with S. Augustine;* of his opinion on S. Chrysostom—this is not the place to speak. A man of huge power of work, of an unwearied industry, of dauntless courage, large heart, and sharp, direct, incisive tongue, he carried through his giant task, held his own, maintained and spread abroad the monastic principle, and ruled supreme over hearts of the most exquisite sensibility, and minds of the highest culture. He was a firm uncompromising stay of the Holy See; he loathed heresy and all its blighted offspring; and his vigour is never more powerfully displayed than when he is either castigating the arrogance of subtle sensuality, or unmasking the hypocritical scrupulosity of ecclesiastical reformers.† He was too honest, straight, logical himself to be taken in by smoothness, or to be overawed by power.

* *Les Voyages de S. Jérôme*, par l'Abbe Eugène Bernard, *Chap. VIII., p.* 429—430. *Deuxième Edition.*

† *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epistola CXXIII., ad Ageruchiam, n.* 12, *p.* 1053; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.* See also *Epist. CXXX. ad Demetriadem, n.* 16, *p.* 1120; *Epist. XCVIII., n.* 19, *p.* 807; *Epist. CXXXIII. ad Ctesiphontem, n.* 2, *p.* 1148; *Epist. LXXV. ad Theodoram Viduam, n.* 3, *p.* 687.

So he fulfilled his destiny. Hard penance, ceaseless work, and the pressure of time, at length enfeebled his strength and impaired his sight. His beloved ones were taken one by one from him to their reward. S. Paula had died, Marcella and Pammachius appear to have perished. Rome had been besieged and sacked. And at length Eustochium, the last of all his friends, was snatched away by the hand of death.* His body became stricken by the palsy of old age.†

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* *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Epistola CXLIII., ad Alypium et Augustinum, n.* 2, *p.* 1181 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.* See also *in Vita, Cap. XXXVI.*, § 10, *p.* 171.

† The principal works of S. Jerome are :—

Tom. I.—Epistolæ, Prima Classis, p. 326—376 (an. 370—380) ; Secunda Classis, p. 376—484 (an. 382—385) ; Tertia Classis, p. 484—774 (an. 386—400) ; Quarta Classis, p. 774—1192 (an. 401—420). Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.

Tom. II.—Vitæ S. Pauli, S. Hilarionis et Malchi, p. 18—61 ; Libb. II., adv. Jovinianum, p. 211—337 ; Lib. cont. Vigilantium, p. 337—355 ; Apologia adv. Libros Rufini, p. 397—495 ; Lib. de Viris Illustribus, 602—719. Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.

Tom. III.—Lib. de Nominibus Hebraicis, p. 771—935 ; Lib. Hebraic. Quæst. in Gen., p. 935—1009 ; Comment. in Ecclesiasten, p. 1009—1117. Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIII.

Tom. IV.—Comment. in Isaiam, Libb. XVIII., p. 9—679 ; Comment. in Jeremiam, Libb. VI., p. 679—901. Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIV.

Tom. V.—Comment. in Ezechielem, p. 15—491 ; in Danielem, p. 491—584 ; in Lament. Jeremiæ, p. 787—809. Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXV.

Tom. VI.—Comment. in Osee, 809—947 ; in Joelem, 947—989 ; in Amos, 989—1097 ; in Abdiam, 1097—1117 ; in Jonam, 1117—1151 ; in Michæam, 1151—1231 ; in Naum, 1231—1273 ; in Abacuc, 1273—1337 ; in Sophoniam, 1337—1387 ; in Aggæum, 1387—1415 ; in Zachariam, 1415—1541 ; in Malachiam, 1541—1577. Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXV.

Tom. VII.—Comment. in Matthæum, p. 15—219 ; Translat. Homil. Origenis in Lucam, p. 219—307 ; Comment. ad Galatas, p. 307—439 ; ad Ephesios, p. 439—555 ; ad Titum, p. 555—599 ; ad Philemonem, p. 599—619 ; in Job, p. 619—821. Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXVI.

Tom. VIII.—Interpret. Chron. Eusebii, p. 34—675 ; S. Hieronymi Chronicon, p. 675—703. Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXVII.

Tom. IX.—S. Hieron. Divinæ Bibliothecæ Pars I., p. 163—1435. Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXVII.

Tom. X.—Div. Bibliothecæ Pars II., p. 25—469; Pars III., p. 541—879. Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXIX.

his pen fell from his hand wearied with years of toil, and the Commentary on Jeremias remains unfinished to this day. Finally, the man of God felt his hour approaching; * he had reached his ninety-sixth year; he was seized by a burning fever; and he called his spiritual children round him that he might speak to them before he died. When he perceived how deeply they were touched, his face grew sad, and lifting up his eyes a little, he said with a distinct voice: "Son of Eusebius, why dost thou shed these useless tears? Is it not a vain thing to weep over a dead man? Dost thou dare to contradict what God once hath said, and what thou hast heard? Know that none can resist His will. O my son, walk not according to the flesh: cease weeping. Our weapons surely are not carnal arms." Then with a joyful expression, he said brightly to the rest: "Let sorrow cease; let grief depart; let one and all rejoice. For behold the acceptable time,

* Out of the many legends of S. Jerome's death I have been bold enough to select the most beautiful one. It may be found in Migne's *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I.*, entitled *Eusebius de Morte Hieronymi ad Damasum, p.* 239—282. Yet, it must plainly be said that, though it is too beautiful, and too much in keeping with the character and life of the Saint to be omitted, still it appears hardly to be sufficiently authentic to warrant for it an accurate historic value. At least, the writer of the Life of the Saint given by Migne dismisses it with these summary words:— "Prætereo pseudo-Eusebii ad Damasum Portuensem fabulas, quarum rationem nullam haberi velim." *(Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I. in Vita, Cap. XXXVI.*, § 11, *p.* 176; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.)* The generally received account is that of those who "narrant ita eum vires defecisse, ut nisi fune manibus apprehenso, quod ad hoc ei de trabe pendebat, surgere de lecto haud posset. Tum in levem incidisse febriculam, quæ illum, jam in carne præmortuum dissolvit. Adfuisse juxta eum monachos, et Christo dicatas virgines, atque alios undique de sanctis Locis, quos ipse alacri vultu et læto conspiciebat: aliaque his similia, quæ ut probabilitate non carent, nullo tamen certo Auctore adseruntur." *(Ibidem, p.* 176.)

behold the day of jubilation beyond all the days of my life; in which the Lord, faithful in His words and holy in all His deeds, has opened His hand to recall to the supernal country my exiled soul, redeemed by the precious blood of His Son.* Do not—most beloved children, whom in the bowels of charity I have ever loved—do not stand in the way of my happiness, and prohibit that to be consigned to the earth which belongs to it."

Then the man of God begged the monks to unclothe him and place him on the bare ground. And in obedience to his command, the brethren, whilst the tears flowed down their cheeks, began to remove the coarse sackcloth from his body; and as they were doing so they were amazed to see how starved and shrunk it was,—so emaciated had it become, that the bones could be counted by the joints; and so wounded with stripes, that it appeared like the remains of one who had been a leper. They placed him on the ground, as he had asked them, and threw a coverlet over him.†

And when the man of God felt the roughness of the earth, greatly rejoicing he turned to the brethren, who were weeping round him, and said to them: "O most dear and beloved children, whom I have begotten in the bowels of Jesus

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* *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I. Eusebius de Morte Hieronymi, Cap. XII., p.* 245; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

† *Ibidem, Tom. I. in Vita, p.* 264; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

Christ, I exhort you through the tender charity by which I love you, to cease your weeping, and to be at peace. . . . O what a gain it is to me to die! for henceforth Christ will be my life! Come, O my sister, my spouse, my friend, my beloved, show me where He is Whom my soul loveth! Show me where my Lord feedeth, where my Christ reposeth! Stretch forth Thy Hand, and draw me to Thee. Show Thy Light to him who sitteth in darkness, to him who dwelleth in the region of the shadow of death—enlighten me now, that I may never more sleep in death?" *

These burning words simply made them cry the more. "O father," they exclaimed, "what shall we do without thee? Whither shall we go? We have walked in the light of thy countenance; thou hast been the glory of our strength; O that we could die together with thee!" †

Moved by these words, the old man wept, and turning to his disconsolate children, said: "Now, O brave soldiers of Christ, trust in the Lord, and in the power of His strength. Fear not; you shall receive mercy from the Lord, and shall hope in Him." Then, with a cheerful voice, "Come hither, that I may touch you, O my children, before I depart." And as they approached him, he took each of them in his arms, as well as he

* *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Cap. XXXVI., p.* 264; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

† *Ibidem, Cap. XXXVIII., p.* 265.

could, and embracing them one by one, sealed each with the kiss of peace. Then, raising his voice a little, with a joyful and serene countenance, with his face turned towards the Lord, his hands extended towards the heavens, and his eyes flooded with tears, he said: "Sweet Jesus, my Strength, my Refuge, my Receiver and my Liberator, my Praise, in Whom I have hoped, in Whom I have believed, and Whom I have loved, . . . extend unto me the right hand of Thy clemency.* Tarry not, O Lord; for it is time that dust return to dust, and the spirit return to Thee, the Saviour, who sent it hither. Open the gates of life. . . . Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me, and illuminate me with the light of Thy everlasting vision!"

Whilst he was speaking in this strain, one of the brethren brought to him the Body of our Lord.† When the man of God saw it in the distance, with the help of those around him he lay flat upon the earth and cried: "O Lord, who am I that I am worthy that Thou shouldst enter under my roof? Does a sinful man merit this? Indeed, O Lord, I am not worthy! Am I better than all my fathers? Thou wouldst not show Thyself to Moses, even in the twinkling of an eye. Why, therefore, dost thou so far humble Thyself as to suffer Thyself to come to a publican and sinner?

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* *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Cap. XLIII., p.* 267—268; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

† *Ibidem, Cap. XXXIX., p.* 265.

and desirest, not only to eat with him, but commandest him to partake of Thee." *

Then when the priest approached, "the glorious man," assisted by the rest, rose on his knees, and whilst they held him lest he should fall, with many sighs and tears, and continually smiting his breast, he said: "Art Thou my God and my Lord who didst suffer for me, or some other? Truly thou art God and man.—Look, O Lord, upon my humility, nor shut me up in the hands of the enemy. This day will I enter into the place of Thy undefiled tabernacle, to live in Thy house for length of days for evermore." †

Having thus spoken, the man of God received the "Glorious Sacred Body of the Lord," and prostrated himself again upon the earth. Then placing his hands over his breast in the form of a cross, he sang the Prophecy of Simeon. ‡ When he had ended, suddenly a great light filled the place—so bright that the brethren could with difficulty look upon the form of the dying Solitary. And in the midst of the light, swift angels were seen flying hither and thither, "like sparks among the reeds." Some did not see the angels, but only heard a heavenly voice, saying: "Come, my beloved, it is time that thou receive the reward of those labours which thou hast manfully

* *Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I., Cap. XLV., p.* 269—270; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.*

† *Ibidem, Tom. I., Cap. XLVI.—LI., p.* 270—274.

‡ *Ibidem, Tom. I., Cap. LII., p.* 274—275.

sustained out of love of me." Some neither saw the angels nor heard the voice, but only, with the rest, heard blessed Jerome saying, when the voice had made an end: "Behold I come to Thee, merciful Jesus; receive the soul which Thou hast redeemed with Thy blood." *

The coruscations then faded out, and like a bright star radiating the light of every virtue, the soul of Jerome, leaving its mortal coil, ascended gloriously to the Heavenly Kingdom. †

For days afterwards that emaciated body, which looked like the remains of a leper, gave forth an exquisite perfume; prodigious miracles were worked upon the blind, and the deaf, and the dumb; and three corpses on touching it were restored to life.

Such is a brief account of the life and death of the great ascetical Scripture Father of the Church. Like S. Basil and S. Gregory, his name continually

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* M. Amédée Thierry speaks thus of the Saint's death :—"Il passa les deux dernières années de sa vie dans une morne tristesse, n'écrivant plus que pour féliciter Augustine de ses triomphes contre les pélagiens. Sa voix était devenue si faible qu'on l'entendait à peine parler, et sa maigreur excessive avait rendu son corps comme transparent. Bientôt il lui fut impossible de se lever sur son grabat sans l'aide d'une corde fixée à la voûte de sa cellule ; dans cette position, il récitait ses prières ou donnait ses instructions aux moines pour la conduite du monastère. Il expira enfin le 30 septembre de l'année 420, âgé d'environ soixante-douze ans après trente-quatre ans, de séjour à Bethléem." *(Saint Jérôme la Société Chrétienne à Rome et L'Emigration Romaine en Terre Sainte, Tome Deuxième, Livre XII.*, § 4, *p.* 241.) Some say the Saint lived more than a hundred years. *(Cf., Opp.* S. Hieronymi, *Tom. I. in Vita, Cap. XXXVI., p.* 176 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXII.)*

† These are the principal dates of S. Jerome's life. Born, 331—some, *e.g.* Du Pin, say 345 ; at Aquileia, 370 ; set out for the East, 373 ; retired to Chalcis, 374 ; went to Antioch, 379 ; Pope Damasus died, 384 ; Jerome quitted Rome 385 ; visited Egypt with Paula, &c., then returned to Palestine, 386 ; Paula died, 404 ; Jerome died, 420.

appears in the treatises of the Angelical; and the impress of his exegetical writings is distinctly discernible in the various Expositions and *Opuscula* of S. Thomas. Even if his influence were less than it is, any student of the *Summa Theologica*, and the *Catena Aurea*, would be glad to possess, in a handy form, the general outline of his career. To become personally acquainted with the great Church Fathers, whose names continually recur in the pages of S. Thomas, gives an additional stimulus to the study of his works,—indeed, without such knowledge, some portions of them would lose the greater part of their charm, and others would not be intelligible at all. Besides, the note of difference and the bond of union between the Fathers and the Angelical, should ever be insisted on.*

If S. Basil and S. Athanasius were preëminently men of iron will, and great Church rulers, the Angelical was surpassingly gifted in intellectual power. The same activity which the former displayed in the interest of ecclesiastical politics was manifested by S. Thomas in the wider,

* Touron fully appreciates the influence of the Church Fathers upon the Angelical, and the power they exerted over him:—"On ne sera point étonné, qu'il ait acquis une connoissance si profonde, de tout ce que la tradition peut nous apprendre, si on fait attention avec quelle assiduité il lisoit les Écrits des Pères, et avec quelle docilité il s'étoit rendu comme le Disciple de tous. Il nous enseigne lui-même quels sont les avantages qu'on peut retirer de la lecture de leurs Ouvrages, lorsqu'à une étude sérieuse, on ajoûte cette docilité, et ce respect, qui nous empêche ou de les négliger par paresse, ou de les mépriser par orgueil: *Plurimum valet humanum studium, dum scilicet homo sollicitè, frequenter et reverenter applicat animum suum documentis majorum, non negligens ea propter ignaviam, nec contemnens propter superbiam.*" (*Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. IV., Chap. VI.*, § 7, *p.* 388.)

higher, and more spiritual order of speculative truth. Like the Apocalyptic angel, with his right foot upon the sea and his left foot upon the earth, he was never in the full freedom of his element save when he was unravelling the secrets of some "power divine"; or contemplating with his mind, and grasping with his mighty charity, the high principles of—

"Supremest wisdom, and primeval love."

The bond of unity between the Angelical, S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory, and S. Jerome, was their devotedness in the worship of one Image; the note of difference seems to have been this: that whereas the great Church Fathers were glorious *human* saints, the Prince of the Scholastics was an *angelical* one. Those who are destined to control men, and carry measures, require keen human sympathies, ready sensibilities, and highly nervous temperaments; those who are called to dwell in the vast world of ideas, require calmness, steadiness, spirituality of mind, and a habit of abstraction, such as enable them to breathe freely on the loftiest heights, and to take in, without being made dizzy, the length as well as the breadth of theologic truth. The Fathers lived in time of war, and were battlers; the Angelical lived in comparative days of peace, and was a builder.

CHAPTER V.

S. THOMAS AND S. CHRYSOSTOM.

PART III.

THE strategical centres of Alexandria, Cæsarea, Constantinople, and Bethlehem, and the great Christian leaders Athanasius, Basil, Gregory *Theologus*, and Jerome, if no others were mentioned, would be sufficient to indicate what kind of hold the Christian Church had upon the population of the East.* Whilst in the first two or three centuries the great Pontiffs of Christianity had to apologize, and to explain their doctrine; in the fourth, they rather took the offensive, and, with the power of the Word, held up to detestation the impurities of paganism and the deadly effects of heresy and schism.

Amongst those who, more earnestly and more powerfully than any others, "in season and out of

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* De Broglie sums up well the results of the action of the Church on the world. See *L'Eglise et L'Empire Romain, Troisième Partie, Chap. IX.—Résumé et Conclusion, p.* 441. *Troisième Edition.*

season," proclaimed God's truth and swayed the minds of vast populations, was that greatest of orators, S. John Chrysostom, the Commentator *par excellence*, and the most voluminous writer of homilies amongst the Fathers.*

Of no other author of antiquity has the Angelical spoken with such eulogistic admiration, as of this great light of the Eastern Church. †

If S. Basil and S. Gregory belonged to the school of Alexandria, and represented what was best in the mind of the Adamantine, S. John Chrysostom belonged to the school of Antioch, typifying quite another class of Christian thought, more stern, real, and practical than the first, sometimes even crossing it, and always holding its own independent views respecting the inspiration and interpretation of the Scriptures, the place which philosophy should occupy in theological exposition, and the dogmatic terms which ought to be used in expressing the teachings of the Church upon the relations of the divine and human nature in our Lord. ‡

If S. Basil and S. Gregory were founded in great part upon Origen, S. Chrysostom was founded upon Origen's antagonist, the intrepid Didymus

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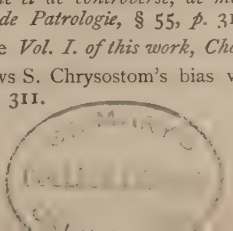
* "De tous les Pères grecs, Chrysostome est celui qui a laissé le plus d'ouvrages. Ce sont: *des explications de l'Ecriture sainte; des sermons, des traites de dogme et de controverse, de morale et d'acétisme, des lettres.*" (Alzog's *Manuel de Patrologie*, § 55, *p.* 310.)

† See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. VII., p.* 119.

‡ Alzog shows S. Chrysostom's bias very clearly. See *Manuel de Patrologie*, § 55, *p.* 311.



of Tarsus (390).* If there are unmistakable indications of Origen's teaching and method in the writings of his two principal disciples, there is no less clear and direct an evidence of the mind of Didymus in the homilies of the great orator of the East.

And thus it will be seen that the Angelical came under the influence of those two leading schools. If his imagination and poetic genius were fed by the Platonic beauties of the Alexandrian teaching, his strong, common, practical sense was invigorated by the more literal and concrete method of the school founded at Antioch by Lucian and Dorotheus. But of this later.†

The great commentator was born at Antioch—called by the Emperor Constans "the Queen of the East."‡ Antioch was surpassed by no city in the world in the teeming luxuriance of its soil, and in the activity of its commerce; and only by

* Diodorus and Theodore of Mopsueste were the first great men of the school of Antioch. They gave the school its celebrity. Diodorus was of a good family of the city. He was of the severest school of asceticism. S. Chrysostom says *(Orat. in Diod.)* that his emaciated body presented merely the shadow of a human form. He was a valiant champion of orthodoxy, amidst the theological confusions of his native town. Chrysostom calls him a "living martyr." He died in 390.

† Compare the Commentaries on the Sermon on the Mount, as given by S. John Chrysostom, and by the Angelical; bear in mind the influence on the latter of the real and ideal schools, of Antioch and Alexandria, and the impression, unless it be a fancy, which they respectively produced, appears to show itself in his method and mind. (See S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. VII., Pars Prior, Homil. XV.—XXVI., p.* 223—334; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. LVII.* And S. Thomæ Aquinat. *Opp. Omnia, Vol. X., Cap. V.—VIII., p.* 47—81. *Ed. Parm.)* The reader will anyhow perceive the influence of S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, and S. Augustine, over the Angelical.

‡ *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome,* par L'Abbé Bergier, *Liv. I.*, § 7, *p.* 10.

Constantinople and Rome in the magnificence of its galleries, palaces, and public buildings. One portion of the city lay like an amphitheatre at the foot of a rising ground, whilst the other followed the course of the Orontes, which, running through the little burgh of Daphne, fell into the Sea of Seleucia at some twelve leagues distance from the city. Antioch was nine miles in circumference, was greatly privileged by emperors, and counted two hundred thousand souls.

This was the city of the Acts of the Apostles. Here S. Peter established his See; here S. Paul preached the Gospel; here the followers of Christ were first known by the name of Christians; here S. Babylas, S. Stephen, S. Romanus, S. Barlaam, S. Pelagia, S. Domnine, and many more besides, shed their blood in testimony to the truth.

S. John was born probably in the year 341.* His father was a brave and experienced soldier; his mother a woman of great courage, character, and virtue. The one was called Secundus, the other Anthusa. Secundus died, and left his widow, a girl of only twenty years of age, with two children, one quite a tender child, the other a babe in arms. The blow of this bereavement weaned Anthusa's heart of the world; and she spent the rest of her life in the service of God, and in the education of her children.

* S. Joannis Chrysostomi, *Opera Omnia*, *Tom. I.*, *Pars Prior*, *in Vita*, *p.* 83; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XLVII.*

Little John was a boy of a very vivacious disposition; and the earnestness with which, at an early age, he devoted himself to prayer, reading, and practices of piety, was an indication of the future glories of his life.* He was looked upon by some as arrogant and passionate, but these traits were simply the expression of that force and determination of character which, in days of trial, raised him into a confessor of the faith.

After he had been imbued by his mother with the principles of Christian sacrifice, he was sent to learn rhetoric under the famous sophist Libanius. As with the other Fathers, so with this one, oratory was the great study to which he dedicated his early years.† His extraordinary abilities soon created a sensation, not amongst his companions only, but also amongst experienced pleaders of the schools. Libanius, in order to show his fellow sophists how richly his young pupil was endowed, read to them an oration composed by him in eulogy of the emperor. The assembled rhetoricians were filled with admiration as he proceeded; and Libanius turned round to them and said, when he had finished: "Happy the panegyrist to have such an

* Socrates is rather severe:—"Fuit autem, ut ferunt, ob nimium temperantiæ studium acerbior et, sicut aiebant quidam qui cum illo ab ineunte ætate familiariter vixerant, iræ magis deditus quam verecundiæ, et ob vitæ quidem sanctimoniam incautus adversus futura, ob simplicitatem vero apertus et facilis. Immodica etiam loquendi libertate erga omnes utebatur. Et in docendo quidem id præcipue spectabat ut mores audientium emendaret. In congressibus vero arrogantior videbatur iis qui mores ipsius ignorabant." (Socrates' *Hist. Eccles., Lib. VI., Cap. III., p.* 670.)

† S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I. Pars Prior, in Vita, p.* 85; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

emperor to eulogize; and happy the emperor to have such an orator to praise him!" * Being asked on his death-bed whom he desired as his successor in the chair of rhetoric, Libanius said: "I should have appointed John, had not the Christians snatched him from me." †

Having finished his course of eloquence, Chrysostom now applied himself, under the direction of Andragantius the Platonist, to philosophy. Here he also excelled. And his habits were quite in keeping with the dictates of true wisdom. Whilst his companions came to school mounted on richly-caparisoned horses, or reclining in splendid carriages, or followed by crowds of menials and swarms of slaves, John, when he did not go alone, was attended by a single servant. The enlightened principles of Christianity taught him to despise pomp, and when blamed for the simplicity of his life, he gave this reply to the astonished pagans: "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

Like the other saints, he formed, during his youth, intimacies with young men whose minds turned in the same direction as his own. Theodore, Maximus, and, especially, a certain Basil, were his constant associates. These young men, in the

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* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita, p.* 85; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

† *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome,* par l'Abbé Bergier, *Lib. I.,* § 8, *p.* 12—13.

midst of a corrupt city, did their best to live to God and to imitate the life of Christ.*

Before John was twenty years of age, he had finished his studies (357), and he devoted himself with much earnestness to pleading at the bar. A life of public excitement drew his mind from serious thoughts. One strong temptation molested him, and that was his passionate love of going to the theatre. Whilst Basil resisted, John was completely overcome. No doubt his own great gift of oratory, his warm imagination, his love of the graceful, the fair, and the refined, were too much for his powers of resistance; and he was borne, with hundreds of companions, towards worldly pastimes and emotional excitements. †

But he was recalled by Basil's voice. He trembled at the peril to which he had been exposed, and, "considering the wearisomeness and unfair subtlety of the forensic life," he made a firm resolve to dedicate himself, without reserve, to the service of the Cross.

He shut himself up in his mother's house; he put on sackcloth; he fasted rigorously; he scourged his body; the little sleep he allowed himself he

* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Posterior, De Sacerdotio, Lib. I.*, § 1, *p.* 623; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVIII.*

† He was also somewhat carried away by his successes at the Bar :— "Les liaisons nécessitées par son genre de vie, les soucis et les préoccupations qui en sont inséparables, dissipèrent cette âme jusqu'alors si calme, si recueillie : le fils d'Anthuse perdit bientôt le goût de la lecture des livres saints ; . . . la piété et ses pratiques ne sourirent plus tant à son âme, et il chercha ailleurs sa joie et son plaisir." (Bergier, *Histoire de S. Jean Chrysostome, Liv. I.*, § 9, *p.* 15—16.)

took on the ground; nor could all the murmurs of his friends withdraw him from his life of solitude and penance.* To prepare for baptism, he went to the palace of the Bishop; and after three years' probation he received the regenerating waters, and was made Lector by S. Meletius, who foresaw the future greatness of this earnest penitent (365).

Now John returned to his mother's house and practised a still more rigid observance than before, when finally he and Basil made up their minds to fly the haunts of men and serve God alone in the distant wilderness. But John found that to follow his own inclination would be to break his mother's heart. Out of dutifulness to her, he consented to let the city be his desert, and he passed his time instructing the ignorant and consoling the sorrowful. †

At this period Basil was nominated bishop. The friends had promised in such an emergency to follow each the example of the other. Both had been named. Basil consulted John. John put Basil off, and then hid himself. Basil was seized, and when he declined the proffered dignity he was assured that John had already accepted it. Upon this, Basil suffered himself to be consecrated. When he discovered how John had played upon him, he

* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita, p.* 86; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

† See how he speaks of his mother:—*Ibidem, Tom. I., Pars Posterior, De Sacerdotio, Lib. I.*, § 5, *p.* 623—625; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVIII.*

was excessively angry and hurt. But Chrysostom excused himself, alleging that, whilst he felt himself unequal to the post, he could not stand in the way of one who was so singularly fitted for the office. At this period the friends were not more than seven-and-twenty years of age (368).

The conversation which passed between John and Basil respecting this occurrence, in which John enlarged upon the dignity, the powers, and the duties of the priest, and in which Basil expressed his confusion at having been drawn into so awful a position, forms the basis of the most celebrated of Chrysostom's writings—his treatise on the priesthood.* It is divided into six books. Scripture, reason, history, and nature are brought to bear upon the *status* of the priest. He is a father, a judge, a doctor, a king, a monk, an apostle, a representative of the Divinity. The art of war, and the science of navigation, are made use of to illustrate the combats of the priest, and the dangers which lie hidden in the ocean of the world.† The priest is shown to be a divine man, a mediator between earth and heaven. His character, his powers, his prerogatives, his duties, his responsibilities—all are clearly brought out; and whilst he

* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Posterior, De Sacerdotio Libri Sex, Lib. I., p.* 623—632; *Lib. II., p.* 632—640; *Lib. III., p.* 640—660; *Lib. IV., p.* 660—672; *Lib. V., p.* 672—678; *Lib. VI., p.* 678—692; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVIII.*

† The work finishes very beautifully. *Ibidem, Lib. VI.*, § 13, *p.* 692.

is taught to love his office, he is shown how grave are his obligations in the face of God and man.

About this time an event took place which made a deep impression upon S. Chrysostom's mind. The Emperor Valens—having discovered that Hilarius and Patricius, two celebrated magicians, had, in their incantations, spoken of his overthrow and predicted a successor—ordered any one found with books of magic in his possession to be put to death. On hearing this, a rich citizen threw his volume into the Orontes. Now John, who was returning along the river's bank from a pilgrimage to the Church of the Martyrs with a friend, happened to spy this very book floating on the stream.* The friend essayed to secure it, and Chrysostom cried out to him in jest: "What you find there belongs to me; bring it here; let me see what it is." A band of the emperor's soldiers was passing at that very moment, and on opening the book, Chrysostom and his companion, to their horror, discovered it to be a treatise on the art. John cast it back instantly into the water. The soldiers had not perceived him, and he was saved. †

This occurrence, together with the death of his mother, urged Chrysostom to carry out his design

* *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, par l'Abbé Bergier, *Liv. I.*, § 25, *p.* 49.

† The Saint no doubt refers to this escape in his Homily on the Seventeenth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia.*, *Tom. IX., in Acta Apostolorum*, *Homil. XXXVIII.*, *p.* 276; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. LX.*)

of abandoning the world. But here he had great struggles to endure. Instead of pleasure, he now experienced horror at the notion of passing his life in penance; he felt it would be a torture, a martyrdom worse than death itself. The frightful solitude, the maddening silence, the nauseous food —he could not bear to think on them. He turned sick at the idea of being forced to drink lamp-oil, and to eat nothing but legumes; and he shrank from the thought of being subject to some harsh master who would make him till the land, cut wood, carry water, and live the life of a slave.*

Grace, however, conquered. Chrysostom sank self, embraced Jesus crucified, and followed Theodore and Maximus into the solitude of the distant mountains (374). †

These mountains made up a range running northwards, increasing in elevation as they fell into Cæle-Syria. Their heights stretching away into the distance were, in those days, clothed with aboriginal forests—above, black masses of wood; below, gorges and ravines, the haunts of wild animals and birds of prey. From the first ages they had been peopled by Solitaries. Here was shown, in the days of S. Chrysostom, the grotto

* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, De Compunctione ad Demetrium, Lib. I.*, § 6, *p.* 403; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

† He shows how the greatest sufferings of this life are nothing to the reward :—"Etiamsi omnia, quæ hominibus contingere possunt, mala occurrant, sive convicia, sive contumeliæ, sive ignominiæ et sycophantiæ; sive gladius, ignis, ferrum, feræ, demersiones; sive fames, morbus . . . annon, quæso, hæc irridebis et despicies?" *(Ibidem, p.* 404.)

of S. Paul. The mountains of Syria and Antioch numbered, in the fourth century, over three hundred monasteries.* Our Saint dedicated himself with ardour to his new vocation. Meditation on the Scriptures, and practices of penance, occupied his time. Diodorus and Carterius—who is praised by S. Gregory *Theologus*—were his masters in spiritual life. The austere Esychius taught him how to forget self, to scourge nature, and to adore God.† To overcome sleep, Chrysostom had a cord fastened to the wall of his cell. When drowsiness overtook him he lifted himself up with both hands till he had shaken off the enemy. He was attacked by sensuality; here again he bravely fought and victoriously conquered, and learnt the weakness of man as well as the strength of God.‡

After he had been two years in the mountain-monasteries, he began, at the request of the monks, to write. "Blessed John, help me," said the holy Demetrius to him, his cheeks being suffused with tears, "help me, I conjure you, to soften my hard heart, and to do penance." In compliance with these entreaties, S. Chrysostom wrote his celebrated

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* *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, par l'Abbé Bergier, *Liv. I.*, § 29, *p.* 54.

† S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. I.*, *Pars Prior*, *in Vita*, *p.* 93; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XLVII.*

‡ See his thoroughly monastic spirit in his *Adversum Oppugnatores eorum qui ad Monasticam vitam inducunt*, *Lib. I.*, *p.* 319—332. *Ad Infidelem Patrem*, *Libb. II.*, *p.* 332—350. *Ad Patrem Fidelem*, *Libb. III.*, *p.* 350—392. *(Ibidem.)*

paper, "On Compunction." * He then composed a second at the request of Stelechius. † His ardent charity for souls, and his intense appreciation of monastic discipline, are exhibited in his beautiful letters to Theodore, who had been unfaithful to his early call ; ‡ as well as in a great treatise, which vividly recalls the *brochures* of the Angelical, on "The Enemies of Monastic Life." §

Our Lord at this period accorded great favours to the Saint. At his prayers the eyes of Eucleus were opened, the sick were cured, and a woman with a disease of seven years' standing was restored to health.

Having thus spent four years in penance, John hid himself still further in the recesses of the mountain. He discovered a cave in a fissure of the rock, far from monastic habitations, difficult of access, and known only to God and to his holy angels ; and here he buried himself, surrounded

* *Ad Demetrium Monachum, De Compunctione, Lib. I., p.* 394—410. These are some of the subjects treated of :—*Maledici a regno cœlorum exclusi ; Evangelicæ vitæ perfectio ; Vana gloria bona opera inutilia reddit ; Levia per segnitiem gravia, et gravia per alacritatem levia efficiuntur ; Chrysostomus ad monachorum tabernacula secedit ; Cœlestis desiderii vis ingens ; Pauli amor vehemens ; In baptismo gratiam et Spiritum sanctum recipimus ; Gratia operam nostram requirit.* (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.)*

† *Ad Stelechium, et De Compunctione, Liber Secundus, p.* 412—422. *Pauli erga Christum amor cœlos omnes transcendit ; David Christum ardenter amabat ; Inscriptio psalmi,* Pro octava, *quid significat ; Dei providentia erga hominem. (Ibidem.)*

‡ *Parænesis sive adhortatio ad Theodorum Lapsum, Lib. I., p.* 273—308 ; *Ejusdem ad Eundem, Lib. II., p.* 310—316 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

§ His Homilies on S. Matthew are full of earnest words on the beauty of monastic life. (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. VII., Pars Posterior In Matthæum, Homil. LXXI., al. LXXII., p.* 662 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. LVIII.)*

by mountain peaks and waving forest trees, with nought to be heard but the moaning of the wind, and the cries of wild beasts and wild birds. Here he remained two years without bed, chair, table, or light; with nothing to drink but water, and nothing to eat but bread. During all this time, says Palladius, he never once lay down,* and when forced to sleep at all, he satisfied the cravings of nature by leaning against one of the spars jutting out from his cavern wall.

Here again is the old tale. The pillars of God's Church formed in the wilderness; the strength of man's heart built up in the desert; the marvels of the active life growing out of a stability acquired in penance, solitude, and prayer; and the charity of God achieving its great work far from the busy haunts of men. How striking a harmony is there not in the lives of the great athletes of the Cross, and yet how charming a variety.† Their natural gifts and their supernatural graces, like the variegated flowers of their own wildernesses, are many, each different from each, and yet each and all combining in an exquisite embroidery—in one inimitable picture

* "Illic annos moratus est duos, quibus insomnis ut plurimum perstitit, Christi testamentum, quo ignorantiam expelleret, addiscens. Cum toto illo biennio nec interdiu, nec noctu decubuisset proxima ventri ei sunt emortua, lumborumque vires præ frigore profligatæ." (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp., Tom. I., Pars. Prior,* Palladii *Dialogus, de Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi, Cap. V., p.* 18; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

† How splendidly S. Chrysostom speaks! See S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, Ad Stelechium, et de Compunctione, Liber Secundus,* § 1—2, *p.* 412; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

representing all the various forms of heroism, purity, and faith, which belong to the religion of holocaustic love.

The severity of Chrysostom's life in the mountain told with terrible effect upon his health. The damp and cold of the cave, joined to his rigid fasts, emaciated his body and paralyzed some of his limbs. But his probation now was over. He returned to Antioch (380) ; and, though unable to practise his former penances, he lived like a veritable monk. Now it was that S. Meletius ordained him deacon, and he gave himself up to the service of the Church, and to the composition of his most important works. His six books on the Priesthood, the Life of S. Babylas,* treatises on matters concerning ecclesiastical discipline,† as well as his three books on Providence, addressed to the unfortunate Stagyrius, come within this period.‡ Chrysostom remained a deacon five years, and, after great resistance on his part, was ordained priest in 386 by Flavian, who had succeeded S. Meletius in the See of Antioch. It is related that at the moment when the bishop was imposing his hands in the act of consecration, a snow-white dove descended from heaven, in the

* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. II., Pars Posterior, De Sancto Hieromartyre Babyla, p.* 528—534. Then, *Liber in Sanctum Babylam Contra Julianum et Contra Gentiles, p.* 534—572.

† *Ibidem, Tom. I., Pars Prior, Adversus eos qui apud se habent Virgines Subintroductas, p.* 495—514 ; *Quod Regulares feminæ viris cohabitare non debeant, p.* 514—532.

‡ *Ad Stagirium a Dæmone Vexatum, Libb. III., p.* 424—494 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

sight of the astonished people, and settled on the head of Chrysostom,—a sign of the purity of his soul and of the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit in his heart.*

With Chrysostom's priesthood, began his career as a Christian orator. The vast city was filled with pagans, Jews, and heretical sects. The Saint preached magnificently in the great mother-church of the capital, on the divinity of Christianity, on the turpitudes of paganism, against the obstinacy of the Jews, and on the triumphs of the Church. He combated, with his incomparable vigour of polemic and power of illustration, with his flowing periods and warmth of exposition, the heresies of the Arians, the Sabellians, the Tritheists, the Eunomians, and the Marcionites.† He warned the breathless crowds which filled his church against schism, infidelity, intemperance, luxury, blasphemy, avarice, and lies. He treated the rich with severity, and was the earnest and continued advocate of the poor. Then with the boldness of a true apostle he condemned the vanity of women, the immoralities of the circus and the theatre, and the evil tendencies of the lives of many Christians.‡

* "L'Empereur Léon . . . assure qu'au moment où Flavien, revêtu des habits pontificaux, imposait les mains au nouveau prêtre, une blanche colombe vint en présence de tout le peuple assemblé dans la basilique se réposer sur la tête de Chrysostome." (*Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, par l'Abbé Bergier, *Liv. II.*, § 13, *p.* 115.)

† Montalembert, *Les Moines d'Occident*, *Tom. I.*, *Liv. II.*, *p.* 117.

‡ See *Histoire de S. Jean Chrysostome*, par l'Abbé Bergier, where the character of the Saint as "*orateur éloquent, exégète, docteur, défenseur et apologiste, moraliste et ascète*," is given. (*Liv. III.*, § 23, *p.* 199—200.)

To convey an idea of his extraordinary activity, it may be said that in a few years he had delivered at Antioch eight discourses, sixty-seven homilies on Genesis, fifty-eight homilies on the Psalms, ninety homilies on the Gospel of S. Matthew, eighty-eight on that of S. John, thirty-two on the Epistle to the Romans, forty-four on the First and thirty on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, a commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, twenty-four homilies on the Epistle to the Ephesians, and twenty-eight homilies on the two Epistles to Timothy and to the Thessalonians.* He had already preached his discourses on Lazarus, his homilies on Penance, twenty-two sermons on Sedition, homilies against the Jews and the Eunomians, discourses to catechumens, as well as many panegyrics on the Martyrs, and sermons which have not come down to us.

His master-pieces are considered to be his homilies on the Epistle to the Corinthians and on the Gospel of S. Matthew.† The depth, richness,

* "In his concionibus, etiamsi inter primas quas Chrysostomus habuit numerentur, non modo eloquentiam, ubertatem in dicendo, nitidum genus verborum, et inventionis felicitatem admireris, quæ in cæteris omnibus ejus operibus elucent, ubi stylum semper videmus populari assentioni accommodatum ; sed etiam animadvertas quantum ad extemporaneum declamationem semper comparatus fuerit tantus artifex, et quam ad res quantumvis inopinatas stylo persequendas præsto fuerit." (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita, p.* 101 ; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.)*

† The Homilies on S. Matthew are contained in *Tom. VII.* of the *Opp. Omnia* of the Saint. This *Tom. VII.* is divided into *Pars Prior* and *Pars Posterior*. The first, *Homil. I.—XLV., p.* 1—472 ; the second, *Homil. XLVI.—XCI., p.* 473—794. In considering the length of these writings of the Greek Fathers, as measured by the pages in Migne, it must not be forgotten that the Latin translation occupies one half the space ; so that, when comparing them with the *Latin Patrology*, the figures should be halved.

and exquisite arrangement of the latter, place it in the first rank amongst the best exegetical works of ancient and modern times. There is a profoundness of thought and a clearness of exposition in these homilies, which no doubt captivated the logical and lucid intellect of the Angel of the Schools.*

Chrysostom possessed many gifts of nature as well as of grace, favourable to oratory. Like the great S. Paul, whom he so ardently admired, he was short in stature; his head was high and fully developed, his forehead large, bold, and covered with wrinkles, his eyes somewhat protruded, his features were regular, his cheeks sunken and emaciated, his beard scant and grey, and his complexion was as pale as death.† His voice was sonorous and clear, his gesture graceful, his imagination brilliant and prolific, and, what is more than all, his soul was fired with the flame

* In his treatment of S. Matthew, his method is given in a most interesting way in the *Præfatio Montefalconii. Quo interpretandi et explanandi genere Chrysostomus has homilias concinnaverit,* § 2, *p.* 4, *Tom. VII., Pars Prior*; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. LVII.* No study is more interesting than that of comparing the Angelical's treatment of the same subject with the labours of S. Chrysostom. *(Opp. Omnia,* S. Thomæ Aquinat., *Tom. X., p.* 1—278. *Ed. Parm.)*

† "Divinus Chrysostomus, quoad speciem corporis, erat admodum brevi statura, magno elatoque capite, summa gracilitate, justo naso, diductus non indecore naribus, pallidissimo alboque vultu, oculis cavis et bulbosis. Hinc fiebat, ut ejus aspectus reniteret gratiosior, etiamsi triste aliquid reliqua forma præ se ferret. Erat nuda magnaque fronte et multis peraratis rugis: amplis item auribus, sed barba tenui et rarissima canisque pilis veneranda. Maxillas habebat introrsum depressas, præ rigidissima, qua se macerabat, inedia. Hoc vero necesse est de eo dicere, quod omnibus etiam Græciæ sapientibus antecelluerit, tum scientia, tum maxime cogitandi acumine, floridoque genere dicendi; quodque ita studuerit promulgare Evangelium, ut nisi fuisset hic sanctus (licet hoc dictum videatur confidentius), opus fuisset altero Christi in terras adventu." (Basilii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Historia Institutionis, Trip. Fest., p.* 391—392; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXIX.)*

of charity, and his heart was full of the generosity of the Cross.

His preaching was wholly based upon the Scriptures.* These he knew by heart. These he explained, not so much with erudition, as with clearness, precision, and according to the letter. His elasticity was extraordinary; he was now a torrent, tumbling from the mountain heights; now a majestic river, sailing slowly and evenly and overwhelmingly along. He knew how to remove prejudice, to insinuate truth, to touch the heart; then to launch his bolts, and, with a crushing power of rhetoric and logic, to annihilate error and to display the beauty and sublimity of truth.† His style is clear, elevated, and easy, rich with figure and comparison, vivid with images which photograph themselves upon the mind.

The effects of his oratory are a testimony to his remarkable endowments. He appears to have held his audience completely in his power. Tears, terror, joy, admiration,—he could excite whichever cord he chose to touch, with the tip, as it were, of his little finger. Often in the midst of his vehement eloquence he was interrupted by the thousand-times repeated cries which resounded through the church: "Chrysostom! mouth of

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* He says :— "Vera sapientia, veraque eruditio nihil aliud est, quam Dei timor." (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, Advers. Oppug. Vitæ Monasticæ, Lib. III.*, § 12, *p.* 368; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*)

† *Histoire De Saint Jean Chrysostome*, par l'Abbé Bergier, *Liv. III.*, § 33, *p.* 218.

gold, mouth of gold!" and his earnest appeal to his people to desist, simply made them cry out the louder and the more.* "You come to praise the truth which I announce," he said to them on one occasion, "you have applauded it; but I demand of you neither this tumult nor these boisterous testimonies of your approbation; my sole desire is that you meditate on the truth and follow it."†

It was this extraordinary eloquence, heightened by a modesty of demeanour and a tender charity, which secured to S. John Chrysostom the love and respect of the inhabitants of the city. When through indisposition he had to discontinue his sermons, the people were thrown into great sadness and disappointment; when he appeared again amongst them, the church clamoured to the echo of their exclamations of delight.‡

But a change was now about to happen, of which neither priest nor flock had any foreknowledge. Nectarius, who had succeeded S. Gregory *Theologus* in the See of Constantinople, after a career of sixteen years, died (397). His administration had

* "Souvent ils l'interrompaient tout à coup et l'église retentissait d'applaudissements et des cris mille fois répétés : 'Chrysostome ! Bouche d'Or, Bouche d'Or !' L'humilité du saint prêtre s'en affligeait ; il les suppliait d'écouter en silence et de lui épargner ces acclamations," &c. (Bergier, *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome, Liv. III.*, § 40, *p.* 227.)

† S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. VII., Pars Prior, in Matthæum, Homil. XVII., n.* 7, *p.* 264; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. LVII.*

‡ For example :—"Propterea vos in corde meo assidue gero, propterea non sentio docendi laborem auditorum lucro revelatus," &c. (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. II., Pars Prior, Ad Populum Antiochenum, Homil. IX.*, § 1, *p.* 103; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLIX.* Here he speaks of his health, which often failed :—*Tom. II., Homilia post Terræ Motum, p.* 713.)

not been successful. At his death the city had fallen back into the same state of anarchy in which S. Gregory found it.* Through the influence of Eutropius, S. John Chrysostom was carried off to Constantinople by force, and was at length induced to accept the bishopric. Trembling all over, he presented himself before Theophilus, and received the sacred unction, in 398.

As the wilderness and the cave had been a preparation for active work in Antioch, so the experience acquired at Antioch prepared S. John for his difficult post at Constantinople.

When the Saint began his new mission, a whole galaxy of Church luminaries had risen and had set in the ecclesiastical firmament. Pope Damasus, Eusebius of Cæsarea, S. James of Nisibis, S. Hilary, S. Athanasius, S. Ephrem, as well as Gregory of Nazianzus and of Nyssa, had done their work, and had been called to their reward.† The renowned and learned Didymus of Alexandria, S. Ambrose of Milan, and S. Martin of Tours, had passed away. But the voice of the great Augustine still could be heard; and S. Jerome still studied and wrote on the Sacred Word, amidst his penances and prayers in the cave of Bethlehem.

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* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita, p.* 164; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

† Upon one point all the great saints seem to have been unanimous in doing their best to escape being placed high in responsibility. (See S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita, p.* 164; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*)

The reputation and eloquence of S. John soon attracted immense crowds round his pulpit. The same marvellous power which he exhibited at Antioch, manifested itself here. Sometimes the whole Church broke into an uproar of admiration : "Chrysostom, Chrysostom! Golden mouth, golden mouth!" rose above his own sonorous voice, and forced him to be silent till the excitement had subsided.*

Here he continued his explanation of the Scriptures. The Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of S. Paul, furnished him with ample matter for his discourses.

He was not only a mighty preacher, but a powerful ecclesiastical reformer. His palace was a pattern of all that was simple, orderly, and becoming. He inveighed with great earnestness against scandals amongst the clergy. He reformed the Orders of virgins and widows. He was the father of the poor. He developed the Sacred Liturgy, and improved and augmented the Services of the Church. Thrace, Asia, and Pontus felt the influence of his controlling mind. He extinguished schisms, he defended the rights of the Church against Arcadius; and through his fearless zeal brought upon himself the anger of Eudoxia. He had but one idea, and that was to maintain intact and pure the religion of Salvation. He loved

* Bergier, *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome, Liv. IV.*, § 16, *p.* 253.

only One, and that was Christ; only one thing he feared, and that was sin.*

To give a detailed account of his career at Constantinople would occupy too much space. We must be content to hurry to the end. It is but natural, indeed inevitable, that such a man as Chrysostom, living in such a city as Constantinople, should make a host of enemies. Heretics, schismatics, Jews, pagans, indifferent Catholics, jealous bishops, the court, the throne itself,—he had spared none of them. He had boldly spoken out, and he had to suffer.†

He was tried and condemned by the *Conciliabulum* of the Oak, and forced into exile, to the extreme indignation of the people.‡ A fearful earthquake, which shocked and jarred every house in the city, brought the empress to her senses, and Chrysostom was recalled. But his assailants would not leave him alone. A golden statue was set on a column of porphyry in honour of Eudoxia, near the entrance of the church. It was inaugurated with dances, farces, and semi-pagan rites.

* He, if any man, appreciated the force and beauty of "true philosophy," as he loved to call the monastic state. (*Cf.*, *Les Moines d'Occident*, *Tom. I.*, *Liv. II.*, *p.* 119—120.)

† "En effet, ses sermons n'étaient guère qu'une suite de satires et de réprimandes tombant comme des traits enflammés sur tous les points faibles ou sensibles de la grande cité. . . . Jean dépeignait tout, dénonçait tout, gourmandait tout, en termes d'une sévérité biblique, mais en même temps d'une telle perfection, d'une élégance si attique et d'un tel éclat, qu'il arrachait des cris d'admiration à ceux qui pouvaient le mieux se reconnaître dans ses portraits." (De Broglie, *L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain*, *Troisième Partie*, *Chap. VI.*, *p.* 137. *Troisième Édition.*)

‡ Twenty-nine heads of accusation were brought against him by John the Deacon. (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. I.*, *Pars Prior*, *in Vita*, *p.* 197—198; *Patrolog. Græc.*, *Vol. XLVII.*)

Chrysostom launched out against this. His conduct was reported to the empress, and she was persuaded that the bishop had offered a personal insult to herself. Another Council was summoned. Chrysostom was deposed, and driven once more into banishment. Much might be written of the firmness of the prelate, of the fidelity of the people, of the violence of their enemies, of the dangers to which the Saint was exposed, and of the ill-treatment suffered by his friends; much might be written regarding the turmoil into which the city fell at his departure, of the blood which flowed in its streets, of the conflagrations which reduced the senate-house to ashes and the church to ruins, and of the triumph of disorder, debauchery, and crime;* much, finally, might be advanced to show how great a pillar Chrysostom had been, and how natural it was that, when such a stay had been removed, the fabric which it had supported should tumble to the ground;—but we must follow the sainted bishop into his exile.

It was in the month of June, 404, that he left Constantinople never to return. † He was first conducted to Nicæa in Bithynia; then it was decreed that Cucusus was to be his place of banishment. This little village was situated in

* Bergier, *Histoire de Saint Jean Chrysostome, Liv. VI.*, § 30, *p.* 388—389.

† "Profectus est autem 20 Junii anni 404: et Nicæam in Bithynia adductus est, ubi usque ad quartam Julii mansit." (S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita, p.* 216; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*)

one of the wild valleys of Mount Taurus in Armenia. It was a stagnant place, without commerce or activity of any kind. The neighbourhood was rugged and uncultivated, the climate was inclement, and everlasting winter seemed to freeze all life out of man and beast. The only excitement which broke this wearisome monotony consisted in periodical raids of ferocious Isaurians, who, when least expected, poured through the passes of Mount Taurus, and with fire and sword ruthlessly destroyed whatever came within their reach.*

S. Chrysostom was conducted by a troop of rough pretorian soldiers from Nicæa to his destination. A terrible tertian fever seized upon him; and though suffering, as he says, more than if he were in the mines, they dragged him along to Cæsarea. Here he was abused by crowds of brutal monks, who, instigated by the bishop of the place, drove him from the city. Seleucia, a noble lady, took compassion on him, and harboured him for a time in her country house. But, dreading the violence of the bishop, she pretended that the barbarians were coming upon him; and, at midnight, the Saint, without light or guide, had to escape as best he could. As he was hurrying away, his mule slipped, and he was cast to the

* The Saint's three letters, written at this time from Cucusus, to S. Olympias, are full of courage and high Christian feeling, and yet touching on sad and thoughtful subjects. He consoles her, as well as offers her instruction. (See S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. III., Pars Posterior, Epistola, p.* 549; *Patrolog. Grac., Vol. LII.*)

ground. "I was thrown with such violence," he says, "that I thought I should have died." * But his courage and cheerfulness never abandoned him. Having wearily travelled through Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and a part of Cilicia, he finally arrived at Cucusus, after a journey of seventy days.

Here his fever left him. His case was taken to Rome. He occupied himself in good works, in saving souls, and with his pen. Pope Innocent sympathized with him; and so great a name did he acquire, that he became a centre of attraction. This raised the suspicion of his enemies, who banished him to Pityus, an obscure town at the very outskirts of the Roman empire, on the north shore of the Euxine Sea. Any one looking on the map may imagine what sort of voyage this must have been. The Saint was forced to set out, accompanied by a band of soldiers, who treated him with great barbarity;† though ill and faint, they would not suffer him to repose. After three months' travelling and persecution, he arrived at Comana, a town in Pontus; here his physical strength gave way; his guards still forced him on; but they were obliged at length to stop at the oratory of S. Basilisk, who was martyred under Maximin.

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* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. III., Pars Posterior, Epistolæ ad Eamdem, Epistola XIV.*, § 3, *p.* 615; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. LII.*

† *Ibidem, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita, p.* 262; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

Here S. Chrysostom passed the night; and whilst offering his sufferings to our Lord, suddenly the holy martyr appeared to him and said: "Take courage, brother John, to-morrow we shall be together." * These words consoled and rejoiced him greatly. He implored his guards to allow him to remain; but they hurried him away, though finally, softened possibly by his gentleness, they returned, and permitted him to rest once more in the little oratory.†

The Saint now felt that his end was drawing nigh. He divided his few effects amongst the soldiers and his attendants; and changing his ordinary dress, clothed himself, as if for some high festival, in a tunic and sandals of shining white, and received the Holy Eucharist. He made his thanksgiving in the sight of all, and ended with these words, which ever lived upon his lips: "May God be glorified in all things!" Then saying "Amen," he blessed himself with the sign of the Cross, and gently extending his feet, calmly gave forth his soul into the hands of its Maker, on the fourteenth day of September, 407, being over sixty years of age.

Once again we are reminded, by the very contrast, of the distinctive notes of the Angelical's character as compared with that of S. Chrysostom

* S. Chrysostomi, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita, p.* 262; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XLVII.*

† *Ibidem, p.* 263.

and the great Church Fathers. They were ever on the alert, taking advantage of all opportunities, and, like skilful captains, guiding their forces, with far-seeing prudence, against the enemy; he was ever living away from the active fight, occupied, not with the movements of flesh and blood, or the diplomacies of ecclesiastical affairs, but with deep questions of theology, with ruling principles of human thought, and the prime-movers of speculative science.*

Nor is the Angelical's an ordinary case of the recluse, in contradistinction to the ready battler in the world. He was unique amongst all students, the deepest and the most abstracted, in his extra-ordinary absence from all things of sense.† His very recreation is a proof of this. It consisted in pacing up and down the convent corridor, with his face looking up towards the heavens, still engrossed by those mighty problems which ever

* So abstracted did he become that it was not safe to leave him alone; he might have forgotten the necessaries of life:—"Or perchè egli era sì frequentemente alle cose celesti rapito havea di bisogno d'un fedele ed accorto compagno, che n'havesse diligente cura acciochè niente di male corporalmente gli avvenisse; fu perciò degnamente eletto il molte volte mentovato fra Reginaldo, gran servo di Dio, che sino alla morte gli prestò esquisito e fidelissimo servigio, e fu il suo confessore, che però consapevole de' suoi gran doni, de' segreti, e dell'alte sue virtù ne fu poi testimonio d'ogni eccettione maggiore." (Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. II., n.* 6, *p.* 132—133.)

† "Sua vera consolazione e delizia era lo stare sempre in ispirito unito al suo Dio, Lui adorare con pienissimo ossequio, a Lui sospirare in dolcezza d'amore. Nè rado incontrava ch'egli era così rapito a suoi celestiali affetti che non si avvedeva delle persone che a lui si appressavano o che a lui favellavano; molti fatti, che acquisterebbero fede a quello che dico, potrei recare in mezzo, i quali però a studio di brevità lascio addietro." (Gibelli, *Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Capo XXVIII., p.* 108. *Secunda Edizione.)*

seemed to occupy his mind.* Occasionally the brethren would persuade him to accompany them into the garden, and his gentleness would not deny them; but he was speedily carried away in reverie again, and would be found sitting alone in some solitary place, rapt in the contemplation of that world in which he found all his freedom and delight. To such an extent indeed did he at length become unconscious of earthly things, that, unless he had been under some kind of *surveillance*, he would have forgotten to eat his one solitary meal.

Once, whilst engaged upon the *Summa*, King S. Louis invited him to the royal table. The Angelical respectfully declined the invitation, on the plea that his mind was wholly occupied with the great task he had in hand.† The king then

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* "Era a questo effetto molto amico della solitudine che fu da esso chiamata nel suo opuscolo sessantaquattro: *Via primaria ad cordis munditiem, et tutela ad custodiam.* Onde una delle sue principali ricreationi era il passeggiar solo pel chiostro col capo levato: e se i frati per sollevarlo qualche fiata il conducevano al giardino, egli dalle mondane cose alienato, e tutto in Dio rapito, in un angolo di esso si ritirava; sicome quando qualche soggetto prendeva nuovamente l'habito della Religione, non era solito di trattenersi in Chiesa o nel Capitolo a fare al novitio corteggio o corona, ma finita la funtione in cella si riserrava." (Frigerio, *Lib. II., Cap. III., n.* 4, *p.* 80.)

† "Fuit præterea prædictus Doctor miro modo contemplativus, et cœlestibus deditus, majori enim sui parte a sensibus aberat, qui totus cœlestibus inhiabat, ut crederetur verius esse, ubi mente intenderet, quam ubi carne maneret. Erat enim mirabile, videre hominem, uti sensibus, et conversari cum sensibilibus in cibo vel aliquorum consortio, quantumcumque nobilium personarum, in quibus sensus consueverunt distrahi, subito cœlestibus elevari: quasi non esset, ubi corporaliter sisteret, sed ubi mentaliter inhæreret. De cujus miranda et inaudita distractione mentis et contemplatione dicitur, quod cum semel S. Ludovicus Rex Franciæ ipsum ad mensam suam invitasset, et ipse se humiliter excusasset propter opus Summæ in Theologia, quod dictaret tunc temporis." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VII., n.* 44, *p.* 671.)

applied to the Prior of S. James's, and requested him to order the Angelical to accept the invitation. In obedience to his superior, the Saint, in company with the Prior, presented himself at court. But his mind was still living amidst the principles, authorities, and traditions of theologic science. He sat silently down to dinner, forgetful of the king; when suddenly, to the amazement of the whole company, he gave the table a violent blow with his fist, and exclaimed: "Now the heresy of Manes is at an end!"* The Prior, greatly embarrassed, pulled him by the habit, and whispered: "Master Thomas, remember, you are at the table of the King of France!" but the Angelical neither heard him nor felt him; the Prior then seized the Saint's *cappa*, and shook him till he came to himself; then, recalling where he was, S. Thomas made many humble apologies to the king for his forgetfulness. S. Louis was simply filled with admiration of him, and sent at once for his own amanuensis, who

* "Obtinente autem mandato Regis et Prioris Parisiensis, ut magistrum humilem inclinaret, sublimem contemplatione, ad expressum mandatum Regis et Prioris, dimisso suo studio, cum illa imaginatione, quam manens in cella conceperat, accessit ad Regem; juxta quem existens in mensa, subito veritate fidei inspirata mensam percussit et dixit: modo conclusum est contra hæresim Manichæi. Quem Prior tetigit, et dixit; Advertatis magister, quia nunc estis in mensa Regis Franciæ, et traxit eum per cappam fortiter, ut abstractum a sensibus excitaret. Qui quasi ad seipsum rediens, inclinans se ad sanctum Regem, rogavit, ut ei parceret qui distractus in mensa Regia sic fuisset." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VII., n.* 44, *p.* 671; see also Gibelli, *Capo XX., p.* 78—79, *seconda edizione; Vita, p.* 27; Bareille, *Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XIX., p.* 227; Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. IX., n.* 8, *p.* 54; Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XVI., p.* 163.)

took down the dictated wisdom of this Angelical divine.*

Once more: the Papal Legate in the Italian kingdom heard of this scene at the royal table, and expressed a strong desire to become acquainted with S. Thomas. He begged the Archbishop of Capua (who had been a disciple of the Angelical) to arrange a meeting. His Grace accompanied the Legate to the convent. The Angelical was summoned. He descended from his cell, and stood before his guests, totally unconscious of their existence, when suddenly a smile broke across his face, and he exclaimed with a loud voice: "Now I have found what I was in search of!"† The Cardinal was tempted to regard him as a simpleton. But the Archbishop

* "De quo Rex plurimum admiratus est, et ædificatus a Magistro, quod, cum esset nobilis, et posset ipsum tanti Regis invitatio delectare, et a contemplatione distrahere, præbuit in eo mentis abstractio, ut elevatum in spiritu, sensus eum non deprimeret in convictu. Fuit autem sanctus Rex providus; ut meditatio illa, quæ potuit mentem Doctoris distrahere, contingeret non perire. Unde vocato Scriptore suo, voluit quod coram eo redigeret in scripto quod Doctor conservaverat in secreto: quamvis apud Doctoris memoriam nil penitus deperiret, quod influebat divinus Spiritus, ut servaret." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VII., n.* 44, *p.* 671; see Gibelli, *Capo XX., p.* 78—79; *Vita, p.* 27; Bareille, *Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XIX., p.* 227; Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. IX., n.* 8, *p.* 45; Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XVI., p.* 163.)

† "Simile per omnia retulit Frater Raymundus Stephani, qui audivit ab Archiepiscopo Capuano, qui fuit discipulus prædicti Doctoris. Quod cum quidam Cardinalis, qui tunc erat Legatus in regno, audisset de eo prædicta et alia admiranda, dixit prædicto Archiepiscopo: Ordinetis, quod cum prædicto Magistro habeamus familiare colloquium. Qui cum vocatus de suo studio descendisset, et tamen in sua abstractione maneret, cum expectassent ipsum diutius sic abstractum, subito Doctor ostendit faciem hilarem, indicantem mentis lætitiam, et dixit: Modo habeo quod quærebam. Qui cum nullum signum ad eos reverentiæ ostenderet, Cardinalis cœpit ipsum despicere, quem aspiceret sic manere. Cui dixit Dominus Archiepiscopus: Domine, non miremini, quia frequenter sic abstrahitur, ut cum quibuscumque personis fuerit, non loquatur." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VII., n.* 44, *p.* 671.)

turned round and said: "Lord Cardinal, be not astonished; he is often carried away like this." Then, pulling the Saint sharply by the *cappa*, he awoke him, as if from sleep; on which, perceiving a Prince of the Church before him, the Angelical made many apologies for his seeming want of courtesy. Being asked why he suddenly broke into that joyful smile, he said that he had that moment discovered the solution of a problem which had been a long time puzzling his thoughts.* How different is all this from the classic Fathers! Yet how intensely active was not the great Angelical! They energized in the visible world; he in the Unseen.

But we must hurry on to other examples of activity in ecclesiastical order.

Equal to, if not surpassing S. Athanasius, in his hold upon the political world, the great western luminary, S. Ambrose, seems to combine the determination of S. Basil with the tenderness of S. Gregory *Theologus;* and though not gifted with the glowing imagination of S. Chrysostom, with his literary grace and poetic temperament, yet he rivalled him in a severer and more incisive style of eloquence, and held a still more despotic sway over the popular mind.†

His father was a man whose jurisdiction as

* Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VII., n.* 44, *p.* 671.

† "The eloquence of S. Ambrose," says Lecky, "is said to have been so seductive, that mothers were accustomed to shut up their daughters to guard them against his fascinations." (*European Morals, Vol. II., p.* 140.)

Prefect extended beyond Europe into Africa. This powerful governor had three children:—Marcellina, the eldest, who vowed herself to God, Satyrus, and then S. Ambrose. This youngest boy, who was destined to play so conspicuous a part in the history of the empire and the Church, was born in Gaul, possibly at Treves, about the year 340. When an infant, his nurse left him asleep in one of the courts of his father's palace; a swarm of bees gathered round his head, and crept freely in and out of his mouth; then, collecting together, all at once they rose over him, and ascended straight into the heavens, till they became wholly lost to sight.*

His father died when the boy was a tender child, and his mother returned to Rome, her native place, and devoted herself to the education of her children. Ambrose, from his earliest years, was surrounded by holy virgins, whose one thought in life was to offer their pure hearts to God.†

At Rome the Saint soon distinguished himself as a poet, as a rhetorician, and by his proficiency

* "S. Ambrosii, *Opera Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, Vita Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi, a* Paulino *ejus Notario ad Beatum Augustinum Conscripta, n. 3, p. 28; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XIV.*

† Here is an interesting trait:—"Postea vero cum adolevisset, et esset in urbe Roma constitutus cum matre vidua et sorore, quæ virginitatem jam fuerat professa, comite alia virgine, cujus virginis soror Candida, et ipsa ejusdem professionis, quæ nunc Carthagine degit jam anus; cum videret sacerdotibus a domestica, sorore, vel matre manus osculari, ipse ludens offerebat dexteram, dicens et sibi id ab ea fieri oportere, siquidem episcopum se futurum esse memorabat; loquebatur enim in illo Spiritus Domini, qui illum ad sacerdotium nutriebat: illa vero ut adolescentem et nescientem quid diceret, respuebat." (*Ibidem, in Vita, a* Paulino *ejus Notario, n. 4, p. 28.*)

in Greek. His abilities attracted the notice of Probus and Symmachus; and with such *éclat* did the young orator plead in the court of the former, who was Pretorian Prefect, that he made him his assessor, and then appointed him governor of Liguria and Æmilia. "Go thy way," said Probus to him, "and govern rather as a bishop than as a judge." *

In 374, the Arian Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, died. Violent was the commotion which ensued. The orthodox, wearied and angered by a tyranny of twenty years, were straining every nerve to secure a Catholic successor; the Arians were equally determined to elect a creature of their own. The elections had to take place in the church, and Ambrose considered it a duty to be present at the meeting. † Whilst addressing an oration to the noisy multitude, imploring them to use moderation in the serious duty in which they were engaged, suddenly the silver notes of a child's voice were heard chanting above all: "Ambrose, bishop! Ambrose, bishop!" With that strange inconsistency which belongs to crowds, the whole multitude, Arian and Catholic, as if those words had come direct from heaven, took up the cry,

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* S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita a* Paulino *ejus Notario, n.* 5—8, *p.* 28—29; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XIV.*

† "Per idem tempus, mortuo Auxentio Arianæ perfidiæ episcopo . . . cum populus ad seditionem surgeret in petendo episcopo, essetque illi cura sedandæ seditionis, ne populus civitatis in periculum sui verteretur, perrexit ad ecclesiam." *(Ibidem, n.* 6, *p.* 28.)

and forgetting all at once their mutual animosity, with one deafening enthusiastic shout—such as a crowd alone can give—insisted that Ambrose should be made their bishop.*

Ambrose was thunderstruck. He, like the other great ecclesiastical rulers, shrank from spiritual responsibility. So intensely did he dread this office, that to escape his inevitable lot he had recourse to means such as most men would hardly find courage to adopt.

Finding his efforts useless, he fled from the city by night, hoping to make his way to Pavia, but, missing the road, when the morning broke he found himself, to his astonishment, still close to the city gates.† He was captured forthwith. But he effected his escape once more, and concealed himself in the house of a senator, named Leontius; and it was only when he felt he was compromising

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* "Ibique cum alloqueretur plebem, subito vox fertur infantis in populo sonuisse Ambrosium Episcopum. Ad cujus vocis sonum totius populi ora conversa sunt, acclamantis Ambrosium Episcopum; ita qui antea turbulentissime dissidebant, quia et Ariani sibi et Catholici sibi Episcopum cupiebant, superatis alterutris, ordinari, repente in hunc unum mirabili et incredibili concordia consenserunt." (S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita a* Paulino *ejus Notario, n.* 6, *p.* 29; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XIV.)*

† Here is an example of how he tried to escape his bishopric:—"Quo ille cognito, egressus ecclesiam, tribunal sibi parari fecit; quippe mox futurus episcopus, altiora conscendit: tunc contra consuetudinem suam tormenta jussit personis adhiberi. Quod cum faceret, populus nihilominus acclamabat: Peccatum tuum super nos. Sed non similiter is populus tunc clamavit, sicut populus Judæorum; illi enim vocibus suis sanguinem Dominicum effuderunt, dicentes: *Sanguis hujus super nos (Matt., XXVII.*, 25): isti vero catechumenum scientes, fideli voce remissionem illi peccatorum omnium per baptismatis gratiam promittebant." *(Ibidem, n.* 7, *p.* 29.) See also the words beginning "Quod ubi ne faceret," &c. *(Ibidem.)*

his friend, that, finding further opposition useless, he finally gave himself up, and suffered himself to be baptized and consecrated. This happened a twelvemonth before the death of Valentinian I. (who died in 375), when Ambrose was four-and-thirty years of age.* Thus in spite of himself he was placed in a position to render all-important service to the cause of Truth.

After he had been baptized, and had received the sacred unction of the episcopate, he seemed changed into another man.† Before, he had served the emperor; now, he served the Cross; before, he was a great political ruler; now, he was the champion of the Church. His mother had taught him what sacrifice was. Marcellina had shown him what it was to love God without reserve. To free himself entirely from worldly entanglements, he made over to the Church and the poor all the gold and silver in his possession;‡ he despoiled himself of his estates, and dedicated them to the uses of religion, reserving simply what was necessary for the support of Satyrus and Marcellina; and thus naked and free he devoted

* S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita a* Paulino *ejus Notario, n.* 8, *p.* 30; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XIV.*

† "Cæterum Ambrosius noster statim atque ad tantam dignitatem assumptus fuit omnem aliam curam præterquam implendi muneris sui a se removit," &c. *(Ibidem, in Vita S. Ambrosii ex ejus potissimum Scriptis Collecta, n.* 14, *p.* 71—72.)

‡ *Ibidem.*

all the powers of his being to the exclusive service of his Maker.*

One simple aim now animated his spirit—to serve the Church and to save souls. Political interests and ambitions faded out of his mind, and ceased to have any existence there.

His training as a statesman and a governor, as a judge and as a man of the world, was complete. But he had received no education as a priest. He was suddenly lifted out of the courts of law, and placed on the bishop's throne, to rule, guide, and teach others.† But in a short space he fulfilled much time. He dedicated all his leisure to studying the Sacred Scriptures and the writings of Hipollytus and Origen. He formed his character and mind upon the great S. Basil as a model; and with that sublime humility which can only spring out of a noble heart, he placed

* Paulinus puts it thus, giving the true principle of the Saint's life in the concluding words :—"Sollicitus etiam nimium pro pauperibus et captivis; nam in tempore quo episcopus ordinatus est, aurum omne atque argentum quod habere poterat, Ecclesiæ, vel pauperibus contulit. Prædia etiam quæ habebat, reservato usufructuario germanæ suæ, donavit Ecclesiæ, nihil sibi quod hic suum diceret, derelinquens : ut nudus atque expeditus miles Christum Dominum sequeretur : *qui cum dives esset, propter nos pauper factus est, ut nos ejus inopia ditaremur II. Cor., VIII.* 9." (S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior in Vita a* Paulino *ejus Notario, n.* 38, *p.* 40 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XIV.)*

† How eloquently De Broglie speaks :—"Non qu'Ambroise . . . fût tenté a négliger les devoirs de sa vocation nouvelle pour reprendre les prétentions de sa première profession ; du jour, au contraire, où il avait franchi le seuil de l'Eglise, il semblait n'avoir plus gardé une pensée pour le siècle, pour ses soucis et pour ses pompes. Jamais transformation ne fut plus complète. Sa vie n'était pas seulement celle d'un prêtre, mais celle d'un anachorète. . . . La merveilleuse facilité d'un esprit rompu au travail comme au commerce des hommes, et qui pouvait à volonté se rapandre ou se concentrer, lui permettait de mener de front les soins du ministère sacré et de fortes études destinées à combler les lacunes de son éducation théologique." *(L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain, Troisième Partie, Chap. V., p.* 9—10. *Troisième Ed.)*

himself under the tuition of the Roman priest, Simplicianus, who eventually succeeded him at Milan, and who is worshipped as a saint.*

Nor did his studies interfere with his duty to the people. His room was ever open. Anyone could approach him unaccompanied by an attendant, and without the formality of giving notice. He was never idle;† his only recreation consisted in the variety of his labours. His private life spoke of the mortifications of the Cross; he never dined abroad; he fasted five days during the week; he prayed most part of the night; and when not engaged in prayer, he was writing sermons, or composing portions of his larger works.‡ Thus he drew into the chamber of his mind that which he poured out in the warm eloquence of his oratory; thus he curbed the flesh that the spirit might be free, and built himself up into a "Tower of David," against the face of the formidable enemies of orthodox religion.§

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* Still, some hold that the story of the Saint being taught by Simplicianus does not rest on a solid foundation:—See S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita S. Ambrosii, ex ejus potissimum scriptis collecta, n.* 15, *p.* 73—74; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XIV.*

† "Sa porte restait ouverte: entrait qui voulait, sans même avoir besoin de se faire annoncer. Avait-on affaire à lui pour quelque aumône du corps ou de l'âme, il interrompait sa lecture, répondait au solliciteur avec une attention toujours prête, et toujours bienveillante. Puis, la consultation finie, il reprenait son livre, ne s'inquiétant même pas si des visiteurs importuns demeuraient pour le suivre du regard avec une indiscrète curiosité." (De Broglie, *L'Eglise et L'Empire Romain, Troisième Partie, Chap. V., p.* 10. *Troisième Edition.*)

‡ S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita a* Paulino *ejus Notario, n.* 38, *p.* 40; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XIV.*

§ He would burst into tears if he heard of the death of any holy priest; he felt how difficult it was to find a truly devoted minister, and he also envied the lot of those who had been taken before himself. (*Ibidem, n.* 40, *p.* 41.)

S. Ambrose appears to have been raised up to perform two special works: to support the authority and independence of the Church, and to introduce a high regard for holy purity amongst the people. He took special interest in directing consecrated virgins in the charity of God. Besides maintaining Marcellina, he supported a convent at Bologna. Many young ladies of high degree were drawn by his eloquence to give up the vanities of life, and to seek the changeless love of the Incarnate Word.* Many from Bologna, Placentia, and other parts of Italy, and even from Mauritania, placed themselves under his control, and joyfully abandoned the polished slaveries of the world. His three books upon "Virginity" clearly indicate how completely the mind of S. Ambrose was possessed by the monastic principle of holocaustic sacrifice. They were written for the instruction of his sister, and were highly commended by S. Augustine and S. Jerome. They are instinct with divine fire, and speak of a heart which is overflowing with admiration of anything like complete devotedness to God. The first book treats of S. Agnes; the second of our Blessed Lady (the model of every virgin), of S. Thecla, and of the martyr-maidens of Antioch; whilst the third dwells on the duties of those who have dedicated themselves

* See with what depth and poetry he speaks of this beautiful service of God :—S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, Hexaëmeron, Lib. III., Cap. V., n.* 23, *p.* 165 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XIV.*

to God.* His tracts "On Widows,"† and "On Virginity,"‡ breathe the same ardent spirit, and manifest that divine prudence for which the Saint was justly famed. It was by thus introducing into every family an interest in one of the highest of Christian virtues, that S. Ambrose aimed at stemming the course of corruption in the world, and at binding the clean of heart all the closer to the Cross.§ There is little doubt that his intense sympathy with every form of misery and sorrow, his love of the penitent, his unwearied patience with the sinner, his large charity, and his utter forgetfulness of self, together with his encouragement of holy purity in the Christian family, so drew the people round him, that when the political power of the world turned sharply against him, they were ever ready to console him, and stand bravely by his side.‖

And indeed the Church had need of such a champion.¶ The canker of Arianism, not to speak

* S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tomi Secundi et Ultimi Pars Prior, De Virginibus ad Marcellinam Sororem suam, Libri Tres, Lib. I., Cap. I—XI., p.* 187—208; *Lib. II., Cap. I—VI., p.* 208—220; *Lib. III., Cap. I—VII., p.* 220—232; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XVI.*

† *Ibidem, Tom. II., Pars Prior, De Viduis, Liber Unus, Cap. I—XV., p.* 234—262.

‡ *Ibidem, De Virginitate, Liber Unus, Cap. I—XX., p.* 266—302.

§ How he exults in the passion of the martyrs!—*Ibidem, De Virginibus, Lib. III., Cap. VII., n.* 38, *p.* 232.

‖ His Master was Christ, his weapons the Holy Scriptures. His great and commanding temper seems to show itself with special force:—*Ibidem, Tomi Secundi et Ultimi Pars Prior, De Officiis Ministrorum, Cap. I., n.* 3, *p.* 24.

¶ How clearly he sees the difficulty of his position!—"Ego enim raptus de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium, docere vos cœpi, quod ipse non didici. Itaque factum est ut prius docere inciperem, quam discere." (*Ibidem, Tom. II., Cap. I., n.* 4, *p.* 24—25.)

of paganism, was still eating into the vitals of religion, and occupied the highest place in the State.

Ambrose was just one of the few men who appear born into this world to govern others. From youth up he had been in the society of those whose lives were spent in commanding men. He himself, from his early manhood, had held positions of trust and of responsibility. To give the law, to enforce it, to be calm and self-controlled, to sway the popular mind,—this belonged to the natural character of Ambrose. He held his place with ease, and men took for granted what he seemed so naturally to claim. His position as Bishop of Milan brought him into continual contact with the civil power. He was no stranger to the ways of statesmen and the subtleties of politicians; yet he never meddled with the world save when forced to do so in the interests of the Church.*

To preserve the mind of the Emperor Gratian from being infected with the Arianism of his uncle Valens, whom he went to succour in the east against a Gothic king, S. Ambrose wrote (377) his works "On Faith,"† and "On the Blessed

* The story of the two *Cubicularii* of Gratian shows how the officers of State were mixed up in religious questions. These two men were Arians. They proposed a difficulty to Ambrose regarding the Incarnation, and promised to be present in the Basilica Portiana next day, when he undertook to explain it. For the discourse of S. Ambrose see *Opp. Omnia, Tom. II., Pars Prior, De Incarnationis Dominicæ Sacramento, Lib. I., Cap. I--X., p.* 818—846; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XVI.*

† *Ibidem, De Fide ad Gratianum Augustum, Libri Quinque, Lib. I., Prologus, Cap. I--XX., p.* 528—560; *Lib. II., Prologus, Cap. I—XVI., p.* 560—590; *Lib. III., Cap. I--XVII., p.* 590—618; *Lib. IV., Cap. I—XII., p.* 618—650; *Lib. V., Prologus, Cap. I—XIX., p.* 650—698.

Trinity," * in which, with great vigour and acuteness, he oversets the heresy in question. His influence over the mind of Gratian was remarkable; and many of the enlightened legislative acts of that monarch bear upon them unmistakably the mark of a broader and deeper intelligence than his own. When the Emperor, stabbed to the heart by the dagger of Andragathius, was expiring from the effects of that mortal wound, the first name which flew to his lips was that of his beloved bishop, Ambrose, whose image only then faded from his mind, as gradually he swooned away into the arms of death.†

Gratian's half-brother, Valentinian, resided at Milan with the Arian Justina. Twice did the great Bishop, at the request of the civil power, make use of his diplomatic abilities to save the empire from the ravages of war. At length the valour and skill of Theodosius defeated

* *De Spiritu Sancto Libri Tres ad Gratianum Augustum, Lib. I., Prologus, Cap. I—XVI., p.* 703—742; *Lib. II., Prologus, Cap. I—XIII., p.* 742—776; *Lib. III., Cap. I—XXII., p.* 776—816; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XVI.*

† See how Ambrose loved Gratian and Valentinian :—"Doleo in te, fili Gratiane, suavis mihi valde. Plurima dedisti tuæ pietatis insignia. In me inter tua pericula requirebas, tu in tuis extremis me appellabas, meum de te plus dolebas dolorem. Doleo etiam in te, fili Valentiniane, speciosus mihi valde. Deciderat amor tuus in me, sicut amor pignoris. Tu per me putabas eripi de periculis : tu me non solum ut parentem diligebas, sed ut redemptorem tui, et liberatorem sperabas. Tu dicebas : Putasne, videbo patrem meum ? Speciosa de me voluntas tua, sed non efficax præsumptio. Hei mihi vana spes in homine ! sed tu in sacerdote Dominum requirebas. Hei mihi quod voluntatem tuam non ante cognovi ! Hei mihi quod non clanculo ante misisti ! Hei mihi qualia amisi pignora ! *Quomodo ceciderunt potentes, et perierunt arma concupiscenda !—II. Reg. I.*, 27." (Vid. S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. II., Pars Prior, De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio, n.* 79, *p.* 1383—1384; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XVI.*)

Maximus on the Save, and that ambitious and unscrupulous usurper was finally visited with the just punishment of his evil deeds (388).

But in spite of the great services S. Ambrose had rendered to the State, and of his readiness to assist the empress, the spirit of religious and sectarian animosity would not allow him to bide in peace.

Justina, just before Easter, 385, when the terrors of invasion by Maxentius had been warded off, sent an order to Ambrose, in the name of the emperor, to hand over to the Arians the Catholic Basilica of S. Victor's.* His reply was worthy of his model, the great S. Basil: "Did his majesty demand my lands and money," he said, "though they are the property of the poor, I should not refuse them. But he has no right to that which belongs to God. If you seek my estate, take it; if you would load me with irons, or put me to death, I am well content."† The following Lent (386), she commanded him to deliver up the Portian Basilica.‡ The intrepid prelate made this reply: "Naboth did not give up his birthright, and shall I betray the inheritance

* See how Ambrose writes to his sister :—S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. II., Pars Prior, Epistolarum Classis I., Epist. XX., p.* 995—996; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XVI.*

† (*Ibidem, n.* 8, *p.* 996—997.) Again, see his sermon beginning :—"Audistis filii, librum Job legi, qui solemni munere est decursus et tempore. Scivit ex usu hunc librum etiam diabolus intimandum, quo virtus omnis suæ tentationis aperitur et proditur; et ideo se hodie motu majore concussit," &c. (*Ibidem, n.* 14, *p.* 998.)

‡ *Ibidem, n.* 26, *p.* 1002.

of Jesus Christ?" * Ambrose remained in the church, and was guarded by the faithful. The imperial soldiers then surrounded the Basilica.† The people were permitted to enter, but none were allowed to depart. Here they remained several days, whilst their bishop prayed with them before the altar, preached to them on constancy in suffering, and condemned the wickedness and impiety of Auxentius and the Arians.

Several attempts were made to secure the Saint, and some were made to murder him. Just as a ruffian had lifted up his naked sword to smite the man of God, his arm was stiffened suddenly midway in the air;‡ and it was only after he had confessed himself to be an emissary of Justina, that the weapon fell, and his hand dropped by his side.

Many examples might be cited of the immense influence exerted by S. Ambrose in imperial and ecclesiastical affairs; the case of Theodosius is too well known to be repeated; then it was

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* "Meministis etiam quod lectum est hodie Nabuthe sanctum virum possessorem vineæ suæ, interpellatum petitione regia, ut vineam suam daret; ubi rex, succisis vitibus, olus vile sereret, eumque respondisse: *Absit ut ego patrum meorum tradam hæreditatem*; regem contristatum esse, quod sibi esset alienum jus relatione justa negatum, sed muliebri consilio deceptum. Nabuthe vites suas vel proprio cruore defendit. Si ille vineam non tradidit suam, nos trademus Ecclesiam Christi?" (S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. II., Pars Prior, Sermo Contra Auxentium, n.* 17, *p.* 1012; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XVI.*)

† See the words of S. Ambrose in reply to his enemies:—*Ibidem, n.* 18, *p.* 1012—1013.

‡ Many miracles are related as having been performed by the Saint; for instance, the cure of Nicentius's feet. Then the case of the slave whom the Saint delivered over unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, might be recalled. (See Fleury, *Eccles. Hist., Book XX.*, § 20, *p.* 308—309. *Oxford Edition.*)

through his influence that the altar of victory was kept out of the senate-house, and that many acts of imperial severity were either mitigated or cancelled altogether.* If his image lived in the heart of Gratian, his entire spirit took possession of Valentinian, whose power extended over the whole of the Western Empire. How deeply the Bishop loved him is evident from the tears which he shed on hearing that he had been strangled on the banks of the Rhone.†

S. Ambrose hated heresy, and loved the martyrs of the Church. He confuted Bonosus, he called a Council against the Apollinarists (381), he deposed Arian bishops, and in spite of the intrigues of a designing empress, he established an orthodox chair at Sirmium; he wrote two books "On Penance" against the Novatians, and addressed an excellent letter or catechism to the queen of the Marcomanni. He discovered the gigantic skeletons

* The Saint explains to Eugenius what he had done :—See S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. II., Pars Prior, Epistolarum Classis I., Epistola LVII., n. 2., p.* 1175; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XVI.*

† Here is a good specimen of the eloquence and tenderness of S. Ambrose—"Quomodo ceciderunt potentes? Quomodo uterque super illa Babylonis ceciderunt flumina? Quomodo rapidiora utriusque vitæ fuere curricula, quam ipsius Rhodani sunt fluenta? O mihi Gratiane et Valentiniane speciosi et charissimi, quam angusto vitam fine clausistis! Quam proxima vobis mortis fuere confinia! quam sepulcra vicina! Gratiane, inquam, et Valentiniane, in vestris nominibus adhærere juvat, atque delectat in vestri commeratione requiescere. O omnibus Gratiane et Valentiniane speciosi et charissimi! Inseperabiles in vita, et in morte non estis separati (*II. Reg.*, 1, 23.) Non vos discrevit tumulus, quos non discernebat affectus. Non causa mortis separavit, quos pietas una jungebat. . . . Super columbas simpliciores, super aquilas leviores, super agnos clementiores, super vitulos innocentiores. Gratiani sagitta non est reversa retro, et Valentiniani justitia non fuit vacua, nec inanis auctoritas. Quomodo sine pugna ceciderunt potentes?" (*Ibidem, De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio, n.* 79, *p.* 1582—1583.)

of S. Gervasius and Protasius, and also the relics of S. Nazarius and S. Celsus. Through the power of these courageous athletes, the blind were restored to sight, sick were healed, and devils were cast out.*

Ambrose foretold his own death. In his last illness he was engaged upon the Forty-third Psalm.† Paulinus, his secretary, tells us that whilst writing at the dictation of the Saint, he happened to look up from his paper for a moment, and to his amazement he saw a flame, in the form of a small shield, covering the head of the man of God. The shield seemed to be drawn slowly into the mouth, upon which the countenance changed, and became white as the drifted snow; then the effect gradually dying out, the face resumed its usual appearance. "I was struck with terror," says Paulinus, "and was stiffened with fear, and was unable to continue my work till the vision had passed away." From this time forth, Ambrose closed his books, and neither wrote nor dictated any more.‡

* The Saint himself had the gift of miracles:—See S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita a* Paulino *ejus Notario, n.* 10, *p.* 30; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XIV.*

† The Saint did not get beyond the twenty-fourth verse:—"Quare faciem tuam avertis?" His last words, so much in keeping with his own character, are on wisdom and living with the Lord:—"Cum autem Deus alicubi in tribulatione dilatat; tunc fiet latitudo cordis, sicut arena maris innumerabilis. Quæ sit ista latitudo audi dicentem sanctum Salomonem: *Optavi, et datus est mihi sensus, et invocavi, et venit in me spiritus sapientiæ (Sap. VII., 7). . . .*" These are the last words he ever wrote or dictated:—" . . . Opus est ut nos maneamus in Domino, nec ab eodem recidamus; quoniam præsule Domino et assistente nobis, omne certamen fortiter possumus sustinere. Si autem Dominum negligamus, et longe nos faciamus a Domino, faciamus nobis adversarium fortiorem." *(Ibidem, Tom. II., in Psalmum XLIII., n.* 93—94, *p.* 1133—1134.)

‡ *Ibidem, in Vita a* Paulino *ejus Notario, n.* 42, *p.* 41—42.

When Stilico heard that the Saint was dying, he exclaimed: "The day on which this great man dies, destruction hangs over Italy!" He and the officials of the city presented themselves before their Bishop, and implored him to beg our Lord to preserve his life. The dying Ambrose made this grand reply: "I have not so lived among you as to be ashamed to live; nor do I fear to die, for we have a good Master!" Shortly after this, whilst praying with Bassianus, Bishop of Lodi, he opened his eyes, and beheld Jesus Christ approaching him with a radiant countenance.* Then he grew worse, and lay motionless for several hours with his arms extended like a cross, and with his lips just moving in silent prayer.† When the moment came for his recall, Honoratus, Bishop of Vercelli, who was sleeping in an upper room, heard a voice: "Arise! make haste, for he is going to depart." He hurried at once to the dying man, and gave him the Body of our Lord. Ambrose had no sooner received it than his spirit fled. Christ had come, and had taken him to His own.‡

* These are his words as given by Paulinus:—"Quod ille [Ambrosius] ubi ab illis audivit, respondit: 'Non ita inter vos vixi, ut pudeat me vivere: nec timeo mori: quia Dominum bonum habemus.'" (S. Ambrosii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Pars Prior, in Vita a* Paulino *ejus Notario, n.* 45, *p.* 42—43; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XIV.)*

† "In eodem tamen loco in quo jacebat (sicut referente sancto Bassiano episcopo Laudensis Ecclesiæ, qui ab eodem audierat, didicimus) cum oraret una cum supradicto sacerdote, viderat Dominum Jesum advenisse ad se, et aridentem sibi: nec multos post dies nobis ablatus est." *(Ibidem, n.* 47, *p.* 43.)

‡ "Honoratus etiam sacerdos Ecclesiæ Vercellis cum in superioribus domus se ad quiescendum composuisset, tertio vocem vocantis se audivit, dicentisque sibi: Surge, festina, quia modo est recessurus. Qui descendens, obtulit sancto Domini corpus; quo accepto ubi glutivit emisit spiritum, bonum viaticum secum ferens; ut in virtute escæ anima refectior, angelorum nunc consortio, quorum vita vixit in terris, et Eliæ societate lætetur; quia ut Elias nunquam regibus vel ullis potestatibus, ita nec iste pro Dei timore loqui veritus est." *(Ibidem, n.* 47, *p.* 43.)

Such was the end of one of the most able ecclesiastical rulers who have left their mark in the Church of God. His powerful will and clear intelligence, his singleness of aim and devotedness of purpose, have made him a model man in the world of ecclesiastical politics. Ever keen and on the alert, he did not suffer an opportunity to pass which might be turned to account in the interests of the Church.

He was as singular in his diplomatic gifts, and in his quickness of political vision, as the Angelical was remarkable for his absorption into the world of theory and of thought.

It is a curious study to observe how men of different vocation and cast of mind can be wholly engrossed with the objects special to the world in which they live, to the exclusion of everything else which does not bear upon their particular interests. The Fathers, occupied with men and with affairs, were keenly alive to pain, sorrow, and trials; saw with rapid vision the bearing of events; energized with intense activity amidst the passions and emotions of the world; and gained men to God by sympathizing and mixing with them. Such was their vocation. They, as a rule, worked in the second order of human greatness; the Angelical laboured in the first. He was one of those, preëminently, "who are so absorbed in the divine life, that they seem, even while they are in the flesh, to have no part in earth or in

human nature; but to think, speak, and act under views, affections, and motives simply supernatural. If they love others, it is simply because they love God, and because man is the object either of His compassion or of His praise. If they rejoice, it is in what is unseen; if they feel interest, it is in what is unearthly; if they speak, it is almost with the voice of angels; if they eat or drink, it is almost of angels' food alone—for it is recorded in their histories, that for weeks they have fed on nothing else but that Heavenly Bread which is the proper sustenance of the soul. Such we may suppose to have been S. John; such S. Mary Magdalene; such the hermits of the desert; such many of the holy virgins whose lives belong to the science of mystical theology;" * and such in very deed was the Angel of the Schools. Not even the pressure of acute physical suffering could distract him during his divine contemplation. He seemed as it were to be clothed with angelic flesh, which transcended the ordinary action of man's nervous system, and through the intensity of its purity was, at times, freed from the slaveries of suffering and of sense. For example :—

On one occasion, having a tumour formed upon his thigh, the doctors ordered the part to be scorched with a red-hot iron. The Saint begged his *socius* to inform him beforehand

* See Newman's *Sermons, preached on various occasions, Sermon VII., p.* 122. *Second Edition.*

of the doctor's arrival. Having been apprised of it, the Angelical made all the necessary preparations for the operation, and then was carried away in ecstasy—and so completely, that the surgeon had finished the burning without the Saint being in the slightest degree cognizant even of his presence.*

Once more: he was dictating his Tract on the Blessed Trinity. It was at night, and taking the candle in his hand he said to the amanuensis: "Don't call out to me, whatever you see me do," and then he was carried away in ecstasy as usual. After an hour, the candle was consumed to the end, and without the Saint becoming aware of it, it had burnt clean out between his fingers.† The fact that the Angelical was of a very delicate *physique* renders these examples all the more remarkable.

That S. Thomas was divinely lifted up, and that his freedom from the thraldom of the senses was a gracious gift, resulting from his generous correspondence with a large infusion of heavenly grace, no Catholic would think of calling in question. It

* "Tanta autem erat hujus doctoris mentis abstractio, ut interdum non perciperet se lædi etiam a corporali læsivo. Unde semel cum esset de consilio medicorum consultum, quod in tibia portaret cauterium, dixit socio suo: Cum venerit, qui ignem debet apponere, facias me ante præscire. Quod cum fieret in lecto, quod cauterizandus erat, se præparans extenta tibia, tanta fuit abstractione levatus, quod appositione ignis cauterium non percepit: cujus signum fuit, quia de loco, ubi tibiam extenderat, non mutavit." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VIII., n.* 48, *p.* 672.)

† "Cum semel prædictus Doctor esset in camera sua et summam tractuum de Trinitate dictaret, accepta una candela in manu, dixit scriptori suo. Quidquid videas in me, cave ne voces, et tunc in contemplatione abstracto, candela post horam consumpta est usque ad digitos, quibus ignem candela diutius adhærere Doctor non sensit sed ipsum ignem sine aliquo motu digitorum sustinuit, donec defecit." *(Ibidem.)*

is only for the sake of minds which have been taught to shrink from anything like the marvellous in the moral order, that it would not be out of place to say that his liberation from physical suffering, when absorbed in contemplation, was not necessarily the result of the miraculous. A slight study of the science of Physiology will speedily dispel any suspicions of the kind :—

"It is well known that such impressions as would ordinarily produce severe pain, may for a time be completely unfelt, through the exclusive direction of the attention elsewhere; and this direction may either depend—firstly, upon the determination of the *ego;* or, secondly, upon the attractiveness of the object; or, thirdly, on the combination of both."

"Thus, before the introduction of chloroform, patients sometimes went through severe operations without giving any sign of pain, and afterwards declared that they felt none; having concentrated their thoughts, by a powerful effort of abstraction, on some subject which held them engaged throughout. On the other hand, many a martyr has suffered at the stake with a calm serenity that he declared himself to have no difficulty in maintaining; his entranced attention being so engrossed by the beatific visions which presented themselves to his enraptured gaze, that the burning of his body gave him no pain whatever." *

Here then is the Angelical supreme in intellect,

* "Some of Robert Hall's most eloquent discourses," continues Dr. Carpenter, "were poured forth whilst he was suffering under a bodily disorder, which caused him to roll in agony on the floor when he descended from the pulpit; yet he was entirely unconscious of the irritation of his nerves by the calculus which shot forth its jagged points through the whole substance of his kidney, so long as his soul continued to be 'possessed' by the great subjects on which a powerful effort of his will originally fixed it." (See Dr. Carpenter's *Physiology of the Will, Contemporary Review, May*, 1871, *p.* 202.)

and S. Ambrose supreme in will; the one so great in his sphere because he could abandon the senses and the affairs of earth; the other, so paramount in his, because he could grasp and deal with the practical aspects of the political order, and control the various movements of the ecclesiastical world. Theory found its greatest king in the Angelical; practice found its highest master in S. Ambrose: whilst theory and practice find their entire harmony in the synthesis of Christian love.

It was the solidity, amiability, and eloquence of S. Ambrose which did so much towards drawing the son of Monnica into the Church. To give S. Augustine's own words will serve to throw light on the character of either:—

"To Milan I came, to Ambrose the Bishop, known to the whole world as amongst the best of men, Thy devout servant; whose eloquent discourses did then plentifully dispense unto Thy people the flower of Thy wheat, the gladness of Thy oil, and the sober inebriation of Thy wine. To him was I unknowing led by Thee, that by him I might knowingly be led to Thee. That man of God received me as a father, and showed me an episcopal kindness on my coming.* Thenceforth I began to love him, at first indeed not as a teacher of the Truth (which I utterly despaired of in Thy Church), but as a person kind towards myself. And I listened diligently to him preaching to the people, not with that interest I ought,

* "Et veni Mediolanum ad Ambrosium episcopum, in optimis notum orbi terræ, pium cultorem tuum; cujus tunc eloquia strenue ministrabant adipem frumenti tui, et lætitiam olei, et sobriam vini ebrietatem populo tuo. Ad eum autem ducebar abs te nesciens, ut per eum ad te sciens ducerer. Suscepit me paterne ille homo Dei, et peregrinationem meam satis episcopaliter dilexit." (S. Augustini, *Opera Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. V., Cap. XIII., n. 25, p. 717; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.)*

but, as it were, trying his eloquence, whether it answered the fame thereof, or flowed fuller or lower than was reported, and I hung on his words attentively; but of the matter I was as a careless and scornful looker-on; and I was delighted with the sweetness of his discourse, more recondite, yet in a manner less winning and harmonious than that of Faustus. . . . And while I opened my heart to admit—'how eloquently he spake,' there also entered—'how truly he spake;' but this by degrees." *

S. Augustine had, in the first place, gone to the Eternal City as a professor of eloquence; but disgusted by the meanness and dishonesty of the students, he was glad to close with an offer of Symmacus to become reader of rhetoric in Milan. He was at this time about thirty years of age. His history had been a strange one indeed, for a man who eventually became one of the greatest lights of the Catholic Church.†

He was born (354) at Thagaste, an episcopal city of Numidia. His father, Patritius, a poor freeman of the city, was of a passionate nature, fervid in his affections, and unfaithful to his wife.‡

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. I.*, *Confessionum Lib. V.*, *Cap. XIII—XIV.*, *n.* 23—24, *p.* 717—718; *Patrolog. Lat.*, *Vol. XXXII.*

† "Cum itaque civitas Mediolanensis eloquentiæ professore destituta esset, missum est a Mediolano Romam ad Symmachum urbis præfectum, ut illi civitati professorem provideret, impertita etiam evectione publica. Hanc Augustinus provinciam per eos ipsos Manichæos *quibus*, ait, *ut carerem ibam*, ambivit (*Confessionum*, *Lib. V.*, *Cap. XIII.*, *n.* 23): nec frustra." (*Ibidem*, *in Vita ex ejus potissimum scriptis concinnata*, *Lib. II.*, *Cap. II.*, *n.* 1, *p.* 98.)

‡ "Ita autem toleravit (Monnica) cubilis injurias, ut nullam de hac re cum marito haberet unquam simultatem. Expectabat enim misericordiam tuam super eum, ut in te credens castificaretur. Erat vero ille præterea, sicut benevolentia præcipuus, ita ira fervidus. . . . Cumque mirarentur illæ (matronæ) scientes quam ferocem conjugem sustineret, nunquam fuisse auditum, aut aliquo indicio claruisse, quod Patricius ceciderit uxorem, aut quod a se invicem vel unum diem domestica lite dissenserint, et causam familiariter quærerent: docebat illa institutum suum, quod supra memoravi." (*Ibidem*, *Tom. I.*, *Confessionum Lib. IX.*, *Cap. IX.*, *n.* 19, *p.* 772.)

Possibly, on his becoming a catechumen, when his son Augustine was about sixteen years old, his habits and temper became more subdued. He was baptized a year later, and died shortly after his reception into the Church.

S. Augustine's mother is so well known that little need be said of her to refresh the memory of the reader. A perfect wife, a perfect mother, a perfect widow, and a perfect saint, she converted her violent husband to Christ, and by her tears turned Augustine from a sinner into one of the noblest pillars of God's Church.* If Patritius was naturally tainted by the vices of the pagan, his wife possessed all the noblest characteristics of a valiant woman of God. Full of tenderness, full of womanly sympathy and love, still gifted with true courage, with high aspirations, with a capacity of understanding the hidden things of Divine wisdom, Monnica stands out in her place with as great brilliancy and distinction as Augustine stands out in his. If he is the great Doctor of the Church, she is the Christian mother, the devoted widow, the strong woman of the Scriptures, filled with all the sweetness of Christ's heroic spirit.†

Her devoted love of her children, her exceeding affection for Augustine, her maternal advice, her

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. IX., Cap. IX., n.* 22, *p.* 773; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† *Ibidem, Lib. V., Cap. IX., n.* 17, *p.* 714.

self-sacrifice in his regard, her agony at his spiritual death, and her ceaseless prayers and tears during nine long years for his conversion, are too well known to need repeating. How horror-stricken she was when she discovered him to be a Manichean; how, in spite of his tenderness to her and her love of him, she would not suffer him to eat at her table, till the vision consoled her, and the holy bishop soothed her heart with these words: "Go thy ways, and God bless thee, for it is not possible that the son of these tears should perish;"—all these things are familiar as household words.* Who so strict as she in her religious duties? who so full of true devotion and genuine charity? who so constant?—following her son across the seas; who so courageous?—comforting in a storm "the very mariners," who rather should have strengthened her;† who loved Ambrose more than she did, who was ready to die with him

* This was her vision:—"Vidit enim stantem se in quadam regula lignea, et advenientem ad se juvenem splendidum, hilarem atque arridentem sibi, cum illa esset mœrens et mœrore confecta: qui cum causas quæsisset ab ea mœstitiæ suæ quotidianarumque lacrymarum, docendi, ut assolet, non discendi gratia, atque illa respondisset perditionem meam se plangere; jussisse illum quo secura esset, atque admonuisse ut attenderet et videret, ubi esset illa, ibi esse et me. Quod illa ubi attendit, vidit me juxta se in eadem regula stantem. . . . Unde illud etiam, quod cum mihi narrasset ipsum visum, et ego ad id trahere conarer, ut illa se potius non desperaret futuram esse quod eram; continuo sine aliqua hæsitatione, *Non* inquit, *non enim mihi dictum est, Ubi ille, ibi et tu; sed, Ubi tu, ibi et ille.*" (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. III., Cap. XI., n.* 19, *p.* 691—692; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*)

† "Nam et per marina discrimina ipsos nautas consolabatur, a quibus rudes abyssi viatores, cum perturbantur, consolari solent; pollicens eis perventionem cum salute, quia hoc ei tu per visum pollicitus eras." (*Ibidem, Lib. VI., Cap. I., n.* 1, *p.* 719.)

if needs should be? O the joy of her widow's heart, when she found that at length her prayers were heard, and that Augustine had turned his vast intellect towards the Truth! Let her own son speak of her:—

"Thence we go into my mother; we tell her; she rejoiceth; we relate in order how it [his conversion] took place; she leaps for joy, and triumpheth, and blesseth Thee, 'Who art able to do alone that which we ask or think,' for she perceived that Thou hadst given her more for me, than she was wont to beg by her pitiful and most sorrowful groanings. For thou convertedst me unto Thyself, so that I sought neither wife, nor any hope of this world, standing on that rule of faith, where Thou hadst shewed me unto her in a vision, so many years before.* And Thou didst 'convert her mourning into joy,' much more plentiful than she had desired, and in a much more precious and purer way than she erst required, by having grandchildren of my body."

Monnica had completed her destiny when she had converted her boy to God. Her ardent love of him, and the trust of her pure strong heart in Christ, had achieved the great result. She retired with him to the Villa of Cassiciacum, and had the happiness of seeing him baptized.†

"And we were baptized, and anxiety for our past life vanished from us. Nor was I sated in those days with the

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* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. VIII., Cap. XII., n.* 30, *p.* 762—763; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† Augustine's son Adeodatus was baptized with them. See how he speaks of the boy:—"Adjunximus etiam nobis puerum Adeodatum ex me natum carnaliter de peccato meo. Tu bene feceras eum. Annorum erat ferme quindecim, et ingenio præveniebat multos graves et doctos viros." (*Ibidem, Lib. IX., Cap. VI., n.* 14, *p.* 769.)

wondrous sweetness of considering the depth of Thy counsels concerning the salvation of mankind. How did I weep, in Thy Hymns and Canticles, touched to the quick by the voice of Thy sweet-attuned Church! The voices flowed into mine ears, and the Truth distilled into my heart, whence the affections of my devotion overflowed, and tears ran down and happy was I therein." *

Mother and son now set out for Africa. But for Monnica the end had already come. She fell ill at Ostia on the Tiber, and was ready to depart, for she felt conscious that her life's work was done, and that it was time for her to take her rest. Hear Augustine's tender words :—

"The day now fast approaching whereon she was to depart this life . . . it came to pass . . . that she and I stood alone, leaning in a certain window, which looked into the garden of the house where we now lay, at Ostia; where removed from the din of men, we were recruiting from the fatigues of a long journey, for the voyage. We were discoursing then together, alone, very sweetly; and 'forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before,' we were enquiring between ourselves in the presence of the Truth, which Thou art, of what sort the eternal life of the saints was to be, 'which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man.' †
. . . Such things was I speaking, and even if not in this very manner, and these same words, yet, Lord, Thou knowest that in that day, when we were speaking of these things, and

* "Et baptizati sumus, et fugit a nobis sollicitudo vitæ præteritæ. Nec satiabar illis diebus dulcedine mirabili, considerare altitudinem consilii tui super salutem generis humani. Quantum flevi in hymnis et canticis tuis, suave sonantis Ecclesiæ tuæ vocibus commotus acriter! Voces illæ influebant auribus meis, et eliquabatur veritas in cor meum; et exæstuabat inde affectus pietatis, et currebant lacrymæ, et bene mihi erat cum eis." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. IX., Cap. VI., n.* 14, *p.* 769; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.)*

† *Ibidem, Cap. X., n.* 23, *p.* 774.

this world with all its delights became, as we spake, contemptible to us, my mother said: 'Son, for mine own part I have no further delight in anything in this life. What I do here any longer, and to what end I am here, I know not, now that my hopes in this world are accomplished. One thing there was, for which I desired to linger for a little while in this life, that I might see thee a Catholic Christian before I died. My God hath done this for me more abundantly, that I should now see thee withal, despising earthly happiness, become His servant: what do I here?'"*

"... Scarce five days after, or not much more, she fell sick of a fever; and in that sickness one day she fell into a swoon, and was for a while withdrawn from these visible things. We hastened round her; but she was soon brought back to her senses; and looking on me and my brother [Navigius] standing by her, said to us enquiringly: 'Where was I?' and then looking fixedly on us, with grief amazed: 'Here,' saith she, 'shall you bury your mother.' I held my peace and refrained weeping, but my brother spake something, wishing for her, as the happier lot, that she might die, not in a strange place, but in her own land.† Whereat she, with anxious look, checking him with her eyes, for that he still 'savoured such things;' and then looking upon me: 'Behold,' saith she, 'what he saith;' and soon after to us both: 'Lay,' she saith, 'this body anywhere; let not the care for that any way disquiet you; this only I request, that you would remember me at the Lord's altar, wherever you be. ...'

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* "Dicebam talia, etsi non isto modo et his verbis, tamen, Domine, tu scis quod illo die, cum talia loqueremur, et mundus iste nobis inter verba vilesceret cum omnibus delectationibus suis, tunc ait illa: 'Fili, quantum ad me attinet, nulla jam re delector in hac vita. Quid hic faciam adhuc, et cur hic sim nescio, jam consumpta spe hujus sæculi. Unum erat propter quod in hac vita aliquantum immorari cupiebam, ut te christianum catholicum viderem, priusquam morerer. Cumulatius hoc mihi Deus meus præstitit, ut te etiam, contempta felicitate terrena, servum ejus videam: quid hic facio?'" (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. IX., Cap. X., n. 26, p. 775; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.)*

† *Ibidem, Cap. XI., n. 27, p. 775.*

On the ninth day then of her sickness, and the fifty-sixth year of her age, and the three and thirtieth of mine, was that religious and holy soul freed from the body." *

"I closed her eyes, and there flowed withal mighty sorrow into my heart, which was overflowing with tears; mine eyes at the same time, by the violent command of my mind, drank up their fountain wholly dry; and woe is me in such a strife. But when she breathed her last, the boy Adeodatus burst into a loud lament; then, checked by us all, held his peace."†

S. Augustine, from his earliest childhood, appears to have combined, in an extraordinary degree, his father's ardent character with that direct tendency towards truth which so greatly ennobled the intellect of Monnica. As his work for the Church was unique, so also was his history. S. Anthony, S. Athanasius, S. Gregory *Thaumaturgus*, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*,—these, from the beginning, seem to have followed virtue as the sunflower follows the light of day. S. John Chrysostom had his temptations, and he overcame them; but with S. Augustine the case is different. Of none of the Fathers does he remind one so much, in his fierce passionate nature, as of S. Jerome. But S. Jerome, though he did slip from the narrow way, soon recovered himself. He fearfully chastised

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. IX., Cap. XI., n. 27, p. 775; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† "Premebam oculos ejus, et confluebat in præcordia mea mœstitudo ingens, et transfluebat in lacrymas; ibidemque oculi mei violento animi imperio resorbebant fontem suum usque ad siccitatem, et in tali luctamine valde male mihi erat. Tum vero ubi efflavit extremum spiritum, puer Adeodatus exclamavit in planctum, atque ab omnibus nobis coercitus tacuit." (*Ibidem, Cap. XII., n. 29, p. 776.*)

his flesh; he almost expired in the desert; he, as an athlete, wrestled with, threw, and trampled on self, and for ever after maintained the mastery over his rebellious will. S. Augustine, on the other hand, for years was the slave of sin.* His strong passions drew him down and fastened him to earth; whilst his soaring intelligence, his innate sense of the Beautiful and Eternal, together with his strange yearning after the Sovereign Truth, made him loathe those very habits which were tyrannizing over him. Two master-forces seem to live and energize within him, each violently dragging him in an opposite direction, till finally, through the efficacy of his mother's prayers, through his love of the name of Christ, and through his craving after wisdom, the lower bonds were snapped asunder, and he shot up and expanded in that tranquil element of supernatural purity and charity which alone could satisfy the desires of his heart.†

Whilst the Angelical never had one moment's experience of the stain of an impure thought, whilst

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* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. III., Cap. III., n. 5, p. 685; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† "Quæ (ratio) se quoque in me comperiens mutabilem, erexit se ad intelligentiam suam; et abduxit cogitationem a consuetudine, subtrahens se contradicentibus turbis phantasmatum, ut inveniret quo lumine aspergeretur, cum sine ulla dubitatione clamaret incommutabile præferendum esse mutabili; unde nosset ipsum incommutabile, quod nisi aliquo modo nosset, nullo modo illud mutabili certo præponeret. Et pervenit ad id quod est, in ictu trepidantis aspectus. Tunc vero invisibilia tua, per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta conspexi; sed aciem figere non evalui; et repercussa infirmitate redditus solitis, non mecum ferebam nisi amantem memoriam, et quasi olfacta desiderantem quæ comedere nondum possem." (*Ibidem, Lib. VII., Cap. XVII., n. 23, p. 745.*)

his whole youth was passed in the company of God's blessed angels, whilst his calm serene mind, undisturbed by any restlessness of nature, was feeding on the wisdom of the Incarnate, and resting on the peacefulness of God,—Augustine was like a ship tossed in a dark and thundering storm, straining at every seam, creaking in every joint, struck by the curling sea, and shivering with the shock,—ever rising and falling, ever sinking and swerving, and battling with the elements, till heart turned sick and head turned dizzy.

He began as a wayward, headstrong, clever boy; he disliked his lessons; he hated Greek, on account of the difficulties he found in it; whilst his imagination was charmed by the verses of the Latin poets.* His intense sensibility of mind, his glowing imagination, his extreme impressionableness, his passionate violence of heart, and his broad lofty intelligence, seem, in combination, almost too powerful for his self-control. No doubt it was the highly-wrought and fine texture of his spiritual constitution, at times wrenched by the hurricane of his emotions, which, whilst it was the natural cause of his eventual greatness, made his career for many years one of great misery and torment to himself. His excessive fondness of poetry, the great declamatory and rhetorical powers which he displayed at an early age, all point in

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. I., Cap. XIII., n.* 20, *p.* 670; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

the same direction. Then his thefts and boyish sins, his lies, his love of amusement, his greediness, his unfairness at play, and his readiness to quarrel with his companions—all of which, with touching compunction, he mentions in his confessions—display the force and rankness of original nature, and point to the many tribulations through which he would have to save his soul.*

When sixteen years of age he left Madura, where he had been sent to learn grammar and rhetoric, and returned home. Here he spent his days in idleness and dissipation, neglecting his mother's warnings, and amusing himself in acts of gratuitous dishonesty. Thus his boyhood passed. During his youth—that is from seventeen to twenty-nine—he was tossed about on the angry sea of passion and unrest. He was first sent to Carthage, at the expense of Romanianus and his mother, to study rhetoric; and his eyes must have shone brightly, when, for the first time, they gazed upon the magnificent theatres and temples, the broad streets and the handsome quays of that

* "Non enim videbam voraginem turpitudinis in quam projectus eram ab oculis tuis. Nam in illis jam quid me fœdius fuit, ubi etiam talibus displicebam, fallendo innumerabilibus mendaciis et pædagogum, et magistros, et parentes amore ludendi, studio spectandi nugatoria, et imitandi ludicra inquietudine. Furta etiam faciebam de cellario parentum et de mensa, vel gula imperitante, vel ut haberem quod darem pueris, ludum suum mihi, quo pariter utique delectabantur, tamen vendentibus. In quo etiam ludo fraudulentas victorias, ipse vana excellentiæ cupiditate victus, sæpe aucupabar. Quid autem tam nolebam pati, atque atrociter, si deprehenderem, arguebam, quam id quod aliis faciebam, et si deprehensus arguerer, sævire magis quam cedere libebat?" (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. I., Cap. XIX., n.* 30, *p.* 674; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*)

vast African city. The port was filled with the shipping of the blue Mediterranean, and the markets with the richest produce of the east; refreshing fountains played in the streets, and the great University, over which floated the white flag, was thronged with a vast concourse of students.* These spent their mornings creating uproar in the schools, and passed their afternoons witnessing gladiators wrestling in the circus, and savage beasts tearing fierce men to pieces in the arena. Madura was celebrated for its teachings and its culture, for its forum, its colleges, and its statues of the gods, but it dwindled into insignificance when brought into comparison with Carthage.

Here it was that Augustine soon proved himself to be first in the class of rhetoric. Here it was that he fell into the company of those licentious young men who went by the name of *Eversores*:—

> "And now I was chief in the rhetoric school, whereat I joyed proudly, and I swelled with arrogancy, though (Lord Thou knowest) far quieter and altogether removed from the subverting of those 'Subverters.' . . . amongst whom I lived with a shameless shame that I was not even as they." †

* What young savages the students at Carthage were is evident:—See S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. V., Cap. VIII., n.* 14, *p.* 712; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† "Et major jam eram in schola rhetoris; et gaudebam superbe, et tumebam typho; quanquam longe sedatior, Domine, tu scis, et remotus omnino ab eversionibus quas faciebant Eversores (hoc enim nomen scævum et diabolicum, velut insigne urbanitatis est), inter quos vivebam pudore impudenti, quia talis non eram: et cum eis eram, et amicitiis eorum delectabar aliquando, a quorum semper factis abhorrebam, hoc est ab eversionibus, quibus proterve insectabantur ignotorum verecundiam, quam perturbarent gratis illudendo atque inde pascendo malevolas lætitias suas. Nihil est illo actu similius actibus dæmoniorum. Quid itaque verius quam eversores vocarentur? Eversi plane prius ipsi atque perversi, deridentibus eos et seducentibus fallacibus occulte spiritibus, in eo ipso quo alios irridere amant et fallere." (*Ibidem, Lib. III., Cap. III., n.* 6, *p.* 685.)

The consequence of all this was almost inevitable. Augustine was carried away by pride and sensuality. Blindness trod on the heel of passion. His reason took a rationalistic turn, he felt disgusted with authority, and joined the sect of the Manicheans. For nine years—from his nineteenth to his twenty-eighth year—he remained in this Egyptian darkness. Of his errors with regard to God, Christ, the Mosaic Law, the Patriarchs, the nature of evil, and the cause of sin, and of his superstition, this is not the place to speak.* He still occupied himself as a rhetorician, and taught, first at Thagaste, and then at Carthage. When twenty-six years of age, he wrote his book on "The Fair and the Fit." Whilst at Carthage, his faith in the Manichean teaching was gradually shaken; and this we may regard as the turning-point of his career.

To understand the steady advance of his mind towards the Truth, the grand monastic principle, which is ever coming into prominence in this work, must be borne in mind. S. Augustine was indeed an exceptional saint. Not a Father resembles him in the history of his early life. But below the surface, hidden out of sight, there was in him that which eventually brought him out of darkness into the admirable Light.†

* See his error, however, regarding our Lord:—S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. V., Cap. IX., n.* 16, *p.* 713; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† See how S. Augustine bursts out in speaking of the One Everlasting Rest of the strong, which moulded so many weak men into heroes of the

It matters not how antagonistic the natural characters of God's great ones may have been, the principle of *Christ*, or of monasticism, was powerful enough to harmonize the most discordant. This is illustrated in the case of the Angelical and S. Augustine. Each set out, as it were, from opposite poles; but the star which guided them brought them safe to the common port of the Spiritual City.*

It was Christ, and wisdom, and the impress of the Platonic mind; it was the eloquence and the tenderness of Ambrose, the history of Anthony, and the words of the Apostle Paul, which at last broke the proud spirit of the wayward child of Monnica, and drew him out of cloud and fog, into the comfortable light of the Catholic Church. S. Augustine and S. Thomas were similar in this: both possessed a large generosity of heart, a mighty energy of will, and a noble enthusiasm, which form the most perfect natural basis for the operations

Cross :—"Cum autem se composuerit et ordinaverit, ac concinnam pulchramque reddiderit, audebit jam Deum videre, atque ipsum Fontem unde manat omne verum, ipsumque Patrem Veritatis. Deus magne, qui erant illi oculi! quam sani, quam decori, quam valentes, quam constantes, quam sereni, quam beati! quid autem est illud quod vident? quid, quæso? Quid arbitremur, quid æstimemus, quid loquamur? Quotidiana verba occurrunt, et sordidata sunt omnia vilissimis rebus. Nihil amplius dicam, nisi promitti nobis aspectum pulchritudinis, cujus imitatione pulchra, cujus comparatione fœda sunt cætera." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., De Ordine, Lib. II., Cap. XIX., n.* 51, *p.* 1019.) See also the words :—"Neque enim deerit nobis quærentibus se, qui desuper est Magister omnium." *(De Quantitate Animæ, Lib. I., Cap. XXXVI., n.* 81, *p.* 1081 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.)*

* See how the Saint lays down the monastic principle of seeing Christ through purity of heart and good works :—*Ibidem, Tom. X., Pars Prior, De Natura et Gratia, Cap. LXV., n.* 78, *p.* 286 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XLIV.*

of supernal grace.* See how splendid and Christ-loving a nature God had given to Augustine :—

"As a boy I had already heard of an eternal life, promised us through the humility of the Lord our God stooping to our pride ; and even from the womb of my mother, who quietly hoped in Thee, I was sealed with the mark of His Cross and salted with His salt."

And when as a boy he thought himself in danger, he says :—

"Thou sawest my God (for Thou wert my keeper) with what eagerness and what faith I sought, from the pious care of my mother and Thy Church, the Mother of us all, the baptism of Thy Christ my Lord and God." †

Such was the influence, which, together with a genuine love of wisdom, worked such marvels in S. Augustine's soul.

Speaking of the season of his darkness he exclaims :—

"O Truth, Truth, how inwardly did even then the marrow of my soul pant after Thee, when they often and diversely, and in many and large books, echoed of Thee to me, though it was but an echo! And these were the dishes

* How clearly S. Augustine saw the necessity of moral rectitude for understanding Divine things !—"Quoniam magnus es, Domine, et humilia respicis ; excelsa autem a longe cognoscis (*Psal. CXXXVII.*, 6) : nec propinquas nisi obtritis corde ; nec inveniris a superbis, nec si illi curiosa peritia numerent stellas et arenam, et dimetiantur sidereas plagas, et vestigent vias astrorum." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. V., Cap. III., n. 3, p. 707 ; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*)

† "Audieram enim ego adhuc puer de vita æterna nobis promissa per humilitatem Domini Dei nostri descendentis ad superbiam nostram ; et signabar jam signo crucis, ejus et condiebar ejus sale, jam inde ab utero matris meæ, quæ multum speravit in te. Vidisti, Domine, cum adhuc puer essem, et quodam die pressu stomachi repente æstuarem pene moriturus ; vidisti, Deus meus, quoniam custos meus jam eras, quo motu animi et qua fide baptismum Christi tui Dei et Domini mei flagitavi a pietate matris meæ, et matris omnium nostrum Ecclesiæ tuæ." (*Ibidem, Lib. I., Cap. XI., n. 17, p. 668.*)

wherein to me, hungering after Thee, they, instead of Thee, served up the sun and moon, beautiful works of Thine, but yet Thy works, not Thyself, no nor Thy first works.* For Thy spiritual works are before these corporeal works, celestial though they be, and shining. But I hungered and thirsted not even after those first works of Thine, but after Thee Thyself, the Truth, 'in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning:' yet they still set before me in those dishes, glittering fantasies, than which better were it to love this very sun (which is real to our sight at least) than these fantasies which by our eyes deceive our mind. Yet because I thought them to be Thee I fed thereon: not eagerly, for Thou didst not in them taste to me as Thou art; for Thou wast not these emptinesses, nor was I nourished by them, but exhausted rather." †

How strange and mysterious are not the yearnings of great and ardent spirits! They seem to feel, with inexpressible intensity, the hollowness of all that smiles so confidently on the surface of the world; and even in the midst of the most fascinating dissipations of life, there is a voice speaking, or ready to speak, in the centre-tabernacle of their soul, telling them, in spite of themselves,

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* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. III., Cap. VI., n.* 10, *p.* 687; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† "Priora enim spiritualia opera tua, quam ista corporea, quamvis lucida et cœlestia. At ego nec priora illa, sed teipsam, te, Veritas, in qua non est commutatio nec momenti obumbratio *(Jacobi, I.,* 17.), esuriebam et sitiebam; et apponebantur adhuc mihi in illis ferculis phantasmata splendida, quibus jam melius erat amare istum solem, saltem istis oculis verum, quam illa falsa animo decepto per oculos. Et tamen, quia te putabam, manducabam; non avide quidem, quia nec sapiebas in ore meo sicuti es; neque enim tu eras figmenta illa inania; nec nutriebar eis, sed exhauriebar magis. Cibus in somnis simillimus est cibis vigilantium, quo tamen dormientes non aluntur; dormiunt enim: at illa nec similia erant ullo modo tibi, sicut nunc mihi locuta es; quia illa erant corporalia phantasmata, falsa corpora, quibus certiora sunt vera corpora ista quæ videmus visu carneo, sive cœlestia sive terrestria." *(Ibidem.)*

that the earth passes, and will pass, with sun and moon and stars; and that the real earth and the real heaven are to be looked for in the Unseen Kingdom. Augustine appears to have been possessed by a spirit of the other world—his sublime intelligence opening out into the free and expanding realms of spiritual realities, even whilst dragged violently down by the power of a strong and sensual nature.

When nineteen years of age, during his studies he happened to read the Hortensius of Cicero, which contained a fervent exhortation on the love of wisdom. This work, which unfortunately is no longer extant, made a deep impression on his mind. And, in the avowal he makes of this, he shows with what a wondrous grace Christ still wrestled in his spirit, and how our Lord seemed as it were determined, come what would, to set up His kingdom in that large and uncultivated heart.*

Augustine says :—

"And since at that time (Thou, O light of my heart, knowest) Apostolic Scripture was not known to me, I was delighted with that exhortation, so far only that I was thereby strongly roused, and kindled, and inflamed to love, and seek, and obtain, and hold, and embrace not this or that sect, but wisdom itself whatever it were; and this alone checked me thus enkindled, that the name of Christ was not in it. For this name, according to Thy mercy, O Lord, this name of my Saviour Thy Son, had my tender heart, even with my mother's milk, devoutly drunk in, and deeply treasured; and whatever

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. III., Cap. IV. n.* 7, *p.* 685; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

was without that name, though never so learned, polished, or true, took not entire hold of me." *

It was his strong craving after this Divine presence which was his salvation. Had it not been for this, in all human probability he would have fallen back into the heresy of Manes, or his incipient scepticism would have developed into atheistical misbelief.

"So then after the manner of the Academics, . . doubting of everything, and wavering between all, I settled so far, that the Manicheans were to be abandoned; judging that, even while doubting, I might not continue in that sect, to which I already preferred some of the philosophers; to which philosophers notwithstanding, for that they were without the saving Name of Christ, I utterly refused to commit the cure of my sick soul."

Here, evidently "the saving Name of Christ" shielded him from those philosophers who through their abilities and reputation had made a deep impression on his mind. But was this influence merely negative? Assuredly not. He says:—

"I determined therefore so long to be a Catechumen in the Catholic Church, to which I had been commended by my parents, till something certain should dawn upon me, whither I might steer my course." †

* "Et ego illo tempore, scis tu, lumen cordis mei, quoniam nondum mihi hæc apostolica nota erant, hoc tamen solo delectabar in illa exhortatione, quod non illam aut illam sectam, sed ipsam, quæcumque esset, sapientiam ut diligerem, et quærerem, et assequerer, et tenerem atque amplexarer fortiter, excitabar sermone illo, et accendebar, et ardebam; et hoc solum me in tanta flagrantia refrangebat, quod nomen Christi non erat ibi. Quoniam hoc nomen secundum misericordiam tuam, Domine, hoc nomen Salvatoris mei Filii tui, in ipso adhuc lacte matris, tenerum cor meum præbiberat, et alte retinebat; et quidquid sine hoc nomine fuisset, quamvis litteratum, et expolitum, et veridicum, non me totum rapiebat." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. III., Cap. IV., n.* 8, *p.* 685; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*)

† *Ibidem, Lib. V., Cap. XIV., n.* 25, *p.* 718.

Augustine's confidence in the theories of the Manicheans had been shaken in many ways. He was present when Helpidius had a controversy with them and upset them on every point;* he knew of the dilemma of Nebridius, which invariably tossed them over, whichever horn they thought fit to choose;† and as for Faustus, their greatest champion, the only merit which Augustine found in him was his modesty in acknowledging his own incapacity and ignorance.‡ All this would naturally tend to unsettle any earnest and honest mind. Augustine was beginning to doubt of everything; and the few convictions which he at one time possessed were in imminent danger of being undermined.

Whilst in this perilous condition of soul, in spite of his mother's entreaties to the contrary, disgusted by the licentious lives of the Carthage students, he set sail for Rome. Here he took up his abode with a Manichean, fell grievously ill, recovered, and eventually, as has been said before, accepted the office of teacher of rhetoric at Milan.

At this period he was thirty years of age, and during the four following years his complete conversion was effected. The influence of S. Ambrose over him has been spoken of elsewhere. Yet his heart was still set upon honour, wealth, and

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. V., Cap. XI., n.* 21, *p.* 716; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† *Ibidem, Lib. VII., Cap. II., n.* 3, *p.* 734.

‡ *Ibidem, Lib. V., Cap. VI., n.* 10, *p.* 710.

marriage ;* and he was only restrained from violent excesses by his fear of death and dread of judgment. Next we find him poring over the works of the Platonists, and entering into the refined and lofty teaching of their school. This study seems to have had a spiritualizing effect upon his mind :—

"But having read the books of the Platonists, and thence being taught to search for incorporeal truth, I saw Thy 'invisible things, understood by those things which are made.'" †

Then he applied himself to S. Paul. This was another step in advance. His impressionable nature seemed deeply touched by the sympathetic and noble-hearted Apostle of the Gentiles. Speaking of the Apostle's writings, he exclaims :—

"These things did wonderfully sink into my bowels when I read that 'least of Thy Apostles,' and had meditated upon Thy work, and trembled exceedingly." ‡

Now came the struggle between inveterate habits and new aspirations. He dreads the

* "Inhiabam honoribus, lucris, conjugio ; et tu irridebas. Patiebar in eis cupiditatibus amarissimas difficultates, te propitio tanto magis quanto minus sinebas mihi dulcescere quod non eras tu. Vide cor meum Domine, qui voluisti ut hoc recordarer et confiterer tibi. Nunc tibi inhæreat anima mea, quam de visco tam tenaci mortis exuisti. Quam misera erat ! et sensum vulneris tu pungebas, ut relictis omnibus converteretur ad te qui es super omnia, et sine quo nulla essent omnia ; converteretur, et sanaretur." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. VI., Cap. VI., n.* 9, *p.* 723 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.)*

† "Sed tunc, lectis Platonicorum illis libris, posteaquam inde admonitus quærere incorpoream veritatem, invisibilia tua, per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta conspexi ; et repulsus sensi quid per tenebras animæ meæ contemplari non sinerer, certus esse te, et infinitum esse, nec tamen per locos finitos infinitosve diffundi," &c. *(Ibidem, Lib. VII., Cap. XX., n.* 26, *p.* 746.)

‡ *Ibidem, Cap. XXI., n.* 27, *p.* 748.

severity of a Christian life; yet he burns to imitate the example of Victorinus, of whom Simplicianus (the same who had taught S. Ambrose) had spoken to him with such genuine admiration. But it was S. Anthony, that primeval example of true imperial self-denial, who finally touched the heart of S. Augustine, and opened his eyes to the full power of the heroism of the Cross.* The lives of the Solitaries of the Desert came upon him and roused him out of his land of dreams; he had not even heard of the nuns established by S. Ambrose in the suburbs of Milan, and hence his mind and imagination were fresh to receive the impress of the great monastic principle which animated the entire action of S. Anthony of Egypt.

Pontitianus told him the well-known story of how two officers of the emperor—

> "In their wandering lighted upon a certain cottage, inhabited by certain of Thy servants, 'poor in spirit, of whom is the kingdom of heaven,' and they found a little book containing the life of Anthony." †

And so overcome were they by what they read, that—

> "Fixing their hearts on heaven, they remained in the

* The Saint speaks of his wavering:—S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. VIII., Cap. I., n.* 1, *p.* 749; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† "Unde incidit ut diceret nescio quando se et tres alios conturbernales suos nimirum apud Treveros, cum imperator pomeridiano Circensium spectaculo teneretur, exisse deambulatum in hortos muris contiguos; atque illic ut forte combinati spatiabantur, unum secum seorsum, et alios duos itidem seorsum pariterque digressos: sed illos vagabundos irruisse in quamdam casam, ubi habitabant quidam servi tui, spiritu pauperes, qualium est regnum cœlorum (*Matth., V.*, 3), et invenisse ibi codicem in quo scripta erat vita Antonii." (*Ibidem, Cap. VI., n.* 15, *p.* 755.)

cottage. And both had affianced brides, who when they heard thereof, also dedicated their virginity unto God." *

Words cannot convey the depth of Augustine's emotion on hearing this story. The heroic bent of his nature, and the violence of passion, like two great wrestlers, struggled within his soul. He retired from his companions, and allowed his full heart to flow out in bursts of tears and overwhelming agitation. Whilst thus pouring forth his spirit, he was suddenly surprised and distracted by a voice crying—"Take up and read! Take up and read!" Then, he says himself in his Confessions :—

"Instantly my countenance altered; I began to think most intently, whether children were wont in any kind of play to sing such words: nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So checking the torrent of my tears, I arose; interpreting it to be no other than a command from God to open the book, and read the first chapter I should find."†

"For I had heard of Anthony, [see how deeply he was impressed] that coming in during the reading of the Gospel, he received the admonition, as if what was being read, was spoken to him; 'Go sell all thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow Me.' And by such oracle was he forthwith converted unto Thee." ‡

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* "Tum Pontitianus et qui cum eo per alias horti partes deambulabant quærentes eos, devenerunt in eundem locum . . . At illi narrato placito et proposito suo, . . . petiverunt ne sibi molesti essent si adjungi recusarent . . . Isti . . . trahentes cor in terra abierunt in palatium; illi autem affigentes cor cœlo manserunt in casa. Et ambo habebant sponsas: quæ posteaquam hoc audierunt, dicaverunt etiam ipsæ virginitatem tibi." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. VIII., Cap. VI., n.* 15, *p.* 755; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*)

† *Ibidem, Cap. XII., n.* 29, *p.* 762. ‡ *Ibidem.*

"Eagerly then I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I laid the volume of the Apostles, when I arose thence. I seized, opened, and in silence read that section, on which my eyes first fell: 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and impurities, not in contention and envy. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh in its concupiscences.'"

"No further would I read; nor needed I: for instantly at the end of this sentence, by a light as it were of serenity infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt vanished away." *

This was the occasion on which S. Augustine made his mother "leap for joy" at the tidings which he conveyed to her.

Who is not struck by the workings of grace in the soul of this marvellous man? The Image of Christ hidden in the heart, the beauty of Wisdom attracting the intelligence, and Anthony's trust in the Unseen World freely venturing all for heaven,—who is not amazed at the miraculous influence of these three powers, seeing how they can transform miserable clay into heroic form, and

* "Nec ultra volui legere; nec opus erat. Statim quippe cum fine hujusce sententiæ quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo, omnes dubitationis tenebræ diffugerunt. Tum interjecto aut digito aut nescio quo alio signo, codicem clausi, et tranquillo jam vultu indicavi Alypio. At ille quid in se ageretur, quod ego nesciebam, sic indicavi. Petit videre quid legissem: ostendi; et attendit etiam ultra quam ego legeram, et ignorabam quid sequeretur. Sequebatur vero: *Infirmum autem in fide recipite (Rom., XIV.*, 1). Quod ille ad se retulit, mihique aperuit. Sed tali admonitione firmatus est, placitoque ac proposito bono et congruentissimo suis moribus, quibus a me in melius jam olim valde longeque distabat, sine ulla turbulenta cunctatione conjunctus est. Inde ad matrem ingredimur, indicamus; gaudet; narramus quemadmodum gestum sit; exultat et triumphat; et benedicebat tibi, qui potens est ultra quam petimus aut intelligimus facere *(Ephes., III.*, 20), quia tanto amplius sibi a te concessum de me videbat, quam petere solebat miserabilibus flebilibusque gemitibus." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. VIII., Cap. XII., n.* 29, *p.* 762; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.)*

turn the darkness of passion into the light and purity of heaven? Augustine indeed is not merely transformed, he is transfigured; he shines with the very same radiance as the Angelical himself —so much so indeed, that, though in natural character they may be considered as antagonistic, still their intellects may be almost said to illuminate the theological heavens with one single light: for the mind of the Angelical is little else than the intellect of the great African athlete, divested of its rhetorical colouring, cultured by the method of the schools, and chastened by a wider experience and a severer training.*

When once Augustine had fairly made up his mind to make the holocaustic sacrifice of himself to Christ, then his chains fell from him, he rose steadily and grandly from the earth, his centre became fixed in heaven, and he began to form himself on the philosophy which S. Chrysostom tells us was introduced by Christ.

He renounced all hope of this world (386), embraced celibacy, resigned his professorship, went into retirement, was baptized by Ambrose, and then journeyed to Rome, the Fountain of orthodox faith. Here for a while he remained, to study the discipline and customs of the Mother Church, and to make himself full master of those

* See how his heart opened to the words of the Psalmist, whose character was not dissimilar to his own:—S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. IX., Cap. IV., n.* 8, *p.* 766—767; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

high transforming principles which had been introduced by Athanasius.*

See how in the Eternal City he comes in contact with the guiding principles of the Eastern athletes. Writing against the Manicheans, in the work "*De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*," he says :—

"Nor will I mention those things which are unknown to you, but by you concealed. For who knows not that the number of Christians, that is, persons of high abstinence, daily spreads more and more throughout the whole world, especially in the East and in Egypt, of which you cannot possibly be ignorant? I will say nothing of those I mentioned a little before who, living most retired quite out of sight of men, contenting themselves with Bread only (which at certain seasons is brought to them) and water, do inhabit most desolate regions, enjoying a converse with God, to whom they adhere with most pure minds, and are most happy in the contemplation of His Beauty, which is discernible by the understanding of those only who are Saints." †

Then further on he speaks specially of what he witnessed in Rome :—‡

"Nor will I negligently pass over another very commendable sort of Christians; those I mean who dwell in cities,

* See how splendid he is!—"Sed ubi erat tam annoso tempore, et de quo imo altoque secreto evocatum est in momento liberum arbitrium meum, quo subderem cervicem leni jugo tuo, et humeros levi sarcinæ tuæ (*Matth., XI.*, 30), Christe Jesu Adjutor meus et Redemptor meus? Quam suave mihi subito factum est carere suavitatibus nugarum! et quas amittere metus fuerat, jam demittere gaudium erat. Ejiciebas enim eas a me, vera tu et summa suavitas: ejiciebas, et intrabas pro eis omni luce clarior, sed omni secreto interior; omni honore sublimior, sed non sublimibus in se. Jam liber erat animus meus a curibus mordacibus ambiendi et acquirendi, et volutandi atque scalpendi scabiem libidinum; et garriebam tibi claritati meæ et divitiis meis, et saluti meæ Domino Deo meo." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Confessionum Lib. IX., Cap. I., n.* 1, *p.* 763; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*)

† *Ibidem, De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, Lib. I., Cap. XXXI., n.* 65—66, *p.* 1337—1338.

‡ *Ibidem, Chap. XXXIII.*

far removed from vulgar life. I saw at Milan a Society of holy persons, not a few, over whom was one, a Priest, an excellent man, and very learned. At Rome likewise I knew more such, in which several eminent for gravity, prudence, and Divine knowledge, govern the rest dwelling with them; living in Christian charity, sanctity, and liberty: themselves are chargeable to none, but after the manner of the East, and the authority of the Apostle Paul, they employ themselves in working with their hands. I have understood that many of them keep fasts altogether incredible; not, in refreshing their bodies daily but once, and that at night (which is every where usual); but very often continuing three days together, or longer without meat or drink. Nor in men this only, but in women too: who, widows, virgins, living a many of them together, and getting their living by spinning, are governed by the gravest, and those, who amongst them not only are most reputed for forming and composing their manners, but likewise experienced and fittest for forming their minds." *

The monastic principle thus took possession of the mind of S. Augustine; and he gave himself over to the practice of holocaustic sacrifice. Love of Christ in place of love of self; purity of heart and spirit in place of sensual indulgence;

* "Nec ideo tamen laudabile christianorum genus contempserim, eorum scilicet qui in civitatibus degunt, a vulgari vita remotissimi. Vidi ego diversorium sanctorum Mediolani, non paucorum hominum, quibus unus presbyter præerat vir optimus et doctissimus. Romæ etiam plura cognovi, in quibus singuli gravitate atque prudentia et divina scientia præpollentes cæteris secum habitantibus præsunt, christiana charitate, sanctitate et libertate viventibus: ne ipsi quidem cuiquam onerosi sunt, sed Orientis more, et Pauli Apostoli auctoritate manibus suis se transigunt. Jejunia etiam prorsus incredibilia multos exercere didici, non quotidie semel sub noctem reficiendo corpus, quod est usquequaque usitatissimum, sed continuum triduum vel amplius sæpissime sine cibo ac potu ducere. Neque hoc in viris tantum, sed etiam in feminis; quibus item multis viduis et virginibus simul habitantibus, et lana ac tela victum quæritantibus, præsunt singulæ gravissimæ probatissimæque, non tantum in instituendis componendisque moribus, sed etiam instruendis mentibus peritæ ac paratæ." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom I., De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, Lib. I., Cap. XXXIII., n.* 70, *p.* 1339—1340; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*)

reverence in the place of pride of intellect; and a genuine spirit of adoration in the place of scepticism and misbelief, now animated the entire moral man of this marvellous servant of the Crucified.

Having drunk of the Roman spirit, he sets sail for Carthage, where the famous miracle is worked.* Then, he hurries to Thagaste, bent on beginning a career of entire self-immolation. He divests himself of all his goods, and endows the Church with them, and passes three years with his chosen companions in practices of prayer, fasting, and contemplation.† Possidius, for forty years his familiar friend, thus describes this portion of his life, saying:—

"That he and his lived according to the manner and rule instituted by the holy Apostles; chiefly, that none in the society should have any property, but that all things should be common amongst them; and distributed to every one as he had need."‡

The Saint expresses himself thus (to Hilary) on the advantage of abandoning all for God.

"I, considering that perfection of which our Lord spake, when he said to the rich young man: 'Go, sell all thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come follow Me,' was vehemently affected with it; and, not by my own strength, but His grace assisting me, did the

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. VII., De Civitate Dei, Lib. XXII., Cap. VIII., n.* 3, *p.* 761—763; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XLI.*

† *Ibidem, in Vita (ex scriptis), Tom. I., Cap. II., n.* 2, *p.* 161; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

‡ *Ibidem, in Vita Auctore* Possidio, *Cap. V., p.* 37.

like. And it shall not be less accounted to me, because I was not rich; for neither were the Apostles rich, who did so before me; but he leaveth the whole world, who relinquisheth both what he hath, and whatever he desireth to have in it. And what good proficiency I made in this way of perfection, I know better than any other man, yet God knoweth better than I; and to this manner of life I exhort others with all my power, and in the name of our Lord, I have companions who are persuaded in it by my ministry." *

He says to Albina :—

"If the people of Hippo loved me for having despised a few fields of my father's, and for having embraced the free service of God, neither did they envy the church of Thagaste, which was my native home."†

Having grounded himself in the great life-principles of S. Anthony, S. Athanasius, and S. Basil, Augustine spends the rest of his career in defending and expanding the teachings of the Church.

He is invited to Hippo-Regius; there, against

* "Ego qui hæc scribo, perfectionem de qua Dominus locutus est, quando ait diviti adolescenti, *Vade, vende omnia quæ habes, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in cœlo; et veni sequere me (Matth. XIX.*, 21.) vehementer adamavi, et non meis viribus, sed gratia ipsius adjuvante sic feci. Neque enim quia dives non fui, ideo minus mihi imputabitur: nam neque ipsi Apostoli, qui priores hoc fecerunt, divites fuerunt. Sed totum mundum dimittit qui et illud quod habet, et quod optat habere, dimittit. Quantum autem in hac perfectionis via profecerim, magis quidem novi ego, quam quisquam alius homo; sed magis Deus quam ego. Et ad hoc propositum quantis possum viribus alios exhortor, et in nomine Domini habeo consortes, quibus hoc per meum ministerium persuasum est." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. II. Epistolarum Classis III., Epist. CLVII., Cap. IV., n.* 39, *p.* 692; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXIII.*)

† "Nam si in me dilexerunt quod audierant paucis agellulis paternis contemptis, ad Dei liberam servitutem me fuisse conversum, neque in hoc inviderunt Ecclesiæ Thagastensi, quæ carnalis patria mea est." (*Ibidem, Epist. CXXVI., n.* 7, *p.* 179.)

his will, he is ordained priest.* He founds another monastery; and a house of religious women, for which he writes a Rule, and of which his sister is the head.† He preaches for Valerius, disputes with Fortunatus, makes an oration before the African Council, and writes many of his works, in the midst of strict fasts and protracted vigils.‡

Valerius now, in spite of the Saint's opposition, has him consecrated Bishop at Hippo, and soon afterwards dies; S. Augustine succeeds him, and, taking up his abode in the palace, turns it into a powerful monastic centre, which soon makes its influence felt throughout the Church of Africa. No ecclesiastic was permitted to enter here who had not previously disposed of his estates, who was not prepared to live a life of celibacy, and to be content with community of goods. No priest could find employment in this Church who had not embraced a life of holocaustic sacrifice. It is but natural that this palace-monastery should become a nursery of saints.§ The Churches of Africa were only too anxious to obtain the services of men who had given so strong a pledge of their devotedness, as to abandon every-

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* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita (ex scriptis), Cap. IV., n.* 1, *p.* 169—*also* Possidius, *Cap. IV., p.* 36—37; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† See full account of his monastery, his disciples, their fame, the spread of the institute, &c.—*Ibidem, Cap. V., n.* 1, 2, 3, &c., *p.* 174—178.

‡ Regarding his preaching, see:—*Ibidem, Cap. IV., n.* 4, 5, 6, *p.* 171—174.

§ *Ibidem, Cap. V., n.* 3, *p.* 176.

thing, save God's love, at the very outset of their course. The Sees themselves of this province of the Church were soon filled up by those Apostolic men, who had drawn from the great spirit of Augustine elements of sacrifice, stability, and Christian love. Possidius says that, at the request of those concerned, the Bishop of Hippo had sent as many as ten "holy and reverend, learned and continent persons," to preside over various Sees.*

It would occupy too much space to write at length on Augustine's unwearied labours in the service of the Church during these years, or to show how manfully he opposed the heretical teachings of the Manicheans, Donatists, Pelagians, and Arians, and overset the arrogant pretensions of the pagans. During his episcopal career he carried on a continued warfare against special errors, either by confronting the enemy in personal conflict, or by wielding his vigorous, logical, and energetic pen.† Possidius says :—

"In the tumult of so many secular distractions, so much was written and published by him, so many things discoursed

* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, Auctore* Possidio, *Cap. XI., p.* 42 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† For his principal works see *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I—XI. Tom. I.*— Contra Academicos, Libb. III., p. 906—958 *(circa* 386); De Magistro, Lib. I., p. 1193—1221 ; De Beata Vita, Lib. I., p. 959—976 ; De Ordine, Libb. II., p. 978—1020 ; Soliloquiorum Libb. II., 869—904 ; De Immortalitate Animæ, Lib. I., p. 1021—1036 *(circa* 388) ; De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, et de Moribus Manichæorum, Libb. II., p. 1310–1378 ; De Musica, Libb. VI., p. 1081—1194. *Tom. III., Pars I.*, De Vera Religione, Lib. I., p. 121—172 ; De Genesi Contra Manichæos, Libb. II., p. 173—220. *Tom. I.*, De Libero Arbitrio, Libb. III., p. 221 –1310 *(circa* 395). *Tom. III., Pars I.*, De Consensu Evangelistarum, Libb. IV., p. 1041—1230 *(circa* 400).

in the Church taken down by Notaries, and afterwards corrected—either writings against divers heretics, or Expositions of the Holy Scriptures,—that even a man who is very industrious can hardly peruse or read them all over." *

As he approached the end, the Saint rose more and more into that region in which the great Angelical spent his entire life. His mind became replenished with spiritual delights; human science became distastful to him; the Holy Scriptures filled his heart with supernatural joy. His soul was weaned of sensible things; and though his health was always delicate, he spent his days and nights in prayer, and in studying and writing on spiritual things. †

He expresses the whole principle which is the centre-life of the monastic idea in these words:—

"A right spirit which causeth the soul not to stray or err in seeking Truth, is not restored in her, till the heart be first

* "Tanta autem ab eodem dictata et edita sunt, tantaque in Ecclesia disputata, excepta atque emendata, vel adversus hæreticos conscripta, vel ex canonicis Libris exposita ad ædificationem sanctorum Ecclesiæ filiorum, ut ea omnia vix quisquam studiosorum perlegere et nosse sufficiat." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita Auctore* Possidio, *Cap. XVIII., p.* 49; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.)*

† Here are some more of his works:—*Tom. VI.*—De Catechizandis Rudibus, Lib. I., p. 309—349. *Tom. IX.*—Contra Epistolam Parmeniani, Libb. III., p. 33—107; De Baptismo contra Donatistas, Libb. VII., p. 107—245. *Tom. VIII.*—Contra Faustum Manichæum, Libb. XXXIII., p. 207—519 *(circa an.* 400). *Tom. I.*—Confessionum Libb. XIII., p. 659—905 *(circa an.* 400). *Tom. VI.*—De Bono Conjugali, Lib. I., p. 373—395 *(circa an.* 401); De Sancta Virginitate, Lib. I., p. 395—429 *(circa an.* 401.) *Tom. IX.*—De Unitate Ecclesiæ, Lib. I., p. 391—445; Contra Litteras Petiliani, Libb. III., p. 245—391. *Tom. VIII.*—De Actis cum Felice Manichæo, Libb. II., p. 519—551 *(circa an.* 404); De Natura Boni contra Manichæos, Lib. I., p. 551—571 *(an.* 405); Contra Secundinum Manichæum, Lib. I., p. 577—603. *Tom. IX.*—Contra Cresconium, Libb. IV., p. 445—595; De Unico Baptismo, Lib. I., 595—613; De Gestis cum Emerito, p. 697—707 *(an.* 418); Contra Gaudentium Donatistam, 707—753 *(an.* 420). *Tom. X.*—De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione et de Baptismo Parvulorum, Libb. III., p. 109—199; De Spiritu et Littera, Lib. I., p. 199—247. *Tom. IV.*—De Fide et Operibus, Lib. I., p. 197—231 *(an.* 413).

clean : that is till first the cogitation hath restrained and purified itself from all desires, and dregs of mortal things. And now in this vision itself, and contemplation of Truth (which is the seventh and last ascent of the soul, nor yet so truly an ascent, as a certain mansion, whereto by the former ascents she arrives) what joys are there, what a full fruition of the true and Sovereign Good, and the delicious flavour of what a serenity and eternity ! What can I say ? These things have been said (so far as they thought fit to say them), by those great and incomparable souls, whom we believe to have seen, and still to see, and experience them. But this now I dare say ; that, if we do most constantly hold on the course which God hath commanded, and we have undertaken, we shall attain by the power of God, and by wisdom, to this supreme Cause, or Author, or Principle of all things : Who once understood by us, we shall well discern how all things under the sun are *Vanitas Vanitatum*.* . . . And so great delight there is in contemplating this Truth, so great purity, so great clearness, so undoubted a belief of things, that one then thinks himself not to have known anything besides, which he thought he knew ; and, for the less impediment of the whole soul to inhere in the whole Truth, Death itself, that is, an absolute escape and flight from the body, before so dreaded, is now as the greatest benefit desired." †

These words, though written early after his conversion, express the tenor of his mind and the practice of his episcopal life. Of the sweet order of his monastic palace, the frugality, yet hospitality of his table, of the miracle he wrought, and of his abstraction from the world, Possidius has treated at length. His hatred of uncharitable

* *Eccles.*, *I.*, 2.

† S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. I.*, *De Quantitate Animæ*, *Lib. I.*, *Cap. XXXIII.*, *n.* 75—76, *p.* 1076 ; *Patrolog. Lat.*, *Vol. XXXII.*

conversation is evidenced by the words carved on his table, and to the spirit of which he made all who sat at meat with him strictly adhere :—

"Quisquis amat dictis Absentum rodere vitam
Hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi." *

What a privileged board was that at which presided so great a genius and so admirable a saint! and how winning must not have been his appearance, if the old portrait at Milan in any way resembles him!† Dark in complexion, of a frail yet graceful form, with a broad brow, with a penetrating, sweet, and concentrated expression, the natural nobility and candour of his soul must have added an exquisite distinction to his manner. The most perfect expression of genius, combined with the highest type of Christian civilization, must have rendered S. Augustine one of the rarest specimens of choice humanity which has ever been fashioned by the hand of God into a pillar of the Church.

But this brief account of the great Bishop of

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* "Cochlearibus tantum argenteis utens, cætera vasa quibus mensæ inferebantur cibi, vel testea, vel lignea, vel marmorea fuerunt : non tamen necessitatis inopia, sed proposito voluntatis. Sed et hospitalitatem semper exhibuit. Et in ipsa mensa magis lectionem vel disputationem, quam epulationem potationemque diligebat et contra pestilentiam humanæ consuetudinis in ea scriptum ita habebat :—

Quisquis amat, &c.

Et ideo omnem convivam a superfluis et noxiis fabulis et detractionibus sese abstinere debere admonebat." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I. in Vita, Auctore* Possidio, *Cap. XXII., p.* 52 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.)*

† It is thus described :—"E vestito in una forma veramente propria o di quei tempi o per lo meno de' pæsi dell' Africa : nè è molto dissimile da qulla che anco ne' nostri giorni si costuma generalmente in Levante. Il colore è vermiglio tendente al fosco ; la fronte stesa : lo sguardo penetrante sì, ma dolce e sospeso ; la struttura del corpo ristretta e gentile."

Hippo must now be drawn to a close. He continued preaching and writing to the end; and, in the midst of all the horrors of the Vandal invasion, he retained his peace of mind and self-possession, and wrote to Honoratus a letter full of apostolic wisdom, pointing out the duty of priests during the perilous time of war.*

And indeed the terrific scourge which visited the teeming and opulent coast of Africa, was enough to shake the nerve of the stoutest man. The Vandals—boiling over with lust, maddened with cruelty and crime, and frenzied with Arian hatred of the orthodox faith—carried with them a spirit of savage cruelty, which turned the beautiful

* See *Tom. VI.*—De Bono Viduitatis, Lib. I., p. 429—451 *(circa an.* 414). *Tom. VII.*—De Civitate Dei, Libb. XXII., p. 1—804 *(begun in* 413, *ended in* 426). *Tom. X.*—De Natura et Gratia, Contra Pelagium, Lib. I., p. 247—291; De Perfectione Justitiæ Hominis, p. 241—391 *(an.* 415). *Tom. III.*—De Genesi ad Litteram, Libb. XII., p. 245—485. *Tom. IV.*—Pars Prior, Enarrationes in Psalmos, Psalm. I—LXXIX., p. 1—1028. *Tom. IV.*—Pars Posterior, Psalm. LXXX—CL., p. 1033—1966. *Tom. VIII.*—De Trinitate, Libb. XV., p. 819—1098 *(begun* 400, *ended* 416). *Tom. III., P. II.*—In Joannis Evangelium, Tractatus CXXIV., p. 1379—1977; In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos, Tractatus X., p. 1977—2063; *Tom. X.*—De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali, p. 359—413 (*an.* 418). *Tom. V.*—Sermones, &c., p. 1—1735. *Tom. X.*—De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia, Libb. II., p. 415—475 (*an.* 419—420). *Tom. VI.*—De Conjugiis Adulterinis, Libb. II., p. 451—487 *(an.* 419). *Tom. X.*—De Anima et ejus Origine, Libb. IV., p. 475—549 *(an.* 419—420). *Tom. III.*—Locutionum Libb. VII., p. 485—547; Quæstionum in Pentateuchum, Libb. VII., p. 547—825. *Tom. X.*—Contra Duas Epistolas Pelagianorum, Libb. IV., p. 549—641. *Tom. IX.*—Contra Gaudentium, Libb. II., p. 707—753. *Tom. VI.*—Contra Mendacium, Lib. I., p. 517—547. *Tom. VIII.*—Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum, Libb. II., p. 603—665 *(an.* 419—420). *Tom. X.*—Contra Julianum, Libb. VI., p. 641—881 *(an.* 421). *Tom. I.*—Regula ad Servos Dei, p. 1377—1384 *(an.* 422—423). *Tom. III., P. I.*—De Doctrina Christiana, Libb. IV., p. 15—121 *(an.* 426). *Tom. X.*—De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, Lib. I., p. 881—915 *(an.* 426—429); De Correptione et Gratia, Lib. I., p. 915—959. *Tom. VIII.*—Contra Sermonem Arianorum, Lib. I., p. 683—709; De Hæresibus, Lib. I., p. 21—51 (*an.* 428—429). *Tom. X., P. II.*—De Prædestinatione Sanctorum, Lib. I., p. 959—993; De Dono Perseverantiæ, Lib. I., p. 993—1049; Contra secundum Juliani Responsionem, imperfectum opus, Libb. VI., p. 1049—1611.

nature of God into a howling wilderness. Destruction was their one aim, and terribly did they carry it into effect. They pillaged, burnt, sacked, cut to pieces, razed to the ground, scattered to the winds, stamped into the earth, whatever bore about it a mark of life, civilization, or religion. They ransacked the churches, smashed to atoms the ornaments, and then set the sacred edifices in flames, till nothing but charred ruins and blackened walls met the eye. Even the harmless trees were not spared—they hacked them to bits too, lest they should give food to that wretched remnant of the population, which, having fled to the woods or hidden in the mountains, or crept into the vaults, had escaped the cruel fate of their companions.* No distinction was made of age or sex. Old men, delicate women, children just born, all were trodden out of life, or broken and maimed by the violent fury of these savages. Bishops and priests were tortured and burnt to death. Monks and virgins were dispersed, or made captives, or immolated. Many died of sheer want of food; many walked the roads absolutely naked, without a friend of any kind to help them, and piteously begged for bread. A smoking furnace, with every horror of blood, iron, and tears, was all that remained of one of the most opulent and fruitful portions of the Roman world. At length only three cities were left

* See Newman's *Church of the Fathers, p.* 229. *Fourth Edition.*

which had not been visited by these demons in the shape of men—Carthage, Hippo, and Cirtha.*

Finally, the time came for Hippo to be besieged. S. Augustine, now an old man of seventy-six, was struck down by fever. He was in the midst of his own, surrounded by the community which he had so carefully formed, and attended by several bishops, amongst whom were Possidius, and his old familiar school companion Alypius. Speaking of this period, Possidius says :—

"We used continually to converse together about the misfortunes in which we were involved, and contemplated God's tremendous judgments which were before our eyes, saying, 'Thou art just, O Lord, and Thy judgment is right.' One day, at meal time, as we talked together, he said, 'Know ye that in this our present calamity I pray God to vouchsafe to rescue this besieged city, or (if otherwise) to give His servants strength to bear His will, or, at least, to take me to Himself out of this world.' We followed his advice, and both ourselves, and our friends, and the whole city, offered up the same prayer with him. On the third month of the siege, he was seized with a fever, and took to his bed, and was reduced to the extreme of sickness." †

* Poujoulat, *Histoire de Saint Augustin, Tom. II., Chap. LIII., p.* 477—478. *Seconde Edition.*

† "Unde nobiscum sæpissime colloquebamur, et Dei tremenda judicia præ oculis nostris posita considerabamus, dicentes: 'Justus es, Domine, et rectum judicium tuum.' *(Psal. CXVIII.,* 137.) Pariterque dolentes, gementes et flentes orabamus miserationum Patrem et Deum omnis Consolationis (2 *Cor., I.,* 3), ut in eadem nos tribulatione sublevare dignaretur. Et forte provenit, ut una cum eodem ad mensam constitutis, et inde confabulantibus nobis diceret: 'Noveritis me hoc tempore nostræ calamitatis id Deum rogare, ut aut hanc civitatem ab hostibus circumdatam liberare dignetur, aut si aliud ei videtur, suos servos ad perferendam suam voluntatem fortes faciat, aut certe ut me de hoc sæculo ad se accipiat. Quæ ille dicens, nosque instruens, deinceps cum eodem et nos, et nostri omnes, et ipsi qui in eadem fuerant civitate, a summo Deo similiter petebamus." (S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, Auctore* Possidio, *Cap. XXVIII—XXIX., p.* 59; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.)*

"He had been used to say in familiar conversation, that after receiving baptism, even approved Christians and priests ought not to depart from the body without a fitting and sufficient course of penance. Accordingly, in the last illness, of which he died, he set himself to write out the special penitential psalms of David, and to place them four by four against the wall, so that, as he lay in bed, in the days of his sickness, he could see them. And so he used to read and weep abundantly. And lest his attention should be distracted by any one, about ten days before his death, he begged us who were with him to hinder persons entering his room except at the times when his medical attendants came to see him, or his meals were brought to him.* Till this last illness, he had been able to preach the word of God in the Church without intermission with energy and boldness, with healthy mind and judgment. He slept with his fathers in a good old age, sound in limb, unimpaired in sight and hearing, and, as it is written, while we stood by, beheld, and prayed with him. We took part in the Sacrifice to God at his funeral, and so buried him." †

Such was the death of this Father of the Church. So he ended who summed up in himself, and manifested in their fullest bloom, the

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* S. Augustini, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, Auctore* Possidio, *Cap. XXXI., p.* 63—64; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XXXII.*

† "Et ita observatum ac factum est: et omni illo tempore orationi vacabat. Verbum Dei usque ad ipsam suam extremam ægritudinem imprætermisse, alacriter et fortiter, sana mente, sanoque consilio in ecclesia prædicavit. Membris omnibus sui corporis incolumis, integro aspectu atque auditu, et, ut scriptum est, nobis adstantibus, et videntibus, et cum eo pariter orantibus obdormivit cum patribus suis, enutritus in bona senectute; et nobis coram pro ejus commendanda corporis depositione sacrificium Deo oblatum est, et sepultus est. Testamentum nullum fecit, quia unde faceret pauper Dei non habuit. Ecclesiæ bibliothecam, omnesque codices diligenter posteris custodiendos semper jubebat. . . . Juxta quod etiam sæcularium quidam poetarum, suis jubens quo sibi tumulum mortuo in aggere publico collocarent, programmate finxit, dicens,

'Vivere post obitum vatem vis nosse, viator,
Quod legis ecce loquor, vox tua nempe mea est.'"

(*Ibidem, p.* 64.)

special characteristics of the Patristic period. A large solitary light, steadily shining in the Church of Africa, separate as it were from the great luminaries of Asia Minor and Syria, of Palestine and Egypt, he appears to the eye of the theologian, when the other planets have retired from the heavens, as the beautiful day-star, bearing within itself all the illuminations of the night, and shedding them upon the earth with a ray as intense as it is pure.

His long eventful career, from his boyhood to the grave, had been one abiding struggle. In the first portion of his life he had to wrestle with himself; in the second, he was engaged in single combat with the enemies of the Church. The dust of battle and the excitement of war were ever at his door. Like Athanasius and Gregory, like Chrysostom and Jerome, like Ambrose and Basil, he was ever ready, armed *cap-à-pie,* expecting the onslaught of the enemy, or with lance in rest, hurling himself into the midst, and overbearing, in his impetuous onset, the heretic, schismatic, and pagan.* No one has ever had the force of arm to smite as he. No knight was ever

* The principal dates in S. Augustine's career are as follows :—Born, Nov. 13, 354 ; returns from Madura, 370—1 ; at Carthage, 371 ; birth of his child Adeodatus, 372 ; reads Cicero's *Hortensius,* 373; becomes a Manichean, 374 ; teaches at Thagaste—returns to Carthage, 376 ; writes *De Pulchro et Apto,* 379; becomes a sceptic and goes to Rome, 383 ; to Milan, 385 ; studies S. Paul—is converted, 386 ; baptized by S. Ambrose—his mother dies, 387 ; returns to Africa, 388 ; made Presbyter, 389 ; writes against the Manicheans, 392 ; and the Donatists, 394 ; made Bishop, 395 ; writes the *Confessions—De Trinitate*—Valerius dies, 397 ; Council of

so bold, so brilliant, so victoriously a conqueror. No Father of the Catholic Church possessed such versatility, so extraordinary a combination of moral and intellectual gifts. He had known from experience what human passions were. He had been schooled in the difficulties of life. His imagination was elastic and warm; his reasoning power immense; his poetic and dramatic genius great; his knowledge of the religions and philosophies of the past unrivalled. Who so soaring in his gift of abstract thought? Who so wide in his vision of the spreading map of human act and theory? Who so elevated in his stand-point —like a man on a mountain-top surveying the world below? Who looked down on the enemy, detected his position, turned his weak points to such account, as this great champion of the Church in a dark and difficult day? Such force of logic, and such electricity of fancy—when have they been so harmonized before? * Then, who so loyal to

Carthage, 398; refutes Petilianus, 402; asks to be protected against the Donatists, 404; writes *De Urbis Romæ Obsidione*, 408; efforts against the Donatists, 411; *De Civitate Dei*, 413; *De Gestis Palæst. Synodi circa Pelagium*, 417; writes against Priscillianists, 420; Semi-Pelagians, 424; appoints a successor, 426; writes the *Retractations*, 428; answers Prosper and Hilary, 429; dies, Aug. 28, 430. *(Cf., Library of the Fathers, Vol. I., S. Augustine's Confessions, p.* 347. *Oxford.)*

* Speaking of S. Augustine's exceptional position amongst the Fathers, Bindemann says:—"Damit dieses geschah, kam Verschiedenes bei ihm zusammen: eine Vereinigung von Geisteseigenschaften, die oft nicht vereinigt sind, und noch viel seltener in solchem Maasse und solcher Harmonie vereinigt sind; ein inniger Sehnsuchtszug der Seele zur Gemeinschaft mit Gott, durch Eindrücke kirchlicher Frömmigkeit früh genährt; ein Gemüth, das auf eine von allem Kleinlichen entfernte Erhabenheit, auf Einfachheit, Milde, Demuth und heiligen Ernst angelangt war; eine mit Forschungsdrang verbundene Kraft des Denkens, die ihn zu den höchsten oder tiefsten Problemen des Erkennens, bis an die

the Church, so reverential towards faith, so fearful of the aberrations of the reason, as S. Augustine? Who so humble in acknowledging a fault, so ready to correct an error, so truly great in the marvellous candour of his Confessions, and so truly splendid in the Christianity of his generous, burning, loving heart?

His great work "*De Civitate Dei*" is an index to the character of his mind, and to the nature of the labour he was called upon to accomplish. His fifteen books "*De Trinitate*," his treatise "*De Vera Religione*," his polemic against the Manicheans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians—all are evidences to his mighty grasp and force of mind; but his "*De Civitate Dei*" may be looked upon as his *Summa Theologica*.* It speaks of the man, and of the times. Its method is especially Patristic; its conception large, broad, and dramatic; it is

Grenze des Erreichbaren führte und in bewunderungswürdiger Dialektik sich ausbreitete; ein reiches Gefühlsleben innerlicher Contemplationen, in denen seine Seele zu ruhen liebte und aus denen wohl die Phantasie mächtig ihre Flügel auszubreiten strebte, wobei sie aber doch wieder von Besonnenheit und Nüchternheit gezügelt ward." (*Der heilige Augustinus, Dritter und letzter Band, Zweite Abtheilung, Zwölftes Capitel, p.* 926.)

* Speaking of this work, Bindemann says:—"Wie ein Wanderer, der eine Gegend durchwandert, die im Einzelnen viele bedeutende Ansichten darbietet und darbei einen Ort enthält, von welchem aus die einzelnen bedeutenden Punkte mit einem Gesammtblick überschaut verden können, wohl zuletzte diesen Ort besucht, um endlich noch das Gesammtbild dessen, was im Einzelnen anziehend für ihn gewesen war, in sich aufzunehmen; so erscheint es auch angemessen, die Charakteristik der Schriften Augustins mit seinem grossen apologetischen Werke abzuschliessen. Es giebt Schriften, von denen man im besondern Sinne sagen kann, dass ihre Verfasser durch deren Vollendung Lebensaufgaben erfüllt haben. Nämlich besonders von solchen Schriften wird man dies sagen, welche den Verfasser nicht nur längere oder kürzere Zeit, sondern überhaupt während seines litterarischen Lebens beschäftigt haben. In diesem Sinne darf gesagt werden, dass Augustinus durch sein Werk 'vom Gottesstaat' eine Lebensaufgabe erfüllte." (*Ibidem, p.* 795.)

history and poetry; it is creative and exuberant; it impresses the imagination by the depth of its principles, the elevation of its stand-point, and the vastness of its design. The two great antagonistic cities standing over against each other—Babylon and Jerusalem, bring before the mind the idea of huge combats, mighty battlings between fierce opposing hosts,—the powers of paganism and the heroism of the Cross. Such a work was suited to the genius of that period; it told upon it, and subdued it by the sublimity of the picture which it engraved upon the mind.

Poujoulat says—

"The 'City of God' is a marvellous monument, on account of the novelty, the height, and the breadth of its design, and the number of its facts and ideas; no genius before S. Augustine had ever seen so many things so accurately, and from so high an elevation.* The 'City of God' is as it were the encyclopedia of the fifth century; it embraces all epochs, and all questions, and answers them all. It is the Christian poem of our destinies in their relation with our beginning and our last end. The 'City of God' and the 'Confessions' after being read and re-read for fourteen centuries, will yet continue to be studied as long as a trace of human letters remains; because these two works, which have God and man as their subject, preserve their interest in spite of all the revolutions of time." †

Just as the classic Church Fathers are summed

* See how S. Augustine speaks of those who thought of answering him:—*Opp. Omnia, Tom. VII., De Civitate Dei, Lib. V.; Cap. XXVI., n. 2, p.* 174; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. XLI.*

† *Histoire De Saint Augustin, sa Vie, ses Œuvres, son Siècle, Influence de son Génie, Tome II., Chap. XLIX., p.* 421. *Seconde Edition.*

up in S. Augustine; just as he, through his breadth of mind and grasp, drew into one, as it were, the whole teaching of the past—so with the great Angelical. He, in his place and way, did in the "*Summa Theologica*" what S. Augustine did in the "*De Civitate Dei.*" They are both of them epoch-making works, and express a synthesis which is the outcome of many centuries of labour, and of the brain-toil of many able men. A comparison between the matter and form of these two efforts of genius would bring out very clearly the relative opportunities, characters, and talents of the men.

But here another, and the last, as he may be called, of the great classic Fathers must be treated of; and then the four Latin and four Greek pillars of the Church will have been discussed. Doubtless, the Angelical was influenced by other teachers; but those regarded by the Church as her special Doctors may be fairly held as typical of the rest.

Gordianus, the Father of S. Gregory the Great, was a man of noble family and of saintly life. His three sisters dedicated their virginity to God. His wife, Silvia, became a canonized saint. She abandoned the world when an occasion offered, and, hiding herself away in a place called the "*Cella Nova*," near the Basilica of S. Paul's, she spent the remainder of her life in prayer, penance, and contemplation. S. Gregory was probably born about

the year 540.* Little is handed down regarding his early childhood. Gregory of Tours says that he was taught grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric; and that he was second to none in his proficiency in these arts. He was endowed with good memory and quick parts, and had a natural esteem for the teachings of authority. Law and philosophy were not neglected by him, and his earnest craving after knowledge gave evidence of that future which was realized in his career.

The principal strategic centres have now been touched upon—Alexandria, Antioch, Cæsarea, Constantinople, Bethlehem, Milan, Hippo—and now we come to Rome. Theology, ecclesiastical politics, Scripture, eloquence: the bishop, the orator, the Biblicist, the preacher,—these have been dwelt upon in their different offices, and have been shown to shed within the Church their various lights.† Now we approach the crown of

* Paul the Deacon speaks thus of the parentage of S. Gregory:—"Gregorius hac urbe Romana, patre Gordiano, matre vero Silvia editus, non solum de spectabili senatorum prosapia, verum etiam religiosa, originem duxit. Nam Felix, istius apostolicæ sedis antistes, vir magnæ virtutis, et Ecclesiæ in Christo gloria, ejus atavus fuit. Sed tamen hanc Gregorius tantæ nobilitatis lineam moribus extulit, probis actibus decoravit. Denique, ut post in propatulo claruit, non sine magno quodam præsagio tale sortitus est nomen. Gregorius namque ex Græco eloquio in nostra lingua vigilator, seu vigilans sonat. Re etenim vera vigilavit sibi, dum divinis inhærendo præceptis, laudabiliter vixit. Vigilavit, et fidelibus populis, dum doctrinæ affluentis ingenio eis quo tramite cœlestia scanderent patefecit." (Sancti Gregorii, *Opera Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, Auctore* Paulo Diacono, *Monacho Cassinensi, n.* 1, *p.* 42; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

† See the high opinion entertained of S. Gregory the Great by S. Gregory of Tours, his contemporary:—*Lib. Hist. Cap. I.;* by S. Isidore, *Lib. De Illust. Eccles. Script., Cap. XXVII.;* by John the Deacon, *Lib. I., Cap. XVII., De Vita S. Gregorii;* by Venerable Bede, *Lib. II., Hist. Eccles. Gentis Anglorum, Cap. I.;* by Pope Hadrian I., *Ad Episcopos Hispaniæ, Tom. VII., Concil., p.* 1017; and by many others mentioned in S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., p.* 487—500; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*

all, the Sovereign Pontiff, who was the first monk-Pope, and the first great luminary, who, by the universal consent of Christendom, has been styled "*Magnus*," as well as "*Sanctus*." Scripture, oratory, theological lore, and governing powers of the highest order, seem to have been combined in this great Benedictine, in such unusual proportions as to have lifted him far above the level of distinguished men. He shines even at this day, through the haze of so many hundreds of years, with a radiance specially his own. Breadth of mind, benevolence, a large heart, a certain magnificence combined with true humility, a stubborn will, joined to a gracious courtesy and tenderness of manner—a Patriarchal Sovereign Pontiff, seated on the Chair of Peter, and ruling, in a dark and stormy day, a crumbling world—such a picture as this is presented to the imagination when the name of Gregory the Great is brought before the mind.*

Born in the midst of splendour and wealth, with a brilliant career open to him, it seemed little probable that the accomplished son of Silvia

* His early tendencies point to his future:—"Disciplinis vero liberalibus, hoc est grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica, ita a puero est institutus, ut quamvis eo tempore florerent adhuc Romæ studia litterarum, tamen nulli in urbe ipsa secundus esse putaretur. Inerat ei in parva adhuc ætate maturum jam studium adhærere scilicet majorum dictis: et si quid dignum potuisset auditu percipere, non segniter oblivioni tradere, sed tenaci potius memoriæ commendare: hauriebatque jam tunc sitibundo doctrinæ fluenta pectore, quæ post congruenti tempore mellito gutture eructaret. Hic in annis adolescentiæ (in quibus solet ea ætas vias sæculi ingredi) Deo cœpit devotus existere, et ad supernæ vitæ patriam totis desideriis anhelare." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia*, *Tom. I., in Vita*, *Auctore* Paulo Diacono, *n.* 2, *p.* 42—43; *Patrolog. Lat.*, *Vol. LXXV.*)

would throw up the charms of life, and embrace poverty and the Cross.

The very society into which he was cast, held out great temptations to a young man of parts and of ambition. He was made Prefect of the City of Rome, an office of high dignity, and offering every inducement which station, wealth, and influence could hold out for making the best of this world, and for enjoying the honours which it lavishes in such profusion.* Many men, like S. Benedict, or S. Anthony, or S. Basil, have broken with the world before it has placed them in position; many men, after they have tried it and found it fail, have dedicated their declining years to the service of their Master,—but few indeed there are, who, like S. Gregory the Great, in the very flush and high-tide of popularity, when their blood was warm with passion, when the world was dangling its charms before their eyes, have turned their backs upon it, thrown up all its gifts, and in poverty and subjection, have been content, indeed have been overjoyed, to give the rest of their lives to serve Christ crucified, in holocaustic love and blind obedience. †

* And indeed the world had *some* effect even on him. Hear John (not Paul) the Deacon:—"Sed, dum conversionis suæ gratiam longius protrahens, tutius se Christo famulaturum putaret, si sub prætoris urbani habitu mundo specie tenus serviret, cœperunt multa contra eum ex ejusdem sæculi cura succrescere; ita ut non jam, sicut proposuerat, specie, sed in eo retineretur et mente." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, Auctore* Joanne Diacono, *Lib. I., n.* 4, *p.* 64—65; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

† The following shows what Gregory might have been in the world:—"Quid in hac amplissima dignitate gesserit Gregorius, ignorari a nobis

And this is what Gregory was called upon to do by the Voice of Grace, in the prime of manly life. And greatly did the Roman people wonder at him, when they beheld their former Prefect, who had paraded the streets in rich silks covered with sparkling gems, humbly going his way in the penitential sackcloth of a simple monk.*

He was a select soul from the very first. Probably it was through the influence of his mother that he learnt to love God in tender childhood. The vision of the Unseen World seems to have taken possession of him some considerable time before he made his irrevocable step. Christ had chosen him out for His own, and at length the Voice spoke so strongly, and the attraction became so great, that, breaking through all pretexts, he gave himself over, in poverty of life, to serve his Saviour. Paul the Deacon says that—"in his youthful days, when young men are accustomed to enter the world, Gregory began to serve God devoutly, and to yearn with all his might after the life which is above." †

voluit; conjicitur tamen ex morum probitate, juris peritia, judicii maturitate, strenuitate, vi indefessa in laboribus et negotiis, denique ex tot tantisque animi dotibus quibus magis quam purpuræ splendore præfulgebat, eum optimi prætoris partes omnes obiisse." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n.* 4, *p.* 251; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

* "Et qui ante serico contextu ac gemmis micantibus solitus erat per urbem procedere trabeatus, post vili contectus tegmine, ministrabat pauper ipse pauperibus." (*Ibidem, Auctore* Paulo Diacono, *n.* 4, *p.* 43.)

† S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita Auctore* Paulo Diacono, *n.* 2, *p.* 43; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.* Again:—"Postea tamen pius Prætor, cum intimos animi sensus explorare scrutarique sæpe consuevisset, animadvertit tandem, cœlesti lumine illustratus, inolita se vitæ sæcularis, consuetudine devinctum mundique blanditiis irretitum, in ipsis relinquendis moras nectere, neque corpore tantum, ut falso putaverat, sed ipso mentis affectu in sæculo retineri." (*Ibidem, in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n.* 5, *p.* 252.)

The Saint seems to be speaking of himself, when he says, in his book of Morals :—

"And because they [holy men] contemn all transitory things, they do not experience the licentious familiarities of the thoughts springing therefrom. For their desires are fixed upon their eternal country alone, and loving none of the things of this world, they enjoy a perfect tranquillity of mind; and hence it is said with justice 'which buildeth desolate places for themselves.' For 'to build desolate places' is to banish from the heart's interior the stirrings of earthly desires, and with single aim at the eternal inheritance to pant in love of inward peace. Had he not banished from himself all the risings of the imaginations of the heart, who said, 'One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord?' . . . Far from the tumult of earthly things he had sought a singular and perfect retreat in a quiet mind, wherein he should see God the more clearly, in proportion as he saw Him alone with himself also alone." *

Here is the explanation of that yearning, expressed with such overpowering sadness in so many letters, sermons, and writings of the Saint,

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* "At contra sancti viri, quia nihil hujus mundi appetunt, nullis procul dubio in corde tumultibus premuntur; omnes quippe inordinatos desideriorum motus a cubili cordis, manu sanctæ considerationis ejiciunt, et quia transitoria cuncta despiciunt, ex his nascentes cogitationum insolentias non patiuntur. Solam namque æternam patriam appetunt; et quia nulla hujus mundi diligunt, magna mentis tranquillitate perfruuntur. Unde recte dicitur: *qui ædificant sibi solitudines.* Solitudines quippe ædificare, est a secreto cordis terrenorum desideriorum tumultus expellere, et una intentione æternæ patriæ in amorem intimæ quietis anhelare. An non cunctos a se cogitationum tumultus expulerat qui dicebat, &c.? . . . A tumultu rerum temporalium magnum quemdam secessum petierat quietam mentem, in qua tanto purius Deum cerneret, quanto hunc cum se solo solum inveniret." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Moralium Lib. IV. in Cap. III. B. Job, Cap. XXX.* [*Vet. XXXIV.*], *n.* 58, *p.* 668; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

after he had been drawn from the repose of monastic life into the turbulent sea of ecclesiastical politics. It was not idleness he sought, nor was it even peace —in the sense in which the world understands that word; but it was the peace which the world does not understand, and cannot give. Gregory's one desire was after Christ. He wished to "see Him alone with himself alone." He only sought peace, because peace was a condition of vision—because the more all his faculties were at rest from worldly tumult, so much the more clearly would he behold his Saviour.* It was a yearning indescribable which possessed him, after the one real Object which alone can satisfy the heart of man. Gregory from boyhood experienced that innate craving after a larger light, a brighter world, and more satisfying joy than crumbling earth could offer him.

His dread of being inveigled, and the temper of his mind, come out in these words :—

"I then [when at Constantinople] detailed in your ears [Bishop Leander] all that displeased me in myself, since for late and long I declined the grace of conversion, and after

* For example see some of his letters. Writing to Theoctista, the emperor's sister, he says :—"Alta enim quietis meæ gaudia perdidi, et intus corruens, ascendisse exterius videor. Unde me a conditoris mei facie longe expulsum deploro. Conabar namque quotidie extra mundum, extra carnem fieri, cuncta phantasmata corporis ab oculis mentis abigere, et superna gaudia incorporaliter videre : et non solum vocibus sed medullis cordis ad Dei Faciem adhelans, dicebam : *Tibi dixit cor meum : Quæsivi vultum tuum : Vultum tuum, Domine, requiram (Ps. XXVI., 8)* . . . S. Gregorii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. III., Epistolarum Lib. I., Indict. IX., Epist. V., p.* 448 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXVII.* See also *Epist. VI., p.* 452 ; *Epist. VII., ad Anastasium Episcopum, p.* 452 ; *Epist. XXI., p.* 466 ; *Epist. XXVI., p.* 479 ; *Epist. XXVII., p.* 480 ; *Epist. XXX., p.* 483 ; *Epist. XLIII., p.* 496.

that I had been inspired with a heavenly affection, I thought it better to be still shrouded in the secular habit. For though I had now disclosed to me what I should seek of the love of things eternal, yet long-established custom had so cast its chains upon me, that I could not change my outward habit:* and while my purpose still compelled me to engage in the service of this world as it were in semblance only, many influences began to spring up against me for caring for this same world, so that the tie which kept me to it was now no longer in semblance only, but what is more serious, in my own mind. At length being anxious to avoid all these inconveniences, I sought the haven of the monastery and having left all that is of the world, as at that time I vainly believed, I came out naked from the shipwreck of human life." †

What greatly inflamed the mind of Gregory was the life of S. Benedict, the Patriarch of Western monks. How minutely and deeply he had studied that life, is evident from his "Dialogues;" and he was hardly twenty years of age when he acquired from his dear familiar friend Constantine, the successor of S. Benedict at Cassino, the infor-

* "Dudum te, frater beatissime, in Constantinopolitana urbe cognoscens, cum me illic sedis apostolicæ responsa constringerent, et te illuc injuncta pro causis fidei Visigothorum legatio perduxisset, omne in tuis auribus, quod mihi de me displicebat, exposui: quoniam diu longeque conversionis gratiam distuli, et postquam cœlesti sum desiderio afflatus sæculari habitu contegi melius putavi. Aperiebatur enim mihi jam de æternitatis amore quid quærerem, sed inolita me consuetudo devinxerat, ne exteriorem cultum mutarem." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Moralium Libri, Epistola Missoria, Cap. I., p.* 511; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.)*

† "Cumque adhuc me cogeret animus præsenti mundo quasi specie tenus deservire, cœperunt multa contra me ex ejusdem mundi cura succrescere, ut in eo jam non specie, sed, quod est gravius, mente retinerer. Quæ tandem cuncta sollicite fugiens, portum monasterii petii, et relictis quæ mundi sunt, ut frustra tunc credidi, ex hujus vitæ naufragio nudus evasi." *(Ibidem.)*

mation therein contained.* Then he had earnest conversations with Valentinian of the Lateran monastery on the same subject, as well as with Honoratus, the Abbot of Subiaco; and his various works show how his ear had been attuned to the spirit and tenor of the Holy Rule. Indeed, in the whole history of the thousands of saints which this Order has given to the Church, there is not one man who more exquisitely fulfils in his own example those profound instructions given by S. Benedict regarding the character and conduct of the Abbot.† Gregory the Great sitting on the chair of Peter, and legislating for the Universal Church, prudently, lovingly, and supremely governing, is simply the Benedictine Abbot transferred to the Pontifical throne — is simply an expression in the life, of that greatness and that sanctity which flow from the teachings of the inspired Patriarch of Western Monks.

The precise year in which Gregory abandoned his high position in the world, is uncertain—

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* "Vix quidem annum vigesimum attigerat, cum frequentibus collocutionibus a beato Constantino, S. Benedicti discipulo, ejusque in monasterii Casinensis regimine successore, qui anno circiter 60, supra 500, obiisse legitur, jam omnia pæne quæ de eodem S. Benedicto scripsit toto Lib. II., Dialogorum perfecte didicerat, ut ipse Gregorius testatum reliquit in laudati libri Dialog. præfatione; unde intelligas quæ fuerint nobilissimi hujus juvenis studia." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita ex scriptis ejus, &c., n.* 5, *p.* 252; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

† "De eodem argumento, scilicet de S. Benedicti vita, frequenter etiam colloqui solebat cum Valentiniano, qui annis multis monasterio Lateranensi præfuit; cum Simplicio, qui S. Benedicti congregationem post enim tertius rexit; et cum Honorato, qui Sublacensi monasterio præerat; jamque tunc ad arctioris et perfectioris vitæ propositum accendi videbatur." (*Ibidem, ex ejus scriptis adornata, n.* 5, *p.* 252.)

probably in 575.* He would then have been in the prime of life. He, like all Church heroes, did not act by halves: what he did, he did earnestly. His vast possessions ceased to please him. The deep love and respect entertained towards him by the Roman people had no effect upon his heart. He threw aside his jewelled silks; divested himself of all his estates; and entered the splendid liberty of monastic life. O, the joy of shaking off the world, and breathing freely in the open air of the house of God, and with ready unincumbered wing, flying towards the sweet Rest of the vision of the Great Supreme! †

The use which Gregory made of his wealth shows the attraction of his heart. He established and endowed six Benedictine monasteries in Sicily. He converted his paternal palace into an abbey, and the remainder of his goods he distributed amongst the poor. Having thus disposed of all the world could lavish, with a light heart he

* "Ut vero quantum licebit assignemus quo tempore, quave ætate Gregorius monachum induerit, id factum subodoramur paulo post subscriptam Laurentii cautionem de qua supra num. 3; hoc est, anno 575, cum quadragenario quinque annis esset minor." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata, n.* 7, *p.* 253; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.)*

† Truly, he says:—"Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty!" Speaking of the coveter of riches, he says:—"Sed quia omnia ambiens timere judicem noluit, ex hac vita subtractus, ad judicem nudus vadit. Cui tamen iniquo ad retributionem minus est quod in subsequenti pœna cruciatur, si in hac saltem vita liber esse permittitur. Sed nulla est libertas in culpa, quia scriptum est: *Ubi spiritus Domini, ibi libertas* (2 *Cor., III.*, 17). Et plerumque perversæ menti ipsa sua culpa fit pœna." *(Ibidem, Tom. I., Moralium Lib. XV., Cap. XX.; B. Job, Cap. XXI. (Vet. XI.), n.* 25, *p.* 1094.)

entered the seventh monastery, that of S. Andrew's (now called S. Gregory's), near the Coliseum, and, naked, was clothed with the love, grace, and intimate friendship of Jesus Christ. Such, once more, was the influence of the monastic principle on the career of a man of broad mind and generous tender heart. Thus did the cords of Adam and the chains of grace bind and lead captive, as a prisoner of Christ, the great governor of Rome—the admired of the people, and the representative of one of the noblest and richest families of the State.*

He looked forward to the reward, and to an everlasting inheritance. He says—

"Whosoever being urged by the incitement of Divine love, has forsaken all that he possessed here, shall doubtless attain there [in heaven] to the height of judicial power; that he may then come as judge in company with the Judge, who now by consideration of the Judgment chastises himself with voluntary poverty. For hence it is that it is said by Solomon concerning the spouse of Holy Church: 'Her husband is honourable in the gates, when he sitteth among the senators of the land.' † Hence Isaias says: 'The Lord will enter into Judgment with the ancients of his people.' ‡ Hence Truth proclaims these same ancients now no longer servants but friends: 'I will not now call you servants; but I have called

* "Antequam autem sæculo nuntium remitteret, 'In rebus propriis sex in Sicilia monasteria congregavit,' ut loquitur illorum temporum scriptor Gregorius Turon. *(Lib. X., Cap. I.)*, 'septimum infra urbis Romæ muros instituit, quibus tantam delegans terrarum copiam, quanta ad victum quotidianum præbendum sufficeret, reliqua vendidit, cum omni præsidio ac pauperibus erogavit.'" (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata, n. 6, p. 252; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.)*

† *Prov., XXXI.*, 23. ‡ *Isaias, III.*, 14.

you friends.' * And the Psalmist regarding the same saith: 'But to me thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable.' † And whilst he beheld their loftiness of mind, and how they trod down with the heel of the foot the glory of the world, he thereupon added: 'Their principality is exceedingly strengthened!' And that we might not think that they be few, who we learn thus advance even to the summit of such high perfection, he thereupon added: 'I will remember them, and they shall be multiplied above the sand.' For as many persons, then, as now wittingly abase themselves for the love of the Truth, so many lamps shall then blaze forth in the Judgment." ‡

With what ardour Gregory put his "heel on the glory of the world," and with what earnestness he gave himself over to the rigours of a penitential life, and with what great results his saintly example was crowned, come out clearly in the history of his monastic career. The severity of his penances suggests the sternness of S. Chrysostom in his

* *John, XV.*, 15.

† "Quisquis, stimulo divini amoris excitatus, hic possessa reliquerit, illic procul dubio culmen judiciariæ potestatis obtinebit, ut simul tunc judex cum judice veniat, qui nunc consideratione judicii sese spontanea paupertate castigat. Hinc est enim quod de sanctæ Ecclesiæ sponso per Salomonem dicitur: *Nobilis in portis vir ejus, quando sederit cum senatoribus terræ (Prov., XXXI.*, 23). Hinc Isaias ait: *Dominus ad judicium veniet cum senioribus populi sui (Isaias, III.*, 14). Hinc eosdem seniores Veritas non jam famulos, sed amicos denuntiat, dicens: *Non jam dicam vos servos, sed amicos meos (Joan., XV.*, 15). Quos nimirum Psalmista intuens, ait: *Mihi autem nimis honorificati sunt amici tui, Deus (Psal. CXXXVIII.*, 17). (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Moralium Lib. X. in Cap. XII.; B. Job, Cap. XXXI. (Vet. XXX.), n. 52, p.* 950—951; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.)*

‡ "Quorum dum celsitudinem cordis aspiceret, mundi gloriam qua calce calcarent, protinus addidit: *Nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.* Ac ne paucos esse crederemus, quos proficere usque ad summam tantæ perfectionis agnoscimus, illico adjunxit: *Dinumerabo eos, et super arenam multiplicabuntur.* Quot itaque nunc pro amore veritatis sese libenter humiliant, tot tunc in judicio lampades coruscant. Dicatur igitur recte: *Lampas contempta apud cogitationes divitum, parata ad tempus statutum*, quia uniuscujusque justi anima velut abjecta contemnitur cum degens inferius gloriam non habet, sed admirabilis cernitur dum desuper fulget." *(Ibidem, p.* 951.)

mountain cave. Indeed, so far did he carry his austerities, that at one time his life was despaired of. Continuous prayer, contemplation, and study of the Scriptures, accompanied with rigorous fasts (being content with a few legumes), at length told upon his constitution to such an extent, that he often swooned away; and finally, had to give up fasting altogether. So much was his system shaken by the violence with which he trod upon the flesh, that he never wholly recovered himself; and he became a confirmed invalid during the rest of his life.* Very possibly it was that same indomitable energy which made him so uncompromising with self-seeking, which in the issue carried him to the supreme height of Divine love, and made him fit, after having broken self, to control the destinies of the Universal Church. †

Nor was his silent monastic life without its aspirations after the good of his fellow-men. He did not want for sympathy with his kind. All that was beautiful and of good report found its

* "Non solum orationi et contemplationi ab ipso monasticæ palæstræ ingressu totum se dedit Gregorius, sed etiam abstinentiæ, jejuniis, aliisque pœnitentiæ operibus, quæ sacrorum librorum lectione ac meditatione condiebat, ita deditus erat, ut, debilitato stomacho et afflicta valetudine, brevi moriturus videretur. Neque tamen frequentes morbi suadere potuerunt ut de tanta vitæ asperitate aliquantulum remitteret. Cibus ejus legumina erunt quæ Silvia mater eodem forte cibo victitans suppeditabat et parabat." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n. 3, p. 263; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.)*

† "Inde contractus, ipso teste, molestissimus morbus quem medici syncopen, seu vitalium incisionem vocant; qua laborans 'crebris angustiis per horarum momenta, ad exitum properare' putabatur." *(Ibidem.)*

way to his heart, and was purified and elevated by coming in contact with his exalted mind. Walking through the market-place, he was arrested by the graceful forms and pure faces of the Anglo-Saxon boys. They at once became associated in his mind with something divine. "Those who have angelical countenances," he said, "ought to be the companions of the angels in heaven." * He could not endure the thought that such beautiful creations should be corrupted by pagan vice, and be lost for ever. He obtained permission to leave S. Andrew's, and to undertake the perilous mission of converting their distant island. † He had already proceeded three days upon his journey, when the Roman people were made acquainted with his departure. They were in despair. They looked upon his loss as a public calamity. They considered that his presence amongst them was intimately bound up with the safety of the State and the prosperity of the Church. They hurried to the Pope, and cried out with terrified voice *(terribili voce)*: "Holy

* "Cum Gregorius in foro venales conspexisset pueros nuper ex Britannia advectos egregia forma, candido corpore, ipso etiam capillamento insignes, interrogavit qua ex gente essent. Anglos esse responsum est ad quod, 'Bene,' inquit, 'nam et angelicam habent faciem et tales Angelorum in cœlis decet esse consortes.'" (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata, n.* 5, *p.* 264; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.)*

† "Mox itaque accedens ad Benedictum, apostolicæ sedis pontificem, cœpit vehementer expetere ut in Britanniam aliquos verbi ministros mitteret. Quo cum neminem ire velle cognosceret, semetipsum quoque non dubitavit ingerere, dummodo sibi pontifex licentiam commodaret. Qui licet cum magna cunctatione totius cleri ac populi Gregorium sponte proficisci cupientem abire permisit." *(Ibidem, Auctore* Joanne Diacono, *Lib. I., n.* 22, *p.* 72.)

Father, what hast thou done ? Thou hast offended S. Peter, thou hast destroyed Rome!" *

The Pontiff was greatly moved by their vehement expressions. He feared that the tumult would turn into sedition. He sent swift messengers after the missionary party, and commanded them to return. Gregory like a true monk at once obeyed the order, † and was received with acclamation by the whole city; he then buried himself once again in the solitude of his cell.

But he was not suffered to repose. A man with such profound knowledge of affairs, possessing so just a balance of mind, endowed with so much generosity of character and such sacrifice of self, with such keen discrimination and such political shrewdness, was not destined to spend all his days in the practice of contemplation. His experience of men, joined to his monastic temper, fitted him, in a singular manner, for the position of an ecclesiastical ruler in times of difficulty and danger.‡

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* "Gregorius vero accepta discedendi copia, assumptisque e suo Andreano sodalitio selectis quibusdam sociis, quamcitius clam se subduxit et itineri commisit; metuens quod postea contigit, ne ab itinere, suorum civium amore ac studio revocaretur. Itaque Romani audientes viri sancti profectionem, summum pontificem adeunt et *terribili voce conclamant: Eia, Apostolice, quid fecisti? S. Petrum offendisti, Romam destruxisti.* Tanta erat de sancto viro existimatio et fiducia jam concepta, ut ex uno Gregorio salus omnium pendere videretur." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n. 5, p. 264; Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.)*

† "Obtemperare coactus vir sanctissimus, qui obedientiam Deo præ sacrificiis omnibus placere noverat, Romæ summa omnium ordinum gratulatione exceptus est; et in monasterium regressus, novo fervore ad intermissos monastici instituti labores sese accinxit." *(Ibidem.)*

‡ See what John the Deacon says:—"Denique cernens Benedictus, venerabilis pontifex, virtutum gradibus Gregorium ad alta conscendere, violenter eum a quiete monasterii sui abstrahens, ecclesiastici ordinis officio sublimavit, levitamque septimum ad suum adjutorium consecravit.

Pope Benedict I. drew him out of his retreat, and placed him over one of the seven divisions of Rome (577). How little Gregory desired so great a distinction, is evident from his words to Bishop Leander :—

"As the vessel that is negligently moored is very often (when the storm waxes violent) tossed by the water out of its shelter on the safest shore, so under the cloak of the Ecclesiastical office, I found myself plunged on a sudden in a sea of secular matters, and because I had not held fast the tranquillity of the monastery when in possession, I learnt by losing it, how closely it should have been held. For whereas the virtue of obedience was set against my own inclination to make me take the charge of ministering at the holy Altar, I was led to undertake that upon the grounds of the Church requiring it, which, if it might be done with impunity, I should get quit of by a second time withdrawing myself." *

Next he was sent to Constantinople as Papal Nuncio, on a delicate political errand to the Emperor Tiberius (578). Whilst at the imperial court, he conducted himself with all the sagacity and prudence of a statesman and diplomatist, and lived the life of a genuine Benedictine.† In his

In quo venerabilis levita Gregorius tanta humilitate viguit, tanta solertia ministravit, ut in ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ ministerio videretur divinis angelis non solum nitore habitus, verum etiam claritate morum probabilium quodammodo cœquari." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, Auctore* Joanne Diacono, *Lib. I., n.* 25, *p.* 72; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.)*

* "Quia enim plerumque navem incaute religatam, etiam de sinu tutissimi littoris unda excutit, cum tempestas excrescit, repente me, sub prætextu ecclesiastici ordinis, in causarum sæcularium pelago reperi; et quietem monasterii, quia habendo non fortiter tenui quam stricte tenenda fuerit, perdendo cognovi." *(Ibidem, Moralium Libri, Epistola Missoria, Cap. I., p.* 511.)

† "Secuti namque sunt eum multi ex suo monasterio fratres, germana devincti charitate. Quod divina factum dispensatione conspicitur, ut eorum videlicet exemplo ad orationis placidum littus quasi anchoræ fune strin-

converse with earth, he was simply working for heaven. He, like S. Anselm after him, like S. Gregory *Theologus*, like the Angelical, looked upon the world, even in its ecclesiastical aspect, as a tempest-tossed ocean, where peace and rest are never to be found. The society of his brethren, and the practices of Benedictine asceticism, formed his one powerful stay in the midst of a career which was so distasteful to his nature.* Let him speak in his own words :—

"Just as it happened then also when I was brought to the ministry of the Altar, this was brought about for me without my knowledge, viz.—that I should receive the mighty charge of the Holy Order, to the end that I might be quartered under less restraint in an earthly palace, whither indeed I was followed by many of my brethren from the monastery, who were attached to me by a kindred affection. Which happened, I perceive, by Divine dispensation, in order that by their example, as by an anchored cable, I might ever be kept fast to the tranquil shore of prayer, whenever I should be tossed by the ceaseless waves of secular affairs. For to their society I fled as to the bosom of the safest port from the rolling swell, and from the waves of earthly occupation; and though that office which withdrew me from the monastery had with the point of its employments stabbed me to death

geretur, et dum causarum sæcularium continuatis vertiginibus fluctuaret ad illorum consortium velut ad tutissimi portus sinum, refugeret. . . . Horum ergo consortio non solum a terrenis est munitus incursibus, verum etiam ad vitæ cœlestis exercitia magis magisque succensus." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, Auctore* Joanne Diacono, *Lib. I., n.* 26—27, *p.* 72—73; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

* Paul the Deacon speaks thus :—"Et licet illud eum ministerium ex monasterio abstractum a pristinæ quietis vita mucrone suæ occupationis exstinxerit, inter eos tamen per studiosæ lectionis alloquium quotidianæ aspiratio compunctionis animabat. Horum ergo consortio non solum a terrenis est munitus incursibus, verum etiam ad cœlestis vitæ exercitia magis magisque succensus." (*Ibidem, Auctore* Paulo Diacono, *n.* 7, *p.* 44—45.)

as to my former tranquillity of life, yet in their Society, by means of the appeals of diligent reading, I was animated with the yearnings of daily renewed compunction." *

Gregory remained six years, living his life of "compunction," at the palace of Tiberius. His mission was crowned with success. He re-established amicable relations between the Holy See and the Byzantine Court. He became well acquainted with the supple methods of Eastern politics; and induced the Patriarch Eutychius to retract his heretical opinions regarding the resurrection of the body. †

He then returned to his monastery of S. Andrew's; was elected Abbot (584); and, with the tenderness of a father, and with the just severity of one who remembers that souls will finally be examined by an All-seeing Judge, he ruled and guided his brethren in the ways of perfection and of peace.

In 590, a terrible inundation of the city took place through an extraordinary rising of the

* Both Paul the Deacon and John the Deacon follow S. Gregory, almost word for word :—"Quod divina factum dispensatione conspicio, ut eorum semper exemplo ad orationis placidum littus, quasi anchoræ fune restringerer, cum causarum sæcularium incessabili impulsu fluctuarem. Ad illorum quippe consortium, velut ad tutissimi portus sinum, terreni actus volumina fluctusque fugiebam; et licet illud me ministerium ex monasterio abstractum, a pristinæ quietis vita, mucrone suæ occupationis exstinxerat; inter eos tamen per studiosæ lectionis alloquium, quotidianæ me aspiratio compunctionis animabat." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Moralium Libri, Epistola Missoria, Cap. I., p.* 511; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.)*

† "Cum ergo Gregorius validissimis febribus æstuaret, Eutychius, cum morte confligens, pellem manus suæ tenebat coram omnibus, dicens: *Confiteor quia omnes in hac carne resurgemus.* Post quam catholicæ fidei confessionem defunctus est." *(Ibidem, in Vita, Auctore* Joanne Diacono, *Lib. I., n.* 30, *p.* 75.)

Tiber.* This visitation was followed by a pestilence, which decimated the inhabitants and did not spare the monastery of S. Andrew's. Pope Pelagius II. was himself carried off by it. The energy of Gregory was roused. He addressed the people. With earnest eloquence he called them to penance.† He set on foot a monster procession : the seven Basilicas were centres of formation ; all the clergy, all the monks, the nuns themselves from their sacred retirement, were ordered to join ; widows, married women, the laity, and even tender infants were not exempt. With plaintive litany and many tears, this vast concourse proceeded to the Basilica of our Lady. The plague was carrying off as many as eighty per hour at the very time of their intercessions. But if the legend be true, that pilgrimage was not made in vain.‡ Whilst the city

* The date is contested :—"Itaque inundatio, de qua Gregorius Turonensis, accidit mense Novembre an. 589, Januario sequenti pestilentia Pelagium papam abstulit." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., Cap. VII., n.* 1, *p.* 277 ; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

† His sermon began thus :—"Oportet, fratres carissimi, ut flagella Dei, quæ metuere ventura debuimus, saltem præsentia et experta timeamus. Conversionis nobis aditum dolor aperiat, et cord s nostri duritiam ipsa quam patimur pœna dissolvat. Ut enim ipropheta teste prædictum est : *Pervenit gladius usque ad animam (Jerem., IV.*, 10). Ecce etenim cuncta plebs, cœlestis iræ mucrone percutitur, et repentina singuli cæde vastantur. Nec languor mortem prævenit, sed languoris moras, ut cernitis, mors ipsa præcurrit. Percussus quisque ante rapitur, quam ad lamenta pœnitentiæ convertatur." *(Ibidem, Auctore* Joanne Diacono, *n*, 41, *p.* 79.)

‡ "Ab illis supplicationibus originem traxisse videtur litaniæ quæ dicuntur majores, et in festo S. Marci quotannis celebrantur, cum illæ quæ in triduo ante Ascensionem Domini fiunt, dicantur minores." *(Ibidem, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n.* 6, *p.* 281.)

was thus storming heaven with prayers and tears, Gregory cast his eye towards that great mausoleum, the *Moles Hadriana*, now called the Castel Sant' Angelo, and hovering over it he saw the Angel of God: in his hand was the flashing sword of destruction, but the swift minister was not drawing it forth to smite the people: God's anger appeared to have been appeased, for he was sheathing it in the scabbard.*

The death of Pelagius turned all eyes upon Gregory. Clergy, senate, and people, with unanimity elected him as Sovereign Pontiff. Gregory did all that lay in him to escape so great an infliction. He clung to his life of monastic poverty in the same way as a miser clings to his bags of gold.† He did his best to induce the emperor to refuse to confirm his election; and when he found this plan to fail him, it is said that he fled, and was only discovered through the supernatural appearance of a bright cloud of fire, which stood over

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* "Tunc ferunt prope molem Hadriani Tiberi adjacentem visum esse angelum, in signum reconciliati Numinis, *nudatum gladium in vaginam reponere, eoque symbolo morbum cessasse significare voluisse.*" (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n.* 6, *p.* 280; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*) The author then goes on, however, to question the prudence of giving credit to the legend. The silence of S. Bede, of Paul the Deacon, and of John the Deacon, tells strongly against it.

† "Formidabat enim celsum quidem, et arduum locum, *Et sic metuebat paupertatis suæ securitatem perdere, sicuti avari divites solent perituras divitias custodire,* ut ejusdem Gregorii (*Lib. III., Dialog., Cap. XIV.*). Verum 'cum latibula fugæ præpararet, capitur, trahitur, et ad beati apostoli Petri basilicam deducitur, ibique ad pontificalis gratiæ officium consecratus, papa Urbi datus est.' Hæc Gregorius Turon." (*Ibidem, n.* 8, *p.* 282.)

the place where he lay concealed. Finally, he was constrained to accept the high office, and by the prudence, patience, and enlightenment of his policy, earned for himself the proud title of "The Great." *

In him shone especially the great Benedictine virtues of the Holy Rule. He who had learnt thoroughly to obey, now knew how to govern. Humility and charity were the pillars of his throne. Indefatigable industry, wide sympathy, breadth of view, benignity, and a marvellous stability of character, made him fit to take the helm in rough and stormy times.

His very love of his old state fitted him all the more for his new one. His letters, which are full of sighs and lamentations at the loss he has sustained, in having been drawn from his haven of peace, and thrust on the tossing sickening sea of political life, speak, by that very circumstance, of the Rock on which his stability was built, and of that Christ Who was taking him by the hand and directing him along his ways.† Not even

* "Obtinet is [Gregorius] a negotiatoribus ut in cratera occultatus educeretur ab Urbe, atque ita latebris triduo se occultavit, donec illum jejuniis et orationibus, populus Romanus, columna lucis, tertia super eum nocte cœlitus emissa, obtinuit: quæ non parvo noctis spatio a summo cœli usque ad eundem ipsum linea recta effulgens, quærentibus votum optabile demonstravit." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, Auctore* Paulo Diacono, *n.* 13, *p.* 48; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

† For instance, his letter to Theoctista is one example in point. Observe the following very ingenious comparison. Speaking of sinners, he quotes the verse:—"*Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam (Psal. LXXXII.*, 14). Rota quippe ex posteriori parte attollitur et in anterioribus cadit. Posteriora autem nobis sunt bona præsentis mundi, quæ relinquimus; anteriora vero sunt æterna et permanentia, ad quæ vocamur, Paulo attes-

Nazianzen felt the crushing power of responsibility with greater acuteness, nor would even the Angelical himself have suffered much more, had such an office finally been forced upon him. The high saints of God have pierced so far into the Unseen Kingdom, that—to use the words spoken of Holy Benedict by this Pontiff—to them the greatest glory of the world is but as a "dried-up flower."

And it must be confessed Gregory was called to rule in days of great difficulty and complication. The clergy were in schism. The Lombards, who were filled with all the traditionary cruelty of the Arians, looked upon the Roman Church as their natural enemy. The emperors, always too weak to afford any assistance, were always strong enough to try and paralyze, and interfere.* The Patriarch of Constantinople, swollen with the

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tante, qui ait : *Quæ retro oblitus, in ea quæ sunt priora me extendens (Phil., III.*, 13). Peccator ergo cum in præsenti vita profecerit, ut rota ponitur ; quia in anterioribus corruens, ex posterioribus elevatur. Nam cum in hac vita gloriam percipit quam relinquit, ab illa cadit quæ post hanc venit." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. III., Epistolarum Lib. I., Indict. IX., Epist. V., p.* 450; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXVII.)* See also the words beginning :—" Dum contemplationis dulcedinem alte describitis, rumæ meæ mihi gemitum renovastis, &c." *(Ibidem.)*

* See how deeply Gregory feels his position, and how graphically he describes it to his friend Bishop Leander :—" Tantis quippe in hoc loco hujus mundi fluctibus quatior, ut vetustam ac putrescentem navem, quam regendam occulta Dei dispensatione suscepi ac portum dirigere nullatenus possim. Nunc ex adverso fluctus irruunt, nunc ex latere cumuli spumosi maris intumescunt, nunc a tergo tempestas insequitur. Interque hæc omnia turbatur cogor modo in ipsam clavum adversitatem dirigere ; modo curvato navis latere, minas fluctuum ex obliquo declinare. Ingemisco, quia sentio quod negligente me crescit sentina vitiorum, et tempestate fortiter obviante, jamjamque putridæ naufragium tabulæ sonant. Flens reminiscor quod perdidi meæ placidum littus quietis, et suspirando terram conspicio, quam tamen rerum ventis adversantibus tenere non possum." *(Ibidem, Epist. XLIII., p.* 497.)

vanity which grows from being near a throne, was aiming at a title which implied universal jurisdiction, and which was liable to create a schism between the East and West. Africa was in the hands of the Donatists; Arianism poisoned the whole of Spain; England had sunk into idolatry; Gaul was desolated by simony and social strife; whilst the East was ravaged by the conquering ambition of restless tribes. Gregory, looking upon this vast and turbulent ocean—as he always calls the world, could find no green spot on which to rest his eye. So impressed was he with the terrors of his day, that he thought the end of the world had come upon him.*

Shortly after his elevation he writes—

"But because I being unworthy and weak have taken upon me the old much battered vessel, for the waves make a way in on all sides, and the rotten planks shattered by a daily and vehement tempest tell of shipwreck, I beseech you by Almighty God, to stretch the hand of your prayers in this

* How touchingly eloquent are not his last words in his last Homily on Ezechiel!—"Ecce hæc, ut, Deo largiente, potuimus, coram vobis, fratres carissimi, rimati sumus. Nemo autem me reprehendat, si post hanc locutionem cessavero, quia sicut omnes cernitis, nostræ tribulationes excreverunt; undique gladiis circumfusi sumus, undique imminens mortis periculum timemus. Alii, detruncatis ad nos manibus redeunt, alii capti, alii interempti, nuntiantur. Jam cogor linguam ab expositione retinere, quia tædet animam meam vitæ meæ. Jam nullus a me sacri eloquii studium requirat, quia versa in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium. Jam cordis oculus in mysteriorum discussione non vigilat, quia dormitavit anima mea præ tædio. . . . Aliquando [Deus Pater] filios pane nutrit, aliquando flagello corrigit, quia per dolores et munera ad hæreditatem perpetuam erudit. Sit itaque gloria omnipotenti Domino nostro Jesu Christo, quia et regnat cum Patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum Amen." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. II., Homiliarum in Ezechielem Lib. II., Homil. X., n.* 24, *p.* 1072; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXVI.*)

my peril, since you may implore mercy ever so much the more earnestly, in proportion as you also stand the further removed from the agitated state of calamity which we undergo in this land." *

Then more clearly, in his Homily on S. Luke :—

"Of all which [signs described by our Lord] some we see already accomplished, others we dread to be upon us nigh at hand. For we see already that nation rises up against nation, and that the push and press of them has settled upon the lands worse in our own times than we read in records. That earthquakes overwhelm countless cities, ye know how often we have heard from other parts of the world. We endure pestilences without pause, but signs in the sun, and moon, and stars we do not at all as yet see manifestly; but that even these things are not far off, we collect from the mere change of the atmosphere already, though before Italy was given up to be smitten by the sword of a Gentile foe, we beheld fiery ranks in the heavens, the very blood itself of the human race, which was afterwards spilt, streaming."†

Though Gregory looked upon the end of the world as not far off, he acted as though he felt it

* "Sed quia vetustam navim vehementerque confractam indignus ego infirmusque suscepi (undique enim fluctus intrant, et quotidiana ac valida tempestate quassatæ putridæ naufragium tabulæ sonant), per omnipotentem Deum rogo, in hoc mihi periculo orationis tuæ manum porrigas, quia et tanto enixius potestis exorare, quanto et a confusione tribulationum, quas in hac terra patimur, longius statis." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. III., Epistolarum Lib. I., Indict. IX., Epist. IV., ad Joannem Episcopum Constantinopolitanum, p.* 447; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXVII.)*

† "Ex quibus profecto omnibus alia jam facta cernimus, alia e proximo ventura formidamus. Nam gentem super gentem exsurgere, earumque pressuram terris insistere plus jam in nostris temporibus cernimus quam in Codicibus legimus. Quod terræ motus urbes innumeras subruat, ex aliis mundi partibus scitis quam frequenter audivimus. Pestilentias sine cessatione patimur. Signa vero in sole, et luna, et stellis, adhuc aperte minime videmus, sed quia et hæc non longe sint, ex ipsa jam aeris immutatione colligimus. Quamvis priusquam Italia gentili gladio ferienda traderetur, igneas in cœlo acies vidimus, ipsum qui postea humani generis fusus est sanguinem coruscantem." *(Ibidem, Tom. II., XL. Homiliarum in Evangelia, Lib. I., Homil. I., n.* 1, *p.* 1078; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXVI.)*

his duty, as Sovereign Pontiff, to do his best to bring chaos into order. His special characteristics seems to have been the wide compass of his vision, and the versatility of his political resource. He appears as if created to be placed on an eminence, and to rule the world. His vast correspondence shows the activity of his mind, and his indefatigable industry. His conflicts with the emperor Maurice; his firmness, yet true dignity, based upon the humility of the Cross, in his opposition to the pretensions of John the Faster; * his diplomatic address in mediating between the Lombards and the Byzantine Court, are sufficient to prove him most able in his conduct of affairs. Then, his services to freedom, in loosening the hold of Eastern despotism on the West; his enlightened and civilizing treatment of the Franks and the Burgundians; and his enterprizing temper, which carried his interest into far-distant lands, and bore the torch of Truth amidst the dark forests and idolatries of paganism and superstition, speak loud for the real greatness and breadth of his truly Roman mind.† Who so free from

* It was Gregory's contest with this arrogant prelate which gave rise to the Pontiff signing himself "*Servus Servorum Dei.*" (See S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, Auctore* Joanne Diacono, *Lib. II., n.* 1, *p.* 87; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.)*

† His sending S. Augustine to England is too well known to require mention. But possibly the letters expressing Gregory's joy at the result of the misson are not so familiar; one begins thus:—"Gregorius Augustino episcopo Anglorum. *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis (Luc. II.,* 14; *Joan. XII.)* quia granum frumenti mortuum est cadens in terram, ne solum regnaret cœlo, cujus morte vivimus, cujus infirmitate roboramur, cujus passione a passione eripimur, cujus amore in Britannia fratres quærimus quos ignorabamus, &c." (S. Gregorii Papæ,

littleness as he, who secured to the cultivators of the soil freedom, safety, and redress? Who so enlightened as he, who impressed upon those who governed others, as a first rule of action, that they should consult the liberty of those over whom they ruled, as carefully as if they were consulting for themselves? Who so pregnant with principles of true progress as he, who in his legislation touching upon slaves gave the first hint at that emancipation which was afterwards to be considered one of the most beneficent actions of modern civilization?

Even Jews and pagans were made to feel the royal benignity of his paternal rule. He did not persuade himself that ignorance and sin are to be blotted out by tears and iron. Force and hardness were not elements in the composition of his Benedictine spirit; but large moderation, warmth of sympathy, gentleness of management,—treating men, erring men, even the obstinate and the froward, as if they had hearts in their breasts, and as if those hearts could at length be melted, however stony they might have been, by the power of constraining love, by the pressure of

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Opp. Omnia, Tom. III., Epistolarum Lib. XI., Indict. IV., Epist. XXVIII., p. 1138—1139; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXVII.)* See also S. Gregory's letter to Queen Bertha, so full of a true, loving, Pontifical spirit. It ends thus:—"Oramus autem omnipotentem Deum, ut gloriæ vestræ cor et ad operanda quæ diximus, gratiæ suæ igne succendat, et æternæ mercedis fructum vobis de placita sibi operatione concedat." *(Ibidem, Epist. XXIX., p.* 1142.)

sweet humility, by the magic of the gentle patience of a truly strong man.*

Was it not the action of such a spirit as this which broke the perversity of the Donatist schism (594)? Was not the scandal of the Three Chapters brought to a close by the diplomacy of Gregory the Great?

Of his creative influence in sacred art and song, it is superfluous to speak. On the alleged antipathy to literature of one, who, more than any other of his day, was sensitive to the graceful and the beautiful, it is quite unnecessary to dwell. To be a Benedictine monk has ever been to possess a taste for the Classics and the Scriptures. Gregory the Great, clothed with the spiritual diadem of universal Church-rule, was ever at heart a child of the monastic Spirit.† To him the great regular Order owed its wide expansion, much

* And he was not less firm than gentle. He writes to the Deacon Sabinianus:—"Quod ego qualiter patiar scis, qui ante paratior sum mori, quam beati Petri Apostoli Ecclesiam meis diebus denigrare." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. III., Epistolarum Lib. V., Indict. XIII., Epist. XLVII., p.* 721; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXVII.*) No better idea could be formed of the character of S. Gregory the Great and of the activity of his mind, of his gifts and of his candour, of his honesty of purpose and zeal for saving souls and for maintaining discipline, than by reading his voluminous correspondence. (See *Opp. Omnia., Tom. III., p.* 442—1328.)

† In the writings of the Saint, there are continual traces not only of the spirit of the Rule of S. Benedict, but also of the very words of that great Patriarch. He uses the word *utilitas* in the special sense of S. Benedict, so of *opus Dei*. See his Letters, his Books on Morals, his Homilies on Ezechiel. "Verum in Expositione Libri I. Regum frequentius Regulæ Benedictinæ sententias et verba ipsamet adhibet; nec mirum, cum tunc abbas esset, atque his homiliis suos alumnos ad monasticæ vitæ perfectionem erudiret. In præfatione ad hunc commentarium plurimos loquendi modos ex laudata Regula petitos, quos colligere curavimus, invenies." (*Ibidem, Tom. I., in Vita, ex ejus scriptis adornata, Lib. I., n.* 6, *p.* 258; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

of its *prestige*, its liberty, its stake in the land, and its solemn confirmation. It owed him more than this: him it had to thank for its more wholesome discipline, for its vigorous reform, and for drawing a clear line of demarcation between the world-priest, and the life of him who in poverty and obedience had given himself over, together with his substance, to the absolute disposition of holocaustic love.*

Of his large munificence, his Benedictine hospitality, of his abiding yearning after the sweet retirement of a little cell, where he could be with "Him alone and himself also alone," of the monastic atmosphere with which he surrounded himself, ever loving to be in the midst of the brethren—in a word, of his straining love of heaven whilst battling with the earth, a store of information may be gained by reading his touching letters, or by perusing his life, as written either by Paul or by John the Deacon.

Ever since those cruel austerities which followed his conversion to religious life, this great Pontiff had been a continual sufferer. Towards the close of his career, he became a martyr to the gout. He was for at least two years confined to his bed, and was ultimately reduced almost to a

* Montalembert says that S. Gregory remained a monk to the last:—"On y reconnaît aussi l'humilité du moine; ce qui nous rappelle que c'est avant tout le moine qu'il nous appartient de montrer dans le grand pape, dont nous avons peut être parlé trop longuement. D'ailleurs tout dans sa vie publique, dans son règne immortel, dans ses écrits surtout, porte l'empreinte ineffaçable de son éducation et de son esprit monastique." (*Les Moines d'Occident, Tom. Deuxième, Liv. V., p.* 156—157.)

skeleton. But the fire of his mind and his solicitude for all the Churches were not extinguished by the agony of his physical condition: forgetful of self, he still continued to dictate his letters, and to interest himself in the sorrows and troubles of his fellow-men.* But at length his hour approached. Of his death-bed unfortunately no account seems to have been written, at least none has been preserved. He who had in reality lived with greater freedom by far in the World Unseen, than upon this shifting stage, on the twelfth of March, 604, was called to behold the King in His glory, and to look upon that Face which he loved so tenderly when upon earth.† He was fifty-five years of age, and had ruled the Universal Church for thirteen years.

The appearance of this great Pontiff, according to the minute description given by John the Deacon, must have been very striking. A truly Pontifical and Patriarchal man, his presence, whilst typifying the power of command, must have

* See how full of true Christian feeling he is in suffering. Writing to Bishop Leander, he says:—"De podagræ vero molestia sanctitas vestra, ut scribit, affligitur, cujus dolore assiduo et ipse vehementer attritus sum. Sed facilis erit consolatio, si inter flagella quæ patimur quæque fecimus ad memoriam delicta revocamus; atque hæc non jam flagella, sed dona esse conspicimus, si quæ carnis delectatione peccavimus, carnis dolore purgemus." (S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. III., Epistolarum Lib. IX., Indict. II., Epist. CXXI., p.* 1052; *Patrolog. Lat. Vol. LXXVII.*)

† Unhappily no particulars of his death have been handed down. Paul the Deacon simply says:—"Qui beatissimus pontifex postquam sedem Romanæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ annis tredecim, mensibus sex, et diebus decem, gloriosissime rexit, ex hac luce subtractus, atque ad æternam regni cœlestis sedem translatus est." (*Ibidem, Tom. I., in Vita, n.* 29, *p.* 59; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

spoken of sweet benignity and of noble condescension; and the expression of his countenance, whilst it betrayed evidences of suffering, told still more strongly of Divine compassion, and of the frankness of a pure conscience and an upright heart.*

In spite of the troubles of the times in which he lived, and of the endless distractions which his position inevitably brought upon him, Pope Gregory the Great—with the exception of Benedict XIV.—has written more voluminously than any other in the long line of Sovereign Pontiffs. His gift was not so much that of originality as of practical talent, combined with a strong bias towards the allegorical. His exposition on the Book of Job, his Dialogues, and his Homilies, all bear upon conduct and the moral law.† His most valued

* "Statura justa et bene formata, facie de paternæ faciei longitudine et maternæ rotunditate ita medie temperata, ut cum rotunditate quadam decentissime videatur esse deducta, barba paterno more subfulva et modica; ita calvaster, ut in medio frontis gemellos cincinnos rarusculos habeat, et dextrorsum reflexos; corona rotunda et spatiosa, capillo subnigro et decenter intorto sub auriculæ medium propendente, fronte speciosa, elatis et longis, sed exilibus superciliis; oculis pupilla furvis non quidem magnis sed patulis; subocularibus plenis; naso a radice vergentium superciliorum subtiliter directo, circa medium latiore, deinde paululum recurvo et in extremo patulis naribus prominente; ore rubeo; crassis et subdividuis labiis genis compositis; mento a confinio maxillarum decibiliter prominente; colore aquilino et vivido, nondum, sicut ei postea contigit, cardiaco; vultu mitis; manibus pulchris; teretibus digitis et habilibus ad scribendum." (S. Gregorii, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., in Vita, Auctore* Joanne Diacono, *Lib. IV., n.* 48, *p.* 230; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV.*)

† Vid. S. Gregorii Papæ, *Opp. Omnia, Vol. V., Tom. I.*—Moralium Libri sive Expositio in Librum B. Job; Libb. I.—XVI., p. 509—1162; *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXV. Tom. II.*—Moralium Libri sive Expositio in Librum B. Job; Libb. XVII.—XXXV., p. 9—782; Homiliarum in Ezechielem Prophetam Libri Duo; Lib. I., Homil. I.—XXI., p. 786—1170; Lib. II., Homil. XXI.—XL., p. 1170—1311: *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXVI.* Regulæ Pastoralis Liber ad Joannem Episcopum Civitatis

production, in which he brings out the special gifts of prudence, balance, and intuition of governing principles, is his "*Liber Regulæ Pastoralis*"—the "Book of the Pastoral Rule." Here he sums up and advances the work which had already been attempted by S. Ephrem, and by the four great Fathers: Gregory *Theologus*, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Ambrose. So highly was this noble instruction esteemed, that it was translated into Greek during the life-time of the author; and was the constant companion of bishops and of ecclesiastics in the Middle Ages.

And now we must take our leave of the lives of the great Church Fathers. S. Gregory the Great may indeed be looked upon as the latest of them: not that many eminent men did not rise up in the Church after he had passed away, but because he appears to be the last of the *original* writers—the last of the great classical masters of traditionary lore. S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*, S. Jerome, S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, and S. Gregory the Great, though they do not exhaust the number, at all events,

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Ravennæ, Prima Pars, Cap. I.—XI., p. 13—26; Secunda Pars, Cap. I.—XI., p. 26—50; Tertia Pars, Cap. I.—XL., p. 50—126; Quarta Pars, Cap. I., p. 126—128; Dialogorum Libb. IV., De Vita et Miraculis Patrum Italicorum et De Æternitate Animarum, p. 150—430 [S. Benedict's Life, Lib. II., not included]; Registri Epistolarum, Libb. I.—XIV., p. 442—1328: *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXVII.* Liber Sacramentorum, p. 25—264; Liber Antiphonarius, p. 641—721: *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXVIII.* Exposit. in Lib. Primum Regum, p. 18–408; Super Cantica Canticorum Exposit., p. 471—548; In Septem Psalmos Pœnitent., p. 550—658: *Patrolog. Lat., Vol. LXXIX.*

they represent that splendid galaxy in the theological heavens—

> "Whither as to their fountain other stars
> Repairing, in their urns draw golden light."

Those who follow, for the most part repeat, or vary, or develop their teaching; assimilate, and then cast into a more modern form, the riches of their wisdom; or use their utterances as arguments to recommend views which have been gathered from other portions of their writings. Even the most creative writers of the medieval time, on close inspection, owe their name more to novelty of form, than to originality of matter.

All this tends to explain why the Author has brought the leading Greek and Latin Doctors so prominently forward in this volume. Their characters are so intimately bound up with their works, that one of the strongest lights which can be thrown upon their writings proceeds from the history of their lives. How could the intellect of the great Angelical be portrayed, save by offering some kind of description of that potent element which added so much to its richness and its tone? and how could the reader be better prepared for taking in the majesty and tenderness of his sublime and solitary life, than by being conducted into his presence along a gallery of pictures (though they be but rough cartoons), in which, with a few bold strokes, the artist suggests such thoughts of heroism and greatness

to the imagination, as attune the mind into harmony with all that is most singular and difficult to grasp in the seraphic character of the Angel of the Schools ?

All large subjects require large treatment. And if detail is to some extent sacrificed to breadth of outline, large masses of colouring, and general effect, it is not because minuteness and small accuracies are undervalued : just the reverse ; but because the finish of a picture, if it is to be perfect, depends as much upon the power of presenting the entire conception as a whole, with its really leading features and salient points, with its one governing characteristic, as upon the careful and conscientious elaboration of each of the component parts.

CHAPTER VI.

TRADITION AND SCRIPTURE.

THE influence of S. Anthony and the desert wrestlers, in the formation of the great classic Fathers, has now been dwelt upon; and the points of likeness and contrast between these latter and the Angelical have been suggested to the reader: whilst the Christ-principle of monasticism has been traced from Egypt to Rome, and from Rome to Paris, as it runs through, and gives oneness to, the beautiful variety in the characters of God's leading saints.

The Fathers lived in times of war and struggle, and "bore the brunt of the conversion of the world:" the Angelical, in days of peace. They were athletes of the Cross: he was the great thinker of the Church. They flourished, the larger portion of them, when the earth was still poisoned by the breath of paganism: he, after the Church had planted her victorious banner on nearly all the citadels of the world. They had

drunk in the civilization of pagan Greece or Rome, together with their Christianity: he had been educated from tender infancy in the midst of the very metropolis of Christian culture, and had passed his calm career amongst the purest traditions and examples of the civilization of the Cross.* They had gained experience, a rude experience some of them, of the cruelties and horrors of the old-world religion: he had tasted none of this, hidden away as he was with Christ in God under the gentle sway of perfectly-developed monastic life, finding his sweetest meditation and tranquillity in the highest empyrean of thought. And thus it was that he had time to erect a master-edifice, and, through his deep acquaintance with the technical systematic form of scholastic teaching, to plan a mighty scheme, of which the patristic labours were to furnish the materials. Living in the thirteenth century, he garnered into his mind all the advances made in theologic method during many centuries, as well as the best thoughts of the "*maxima mortalium ingenia;*" and through his synthetic genius, welded into one splendid unity the combined teaching of the past, which he expanded, harmonized, and rendered

* It was a great advantage to the Angelical, in constructing his *Summa Theologica*, to have been brought up, from his tenderest years, in the purest atmosphere of the Church. Thus he drank in as it were with his mother's milk the full temper and tone of genuine catholicity. Just as the education of the Fathers fitted them for their special work, so his education specially fitted him for his.

perfect by means of exquisite Aristotelic drill, and Platonic height and width of discipline.*

The columnal Fathers and the Angelical were in completest harmony: they were knit together by the monastic principle. The intellectual hinges of the Universal Church (speaking humanly) have been monastic-men—that is to say men who, through an intense cross-worship and a keen perception of the beautiful, threw up all for Christ; and through—

> "The ingrained instinct of old reverence,
> The holy habit of obediency,"

loved, laboured, suffered for Him, and died into His Arms. †

For the one thread which pierces through all, and maintains a real communication between the Angelical and the heroes of the classic age—which creates a brotherhood between S. Thomas of the thirteenth century, and the great athletes in the second and the third—which makes the "Sun of the Church" illuminate the "Pillar of the World," and so reciprocally—that is to say, which renders

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* The method of system and order consequent on the introduction of Aristotle, gave an incalculable advantage to our Saint. This was his great gift—to throw a large subject-matter into an organic form, to reduce the many to the one. The classic Fathers did not aim at this. Homilies, commentaries, orations, and polemics occupied their energies.

† To all intents and purposes, it had better be said out, the classic Fathers were monks: that is they lived monks' lives; and if they were not subject to the vow of holy obedience to another, it was because they, being men of governing minds, were themselves great founders of monasticism, like S. Anthony, or great reformers, like S. Basil. Being a monk simply means, after all, abandoning everything out of passionate love of Christ Crucified—venturing the whole of this life for Him.

S. Thomas and S. Anthony one in spirit and in principle, was this, that their beings were transformed into a supernatural activity, through an intense and personal love of their Redeemer.

This was the one special lesson which the Angelical drew from the wilderness and the Fathers, which came to him through S. Benedict indeed, but rather as a principle of *quies* than of exertion. In the desert athletes and those who followed them, he found that principle operative, and almost military, in its chivalrous readiness to combat, and spill blood in defence of Truth.* It lent to him what it exhibits in them also—breadth of view, largeness, moral freedom, stubborn courage, generosity of heart, expansion of mind, and an electric light of intellect, which bear about them a touch of the Eastern world. How could the Angelical read Anthony's life, or follow Athanasius in his exiles, or see Basil so heroically rigid in his defence of right, or hear in imagination Gregory *Theologus* pouring out his stream of polished eloquence, without being impressed by Truth's grace and music ? How could he watch S. Chrysostom, all on fire with his love of God, and

* I have said elsewhere (*Vol. I., Chap. XI., p.* 216) that the patristic spirit is Platonic and synthetical, and therefore averse to polemical contentions ; this may, at first sight, appear to be inconsistent with what has been stated above ; but such really is not the case. Truly, the Fathers did vigorously combat, but it was only the force of their devotion to Christ which made them do so. They naturally shrank from polemics and position ; but the very Platonic principle itself urged them to fight in defence of the synthetical principles of the Cross. Many a hero has been crowned, who, as a matter of liking, loved peace and dreaded war, — indeed such is the feeling of true chivalry.

with his discriminating sympathy for men? or think of the ascetic Jerome, battling single-handed in the wilderness, or perusing his Scripture in the cave; how could he dwell in spirit with S. Ambrose, or S. Gregory the Great, or follow the career of the passionate, emotional, splendid S. Augustine, without expanding in heart and mind towards all that is best and greatest—all that is most noble and most fair, in the majestic character of God's tenderly-cherished saints? *

Had he not known them so intimately, † great as he was, his mind would have been comparatively cramped; his character most probably would have been less imperial in its mould, and there would have been less of that Oriental mightiness about his intellectual creations, which now reminds one of those vast monuments of other days, which still are the marvel of travellers in the East, and the despair of modern engineers. ‡

* It may be remembered how delicately-strung was the soul of the Angelical: nothing passed by him unnoticed which was pure, noble, or heroic. How deeply then must he not have been impressed with the majestic lives of God's greatest athletes!

† And unlike the more modern saints, their heart-pouring correspondence shows of what a fine texture their hearts were made:—"We have above 400 letters of S. Basil's; above 200 of S. Augustine's; S. Chrysostom has left us about 240; S, Gregory Nazianzen the same number; Pope S. Gregory as many as 840; S. Nilus, close on 1,400; S. Isidore, 1,440; the blessed Theodoret, 146; S. Leo, 140; S. Cyprian, 80 or 90; S. Paulinus, 50; S. Jerome, above 100." (See *The Ancient Saints, No.* 1. *Rambler, Vol. I., p.* 93. *Anno* 1859.)

‡ Nor am I in the least exaggerating, if what Ventura says is true. He exclaims, in his conference on *Catholic Reason*:—"Saint Thomas, M. F., quel homme! quel génie! C'est la raison humaine élevée à sa plus haute puissance. Au-delà des efforts de son raisonnement, c'est la *vision* des choses dans le ciel. Ici-bas, la raison ne saurait ni monter plus haut, ni voir plus clair. On peut dire de saint Thomas ce que saint Augustin disait de saint Jérôme: 'Que personne n'a su jamais ce que

The great Christ-principle is essentially creative of enormous consequences: no man has ever bent down to worship Him intensely, who has not been lifted up to carry out some master-work in himself or in another. Here then, at last, we have in their completeness the great informing principles of the character of the Angelical. The contemplative principle of *quies* at Cassino, manifesting itself in love, reverence, purity, and adoration; the principle of activity at S. James's, analytical, inquisitive, polemical, technical; and the principle of operative love through a personal friendship with the Word Incarnate, which is the life-spirit of the Solitaries of the desert, and the soul-power of the Fathers of the Church. Thus the Angelical is essentially contemplative—so he is monastic; he is essentially logical—so he is scholastic; and he is essentially large, pure, and operative, through a motive of personal friendship—and therefore he is essentially patristic. S. Benedict, S. Dominic, and S. Augustine,—contemplation, dialectics, and energizing charity,—these are the three great elements which make up and explain the full character of the Angel of the Schools.*

Thomas a ignoré; *Nemo scivit quod Thomas ignoravit.*' Cet homme unique, cet homme dont la vie n'a pas atteint la moitié d'un siècle, a tout vu, tout connu, tout expliqué. Il n'est aucune erreur qu'il n'ait prévue, réfutée, pulverisée d'avance." *(La Raison Philosophique, Deuxième Conférence, Seconde Partie, p.* 128—129. *Seconde Edition, Paris,* 1852.

* Werner points out in a few words the aim of the great writers of the thirteenth century. The three elements which make up the character of the Angelical aid him directly to carry out that intent:—"Die scholastische Theologie des Mittelalters setzte sich zum höchsten Ziele, die im

And if the influence of the Fathers on the moral build of the Angelical was great, not less remarkable was their influence upon him as a theologian. A master-mind like his would naturally seek first-sources. Albertus Magnus and the teachings of the Lombard would simply lead him to the great reservoirs themselves. From his Commentary on the "Sentences," indeed from his "*Opusculum*" on the Angels,* to the last words he wrote of the "*Summa Theologica*," his intimate acquaintance, especially with the great Fathers already treated of, comes out almost in every page. If he does not mention them by name, he is often merely reproducing their thoughts and establishing their principles.† He appears to possess all their breadth of view and power of compassing a complicated subject; he is endowed with the genius of assimilating their theologic tone, and of drawing from them, and making part of the furniture of his own mind, those traditionary

Geiste der Kirche aufgefasste Schrifttheologie mit den Mitteln der aus Aristoteles erlernten argumentativen Dialektik speculativ zu durchdringen. Darnach theilte sich das wissenschaftliche Streben der scholastischen Theologen in die dreifache Aufgabe der Schriftforschung, des Studiums der Aristotelischen Philosophie, und der auf Grundlage dieser doppelten Studien vorgenommenem speculativ-argumentativen Zergliederung der in Systemform, aneinander gefügten Lehrsätze der kirchlichen Theologie." (*Die heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 217.)

* See *Vol. I., Chap. XVIII., p.* 466.

† It might suggest itself as a difficulty to some minds that the Angelical could not have had access to the writings of the Fathers. But such persons might recall that king S. Louis, seeing when in the East how eager the Sultan was to collect the scattered writings of Mussulman philosophers, was moved to imitate his example. When he returned to France, he had the best exemplars of the Fathers collected and transcribed. We have absolute mention of S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Gregory, and many more. And it is certain that the Angelical had free use of the Royal Library.

elements of knowledge which are closely connected with the Church. He recognizes their entire weight, he perceives the full bearing of their teaching, and seems to feel profoundly that depth, breadth, and stability are principally to be acquired—not so much by his own originality, as by thoroughly mastering, not merely the general tendencies, but the specialities, the genius, and the character of each separate individual.* He appears, indeed, to have an intimate and personal acquaintance with each one of these classic masters of Catholic thought, and, so far as can be done by man, to have absorbed into his own system, and then to have reproduced, that which was most admirable in each of them. S. Jerome and S. Chrysostom in Holy Scripture; S. Athanasius, S. Basil, and S. Gregory *Theologus* in dogma; S. Ambrose and S. Gregory the Great in moral disquisition;—each of these, in fact, in his own special line, has his share in the formation of the Angel of the Schools.†

* Take as one instance out of many the manner in which the Angelical treats the difference which arose between S. Augustine and S. Jerome on the text :—"How doest thou compel the Gentiles to live as do the Jews." (*Galat., Chap. II.*, 14.) Here he shows his complete mastery over the mind of either Father, and gives his own opinion with the solidity of a master-mind :—"Validius argumentum Augustini contra Hieronymum est, quia Hieronymus adducit pro se septem doctores, quorum quatuor, scilicet Laodicensem, Alexandrum, Origenem et Didymum, excludit Augustinus, utpote de hæresi infames. Aliis vero tribus opponit tres quos pro se et pro sua opinione habet; scilicet Ambrosium, Cyprianum, et ipsum Paulum, qui manifeste dicit, quod reprehensibilis erat Petrus." (*In Epist. ad Galatas, Lect. III., p.* 396, *Vol. XIII.*)

† Frigerio speaks of the Angelical's "*inesplicabil riverenza*" for the Fathers of the Church :—"Da si profonda humiltà cagionosi in lui quel sommo rispetto e inesplicabil riverenza, in che egli hebbe i Padri e santi Dottori della Chiesa, come ciò ben dimostrano i suoi gran volumi." (*Vita di S. Tomaso d'Aquino, Lib. II., Cap. IX., n.* 9, *p.* 115.)

Then, just as Aristotle may be looked upon as representing the bloom and flower of Greek philosophy, as Dante summed up the whole knowledge of his day in the *Divina Commedia*, so S. Augustine stands as the ripe fruit of the great patristic tree, as the representative of the classic learning of East and West.

As the Angelical professed S. Augustine's Rule, so also he imbibed his spirit. S. Augustine forms the pedestal upon which stands the graceful figure of the "*Summa Theologica*." *

Indeed, the wealth of dogmatic and moral teaching drawn from the columnal Fathers as a body, and enshrined in the "*Summa Theologica*" alone, is prodigious; but perhaps the best and easiest test of the Angelical's marvellous acquaintance with their writings and their style, is to be found in the *Catena Aurea* on the Gospels; and this of itself is an ample explanation why so large a space has been taken up in treating of their characters and lives.

In fact, the great dyke set up by the Angelical against the rationalism and irreverence of the

* Touron shows, with abundant authority, how strikingly the Angelical kept himself in harmony with S. Augustine. Cardinal Norris says:—"Ad Augustinum non itur nisi per Thomam." The learned Cardinal d'Aguirra says:—"Mirâ illâ Angelicæ mentis claritate obscura quæque exposuit D. Thomas, et abstrusos patrum, præsertim Augustini sensus luce donavit: quod experientiâ didici: nec dubium quin alii. Contingit in controversiis, inspectâ solâ sancti Augustini litterâ, mentem obrui fluctibus difficultatum, nec apparere viam ad emergendum; totam verò procellam sedari, et occurrere portum, ubi intente quæritur, et tandem invenitur, quid Angelicus Doctor tradiderit: ipse enim miti ac suavissimo interpretationis genere Divum Augustinum exponit." (See *Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas, Liv. IV., Chap. V., p.* 350—357.)

schools, was principally formed of materials drawn from the teachings of the Fathers. Then again, the traditions of the Church—that is the writings of the Fathers—must be thoroughly mastered by one who undertakes to construct a *Summa Theologica* worthy of the name. Tradition is the safest guide and support through the labyrinths of Scripture, and along the slippery road of human reason. He who has once grasped the mind of the eight great Doctors of the Church, steps well armed into the arena.*

The Angelical's acquaintance with their writings and spirit might be shown in many ways. It might be brought out by comparing passages from his various works : by reference to the "*Summa Theologica*," to the "Commentary" on the Lombard, or even to earlier labours. But he has bequeathed to us one golden volume, which offers of itself an overwhelming evidence. Had it not been for the "*Catena Aurea*," men would hardly have believed it possible that any theologian, however gifted, could have gained so profound and accurate a knowledge of the teachings and style of the great teachers of the Church. In the whole range of scholastic or indeed of modern learning, even since the patristic method has been so much in vogue, no work has yet appeared which can be

* "Im Ganzen sind mehr als achtzig Autoren aus allen christlichen Jahrhunderten von Ignatius M. bis auf den Mönch Euthymius, deren Erklärungen und Glossen zum Texte der Evangelien dergestalt mit einander verwoben sind, dass sie ein in ununterbrochenem Zusammenhange sich fortspinnendes Ganzes bilden." (Werner, *Die heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 219.)

compared with the "*Expositio Continua*" of the Angel of the Schools.*

It is of great importance to insist upon the patristic learning of the Angelical, and to show the reader how thoroughly his mind must have been impregnated with the spirit of the Greek and Latin Doctors. Men are too apt to fall into the delusion that because the Saint was a scholastic he contented himself with studying Commentaries and *Compendia*, and with bringing the Aristotelic forms of logic to bear upon the subject-matter of religion; and that he was bound up within the narrow compass of the so-called minute, subtle, technical, and hair-splitting methods of the schools. They are apt to forget that any really giant mind, of its own natural force, would rise above and transcend all the intellectual slaveries, and burst all the bonds of formalism with which they imagine the scholastic mind was occasionally entangled.† Though the "*Summa Theologica*"

* See *Chap. II., p.* 224.

† See the Angelical's view of consulting the learned, which he applied so well to the Fathers of the Church:—"Unde in his quæ ad prudentiam pertinent, maxime indiget homo ab aliis erudiri, et præcipue ex senibus, qui sanum intellectum adepti sunt circa fines operabilium. Unde Philosophus dicit in 6 Ethic. *(Cap. XI., circa fin.): Oportet attendere expertorum, et seniorum, et prudentium indemonstrabilibus enunciationibus, et opinionibus, non minus quam demonstrationibus; propter experientiam enim vident principia.* Unde et *Prov. III.*, 5, dicitur: *Ne innitaris prudentiæ tuæ;* et *Eccli. VI.*, 36, dicitur: *In multitudine presbyterorum*, id est, seniorum, *prudentium sta, et sapientiæ illorum ex corde conjungere.* Hoc autem pertinet ad docilitatem ut aliquis sit bene disciplinæ susceptivus . . . Ad secundum dicendum, quod docilitas, sicut et alia quæ ad prudentiam pertinent, secundum aptitudinem quidem est a natura; sed ad ejus consummationem plurimum valet humanum studium, dum scilicet homo sollicite frequenter et reverenter applicat animum suum documentis majorum, non negligens ea propter ignaviam, nec contemnens propter superbiam." *(Summa, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. XLIX., Art.* 3, *p.* 189–190. *Ed. Parm.)*

is thrown into a severe logical frame-work, the subject-matter of which it treats was gathered by the Angelical out of the depths of dogmatic revelation, and of the broad sweep of patristic teaching from the days of Origen to those of Albertus Magnus and the Victorines.* There is no *display* of patristic lore in the *Summa*, certainly. The whole is so well digested, and is so ripe a fruit of a career of profoundest study, of widest reading, of intensest thought, that the very harmony of its parts, the mellowness of its colouring, and the maturity of the whole design, conceal, rather than display, the vastness of the labour undergone in its construction. Had not the Saint been master of the intellect of S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*, S. Jerome, S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, Pope Gregory, and such like, the "*Summa Theologica*" never could have been written. Its depth, its largeness, and its opulence, speak of the traditions of the East; its very conception is patristic, if its form is of the West; it manifests, in point of fact, the grandeur of the Oriental and the symmetry of the Latin mind. It is a splendid synthesis, which could not have been achieved by one who did not possess

* Speaking of the wealth of patristic learning in the *Catena Aurea*, Werner says :—"Aus dieser Wolke von Zeugen für den ächten, traditionell kirchlichen Sinn des Schriftwortes werden besonders oft Origenes, Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Hieronymus, Hilarius, Gregor der Grosse, und von den späteren Hrabanus, Remigius, so wie die Verfasser der beide Glossen (ordinaria und interlinearis) redend vorgeführt." (*Die heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 219.)

the power of holding, with a catholic grasp, two worlds at once.

And here again is another note of difference between the Angelical and the classic Fathers, which should not be omitted. He absolutely forgets self in all he writes, and is wholly absorbed by the scientific and technical exposition of the Truth with which he lived: they, on the contrary, were ever allowing the history of their own hearts, the fate of their own friends, the events of their own times, and the play of human sympathy and personal suffering, to enter into, and as it were refresh, the course of their expositions, and even to colour, if so may be said, their formal treatises on dogma and the Sacred Word. They live and breathe in their own writings, the character of the man comes out with its vivid touches of individuality, and one Father is as distinct from another as man is different from man. Who could not at once recognize the Athenian culture of S. Basil and S. Gregory in their graceful periods, and gain an insight into their hearts whilst reading them? Is there one Father who resembles S. John Chrysostom, with his bright trust in Providence, and with those deep human sympathies which are characteristics of all his expositions—not to speak of his touching letters to Olympias, Theodora, Theodotus, Castor, Nicolas, and Polybius? S. Jerome's whole heart is poured out in all its richness; S. Augustine and

S. Gregory the Great * live with the distinct life of men and saints, in their most scientific works, as well as in their voluminous correspondence; in a word, nature and grace, the human and the divine, the personal and the objective,—all flowed out in their writings with the exuberant spontaneity of nature, and so freely, that no better picture of them could have been preserved than that which they painted of themselves. We thank them and love them for their charming frankness; and perceive in the unaffected utterances which gush fresh from the fountain of their hearts, the majesty of that spirit which lent to their very natures some of the witchery of supernatural grace.†

Yet, is there anything less sublime in the self-repression of the Angelical, who has not allowed

* "Pope Gregory's epistles give us the same sort of insight into the holy solicitude for the universal Christian people which possessed him, that minute vigilance, yet comprehensive superintendence of the chief pastor. . . . Those of S. Isidore and S. Nilus consist of little more than one or two terse, pithy, pregnant sentences which may be called sermonets, and are often as vivid as if we heard them. S. Chrysostom's are for the most part crowded into the three memorable years in which the sufferings of exile gradually ripened into a virtual martyrdom. Others, as some of those of S. Jerome and S. Ambrose, are meditations on mystical subjects. Those of S. Dionysius of Alexandria, which are but fragments, recount the various trials of the time, and are marked with a vigorous individuality which invests the narrative with an interest far higher than historical." (*The Ancient Saints, No.* 1, *p.* 93, *see Rambler, Vol. I.*, 1859.)

† And here at once the answer suggests itself to an objection which may be advanced against the influence of the *Lives* of the Church Fathers on S. Thomas. It may be said by unreflecting persons, that the Angelical knew little of the *Lives*, though he knew much of the *works* of those saints. The reply is easy, and, to any one who has studied the Fathers at all, obvious, namely: that it is simply from their works that *we* know their lives, and that their individual histories are so intimately bound up with their writings, that the latter cannot be read without gaining a knowledge of the former. How deeply and carefully the Angelical had studied the writings of the classic Fathers, is brought out with sufficient clearness, it is hoped, in the course of these pages.

a shade of self, for good or bad, however faint, to pass across his voluminous creations? Was it that he was cold and colourless, and had no distinct characteristic of his own? Assuredly not. Whose heart burnt with so pure and high a flame? whose character was more intensely personal? whose sympathy was more expanding towards every creature of God, than the great Angelical's? Had he wished, he might have rivalled S. Gregory the Great in the vastness of his correspondence; or S. Gregory *Theologus* in the sweetness of his poems; or S. Jerome in his fierce, his sword-like zeal; or S. Augustine in the lavish outpouring of his whole being, in his "Confessions," with their bursts of passionate inspiration.* Had he thought fit, he could have displayed all the might and tenderness of his affections, and have unveiled the inner secrets of his heart and fantasy, as well as have shown the crushing power of his intelligence before an admiring world; but he was *Angelical:* his heart was jealously reserved to One alone; his interests, affections, yearnings, joys, sorrows, and hopes, like the many-tongued flame of sacrificial fire, tended straight to heaven; earth was simply

* "When Pope Gregory comments upon Ezechiel, he writes about the Lombards, his own people, and himself. What a vivid idea we have of S. Chrysostom! partly from his style, partly from his matter; yet we derive it from his formal expositions of Scripture. His expositions are discourses; his discourses, whether he will or no, are manifestations. S. Gregory Nazianzen has written discourses too, by means of which he has gained for himself the special title of "Theologus;" yet these same orations give us also a large range of information about his own life, his kindred and friends, his feelings and his fortunes." (*The Ancient Saints. No.* 1, *p.* 94; *See the Rambler, Vol. I.*, 1859.)

his altar, and self was consumed in the holocaustic sacrifice of every vibration of the heart, and every emotion of the will, towards that one Object in Whose society he found his freedom and delight. There is nothing more seraphic in the whole history of S. Thomas than this absolute transformation of self which produced the splendid treatise of the "*Summa Theologica*," in which the tenderest and most emotional of creatures offers to the world the fruit of his mighty meditations on the cardinal teachings of religion, and proves that love does not destroy the severity of science, and that science in reality tends but to increase the intensity of love.* If the Fathers were great in their display of self, the Angelical was no less great in his divine self-repression.

Indeed his life may be said to have been a steady progress towards the Beatific Vision. As he advanced in years, he also advanced in union, so that the latter portion of his career may almost be said to have been passed in heaven.

* The difference between the Angelical and the classic Fathers is suggested at once by the following :—"Instead of writing formal doctrinal treatises, they [the Fathers] write controversy; and their controversy, again, is correspondence. They mix up their own persons, natural and supernatural, with the didactic or polemical works which engaged them. Their authoritative declarations are written, not on stone tablets, but on what Scripture calls 'the fleshly tables of the heart.' The line of their discussion traverses a region rich and interesting, and opens on those who follow them in it a succession of instructive views as to the aims, the difficulties, the disappointments under which they journeyed on heavenward, their care of the brethren, their apprehension of living teachers of error. Dogma and proof are at the same time hagiography. They do not write a *Summa Theologiæ*, or draw out a *catena*, or pursue a single thesis through the stages of a scholastic disputation. They wrote for the occasion, and seldom on a carefully-digested plan." (*The Ancient Saints, No.* 1, *p.* 93—94; see the *Rambler, Vol. I.*, 1859.)

Science and religion were as the steps of the ladder of his perfection ; he knew that there could be little progress in love without contemplation, and that the "Science of the Saints" is principally acquired through an intimate conjunction of the intelligence with the fount of illumination.* He let the visible world go its way, and he went his : as long as he was permitted to dwell in the Spiritual Kingdom, he was well content. Life was simply bearable because by means of it he was enabled to make his footing sure, in his advance into the Admirable Light.

On one occasion, when he was staying at the Convent at Bologna, he manifested in a most remarkable manner the abiding temper of his mind.† A Procurator had been nominated, who

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* "Corrispose al sublime dono della sapientia di Tomaso, egual dono di contemplatione ; essendo della sapientia ufficio, come di suprema scientia, fare all'intelletto conoscere e giudicare per cause altissime le verità divine o create ; e insiememente come di saporita scientia, di far gustare alla volontà il soavissimo sapore delle cose di sopra : che tuttoche l'essentia della contemplatione nell'intelletto consista, è nondimeno dalla carità verso di Dio originata, la quale sprona l'anima a contemplarlo." (Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. II., n.* 1, *p.* 130.)

† "De cujus mirabili dicitur humilitate, quod cum in Bononiensi conventu prædictus Doctor transiens moraretur, et more solito per claustrum contemplativus incederet, quidam Frater alterius conventus, qui Doctorem non noverat, venit ad eum, petita et obtenta licentia a Priore, ut cum eo qui primo occurreret, in civitatem ad sua negotia ire liceret : et dixit ei : Bone Frater, Prior mandavit, quod veniatis mecum. Qui statim inclinans caput, secutus est eum. Post quem cum non potuisset sic festinanter incedere, frequenter redargutus a socio, se humiliter excusabat. Cives vero, qui eum noverant, admirati, quod tantus Doctor post Fratrem tantæ conditionis incederet, de quo erat dignus, ut præiret, cogitantes hoc ex errore contigisse aliquo, indicaverunt Fratri, quis esset ille, quem duceret. Qui conversus ad Fratrem Thomam, petivit veniam, ut ejus ignorantiæ indulgeret : et conversis prædictis civibus cum reverentia Magistrum interrogantibus, de tanto humilitatis exemplo respondit : Quod in obedientia perficitur omnis religio, qua homo homini propter Deum subjicitur, sicut Deus homini propter hominem obedivit." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. V., n.* 26, *p.* 666.)

was a stranger to the city, and was neither personally acquainted with S. Thomas nor with the other friars of the convent. He had occasion to go shopping, and required some one to accompany him, and carry the provisions. He requested the Prior to appoint a person to fulfil that duty, and he was told to summon to his assistance the first friar that he met. Now it so happened that the very first person he saw, on descending from the Prior's cell, was the Angel of the Schools. Not dreaming who he was, the Procurator sharply told him, in the Prior's name, to take the basket and follow him briskly into the street. Without a word, the Angelical put the basket on his shoulder, and went after the Procurator, who was hurrying on in front. But, suffering as he was at the time from a weakness in his leg, the Saint found it almost impossible to keep pace with his new Superior; upon which, the Procurator turned upon him and rated him roundly for a lazy fellow, who was more burden than profit to the community, and who should show more zeal in the service of religion. This scene was witnessed by several citizens who happened to be passing at the time, and they were highly scandalized and amazed at beholding the greatest theologian of the day treated with so little courtesy, and set to do such menial service.*

* The *Vita* gives several examples of the Angelical's readiness in reply, which show that it was for no want of presence of mind on his part that he performed this act of obedience, but simply from a high super-

They at once expostulated with the Procurator, and expressed their indignation that Brother Thomas of Aquino, the great luminary of the schools, should receive such scant respect. On hearing the words, "Brother Thomas of Aquino," the Procurator looked as if he had been stabbed! He at once threw himself on his knees before the Angelical, and with sobs and tears implored to be forgiven. The Saint said gently in reply, that he was simply carrying out the orders of obedience, and that it was he himself who should by right beg pardon, since he had not been as active as he ought to have been in keeping pace with the movements of the Procurator.* To him the voice

natural motive :—"Essendo dimandato un giorno da alcuni suoi amici : perche tanto tempo sotto la disciplina d'Alberto havesse taciuto? Rispose : Perche non haveva cosa degna da rispondere a un tal huomo, quale era Alberto. Dimandato, che cosa più gioconda gli havrebbe potuto avenire in questa vita? Rispose : se quel che leggerò, bene intenderò. Et dicendogli uno, che non era tanto dotto quanto era tenuto : Egli soggiunse, e per questo studio acciò non s'ingannino. Essendogli stato detto, ch'era più grasso di corpo, che non se gli conveniva. La Zucca (rispose) anco senza cibo cresce. Havendolo salutato un usuraio a lui incognito : divinamente conoscendolo, gli disse ; I tuoi dinari saranno sterili : et senza frutto. Mangiando delle olive, le quali il compagno disse, ch'erano salse : Egli disse. E bene il salso, accioche il corpo grasso non si putrefaccia. Ripreso da una Matrona, ch'essendo nato di femina cosi le femine fuggisse. Per questo lo fò (soggiunse) perche di femina son nato. Dimandato dalla Sorella : Che cosa, e dove fosse il Paradiso? l'uno, e l'altro saprai (rispose) se lo meritarai. Dimandato per consiglio ; che si doveva fare per non errare? Rispose : Facciansi tutte le cose ; che si possa rendere ragione ; perche si faccino." *(Vita, p.* 26.)

* Touron speaks at length on the favours accorded to our Saint, and brings several authors forward to confirm what he advances :—"Puisque je me suis proposé de rapporter tout de suite les principales faveurs, que notre Saint a reçues du Ciel, quoique dans des lieux, et des tems différens ; je ne dois pas omettre ce que plusieurs graves Auteurs, saint Vincent Ferrier, S. Antonin, Bernard Guidonis ont écrit après Guillaume de Tocco ; et ce que S. Thomas lui-même sur ses derniers jours confia au Père Renaud ; auquel il déclara que la sainte Mère de Dieu l'avoit souvent honoré de ses apparitions ; qu'elle l'avoit assûré qu'il persévéreroit selon ses desirs dans son état, que sa vie et ses Ecrits étoient agréables à Dieu ; et que tout ce qu'il avoit demandé par l'intercession de la glorieuse Vierge, il l'avoit obtenu de la divine bonté." *(Liv. III., Chap. IX., p.* 236.)

of authority was simply the Voice of Christ: it mattered nothing to a man of his intelligence what the order was, provided he knew the Source from whence it came.

It is not surprising that a man so completely absorbed in the world of supernatural perfection, should day by day live more and more in heaven. He was often lifted up in ecstasy—for instance, during Mass. On one occasion this happened at Naples, in the presence of many gentlemen of the city; and, for so long a time was he carried away, that, lest the Mass should be interrupted wholly, one of the friars who were present was obliged to go to him at the altar, and bring him to himself.* The Saint had good reason to have recourse to the Origin of all truth and wisdom. Whenever he had a doubt about his teaching, he sought and gained light from heaven. It is thus that he was enabled to explain a most difficult passage of S. Paul. On another occasion, in the course of his Exposition, he

* "Talmente san Tomaso s'univa con Dio nelle sue contemplationi, che molte volte si levava in estasi; come in Napoli l'accadè alla presenza di molti Cavalieri; che celebrando egli il sacrificio della santa Messa, cosi nella mente si elevò, che entrando in una profondissima Estasi, pareva agli astanti, che fosse tutto rapito in Cielo; e tanto vi dimorò, che fu bisogno ad un de Frati, che ivi si ritrovò, destarlo, acciò havesse il sacrificio continuato; et egli svegliato dal sonno della contemplatione, volontariamente seguì. Poscia essendo stato dimandato da uno degli ascoltanti della Messa, ch'era suo familiare: quel, che accaduto li era, mentre che cosi elevato si vedeva? egli per humiltà non volse cosa niuna a quello manifestare. Poscia ritirandosi in una Cappella, che egli per Oratorio scelta haveva commoda, e atta alle contemplationi, ivi separandosi dalle cose terrene, si univa con le celesti: e se tempo alcuno se gli concedeva, poiche all'oratione, et agli studi haveva atteso, attendeva alle honeste conversationi: nelle quali, o insegnava, o recitava cose spirituali; perche imparassero tutti di vivere christianamente." (*Vita, p.* 22.)

came across a most obscure sentence in Isaias. He used all the force of his thought, and all the breadth of his reading, to bring light out of the darkness : but without avail. Then he set himself to fast and pray for several days. One night, during this period of supplication, Reginald, the *socius* of the Saint, whose cell was contiguous to that of his master, heard voices speaking, and amongst them that of the Angel of the Schools. He was greatly astonished at this, since he knew for certain that S. Thomas had gone to his room alone, and had closed the latch. Reginald went to the door and listened attentively ; there was no mistake : he distinctly heard a voice telling S. Thomas to write, and then, as if reading from a book, the same voice dictated an exposition on that obscure passage of Isaias. Next day, Reginald threw himself at his master's feet, and implored him for the love of God to say who had been speaking to him in the night. The Saint was filled with confusion by this request; and it was only after Reginald had solemnly sworn to keep the secret as long as his master was alive, that the Angelical informed him that our Lord had heard his prayer, and sent S. Peter and S. Paul to expound to him the true meaning of the obscure portion of the prophecy.*

* Tocco narrates the vision thus :—"Quod cum super Isaiam scriberet, et profunda Prophetæ mysteria exponendo et scribendo in lucem adduceret, pervenit ad quemdam ipsius libri textum, quem cum non intelligeret, nec ad intellectum litteræ, qui ei satisfaceret, perveniret, et

Then he was frequently seen lifted up in the air in ecstasy, in the church of S. Dominic, in Naples. Reginald saw him thus in the church of S. Maria Della Porta, in Salerno. But the most memorable occurrence was witnessed by Fra Domenico di Caserta at Naples. The Angelical was in the habit of praying in the church before the night-matins, and the friars of the convent were aware that our Lord accorded many privileges to him. Fra Domenico had a great curiosity to witness the Angelical enjoying these spiritual favours; and to this end hid himself in the church at night to watch S. Thomas whilst at prayer. The Saint, as usual, when all had retired to rest, came into the church. Fra Domenico saw him advancing, till he came opposite a certain figure of our Lord hanging on the Cross, in the chapel of S. Nicholas, when

multis diebus jejuniis et orationibus se afflligeret, instantia orationis obtinuit sibi dubium divinitus exponi oretenus, quod petiverat in oratione devotus. Nam uno dierum, celebrato cum devotione jejunio, de nocte audivit prædictus ejus socius ipsum loquentem, cum quo vel quibus ignorans: sonum quidem percipiens, materiam autem, de qua currebat locutio, non perpendens. Qua locutione finita, prædictus Doctor dixit socio: Fili Raynalde surge, et accende candelam, et accipe quaternum, in quo super Isaiam scripseras, et parate iterum ad scribendum. Qui cum diutius scriberet, quæ Doctor, quasi in libro legeret, ea facilitate dictabat: scribenti Fratri post aliquam horam dixit: Vade Fili ad quiescendum, quia restat adhuc multum tempus ad quietem. Qui avidus scire cupiens secretum Magistri sui prodigium, quod ei audita locutione erat revelatum, ad pedes Magistri procidit cum lacrymis, genibus flexis, et dixit: Ego de loco isto non surgam, nisi dicatis mihi, cum quibus vel cum quo diutius estis ista nocte locutus: et cœpit ipsum per nomen Domini Dei fortiter adjurare. Qui cum pluries dicere noluisset, et diceret: Fili, non est tibi opus hoc scire; iterum strictius adjuratus, ne nomen Dei videretur contemnere, per quod eum socius ausus fuerat adjurare, prædictus Doctor prorumpens in lacrymas, dixit: Fili, vidisti his diebus afflictionem meam super dubio, quod habui super istum textum, quem modo exposui, quem multis lacrymis a Deo scire petivi: unde hac nocte Deus miseratus est mei, misit ad me beatos Apostolos Petrum et Paulum per quos ipsum rogaveram, qui me omnia plenissime docuerunt." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VI., n.* 32, *p.* 668.)

he stood still; and then, being rapt in ecstasy, was lifted two cubits in the air before the Crucifix, and so remained a considerable time. Whilst the Saint was thus entranced, Fra Domenico distinctly heard Christ's voice saying from the image: "Well hast thou written of Me, Thomas. What reward wilt thou accept for thy labour?" To which the Angelical at once replied: "No other than Thyself, O Lord!" Something of the same kind happened at Orvieto: the Angelical had composed the Office of the Blessed Sacrament; and whilst kneeling before a figure of Christ crucified, he offered to our Lord this labour of his love; and his Master in return graciously spoke to him from the Cross, and thanked him for the service he had performed in honour of the Blessed Eucharist.* A still more remarkable event took place at Paris, which shows the immense authority the Saint

* "Ma particolarmente in Napoli in presenza di fra Domenico di Caserta, huomo di memorabili costumi, e probata vita, per età vecchio, e grave nelle sue attioni, che spesse volte cose maravigliose di Dio soleva vedere, fu visto san Tomaso avanti l'imagine d'un Crocifisso prima del Matutino la notte, ove era solito spesse fiate venire a fare oratione, che osservata l'hora dal diligente e devoto frate per chiarirsi di ciò, che quello faceva, di nascosto in un luogo s'era ascoso, che era una Cappella a san Nicolò dedicata; ove essendo san Tomaso venuto innanzi ad una imagine del Crocifisso, lo vide (dico) orando elevato da terra due cubiti, più volte dopò udì una chiara voce uscire da quella santissima Imagine, che esplicò queste formate parole, dicendo. *Bene scripsisti de me Thoma. Quam ergo recipies pro tuo labore mercedem?* A cui san Tomaso tosto rispose; *Domine non aliam præter te.* Dal che il frate stupito, argomentò, che se Tomaso in terra era stimato, e pregiato, il tutto gli aveniva come spirito eletto a fruir l'eterna gloria de'Beati. Questo si persuade, che l'avenisse: perche stava all'hora san Tomaso scrivendo la Terza parte della Somma, dove si tratta dell'Incarnatione, Natività, Passione, Vita, Morte, et Resurrettione del vero Messia figliuolo di Dio, e di Maria humilissima: però le parole, che dal figliuolo dell'eterno padre, et di tal Madre gli furono preferite, li significavano la mercede delle fatiche, che scrivendo intorno alla sua persona sparse haveva." (*Vita, p.* 24; *Cf.* Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VI., n.* 35, *p.* 669.)

possessed over the Masters of the University, as well as his intimate relationship with our Lord.*

A great dispute had arisen amongst the Professors of the University, with respect to the position of the "accidents" of bread in the Blessed Sacrament. Warm and angry litigation took place upon this abstruse question, and the flame of controversy was lighted up throughout the various schools of the University. But the Doctors could come to no accommodation. Finally, it was suggested to lay the whole case before the great Angelical. This idea was taken up at once; and the whole University, with entire unanimity, agreed to abide by his decision, whatever it should be,—so great was the universal trust of those fiery and imperious Doctors, in the profound learning and acuteness of the Angel of the Schools.† The Saint at once gave himself

* "Il simile ancora avenne a S. Tomaso metre stava in Orvieto, havendo composto l'officio del santissimo Sacramento: poiche essendosi inginocchiato innanzi alla imagine di un Crocifisso, l'offerse quell'officio: che composto haveva per ordine di Urbano sommo Pontefice: e havendo fatto oratione fece, che quella imagine dipinta aprisse le labra, e proferisse a san Tomaso la sodisfattione, che la celeste Corte haveva dell'intessuto officio. Et questa divota Imagine da i Cittadini di Orvieto; con molta solennità si honora, e riverisce in memoria di sì pietoso atto di testimonianza mostrato verso di questo santo Dottore. Potra dunque ogni fedele intelletto acquietarsi nella Dottrina di san Tomaso, come dalla divina verità comprobata, e autorizata: e tanto più che ogni elevato spirito chiaramente conosce, che qual si voglia cosa, che vi si desidera, viene a essere da quella copiosamente esplicata, e dichiarata." (*Vita*, *p.* 25.)

† "Un'altra volta ancora ritrovandosi in Parigi si attaccò tra i Parigini Teologi una controversia circa gli accidenti del santissimo Sacramento dell'Altare. Et tra quelli era per nascervi alcuna specie di confusione: e non potendo sapere la verità di quanto essi bramavano di sapere, ricorsero a san Tomaso, acciò determinasse le loro questioni conforme alla verità. Accettò san Tomaso il peso per la speranza, che nella divina gratia egli haveva; la onde ritiratosi, si diede a digiuni; e a orationi, ponendo etiandio l'ali all'intelletto, cominciò a conoscere quanto un'huomo

to prayer and fasting; and this he continued several days. Then bending all the powers of his great mind to the solution of the problem, he wrote his opinion in full; stating all the objections, and clearly laying down his replies. Having done this, he called together the Prior and brethren of the convent, and they accompanied him to the high altar of the church where the Blessed Sacrament was kept; and then he knelt in their presence before the altar, and fervently prayed our Lord to show him some sign by which he might know if he had or had not unravelled the difficulty which had been proposed to him. After thus praying some little time, the whole community heard a voice distinctly saying from the tabernacle: "Well hast thou written, Thomas, concerning this Sacrament; and well hast thou solved the problem—that is to say, in as far as it is possible for one to do so who still is prisoner in the flesh." *

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naturale capir poteva sopra si alto soggetto, havendo il tutto posto in carta. Et havendo già l'opera compita, chiamò il Priore del Convento, con i frati, e con quelli se ne andò all'Altar maggiore della Chiesa, ove la santissima Eucharistia si conservava. Et alla presenza di quei frati pregò la divina bontà, che mostrato havesse alcuno segno esteriore con autenticar quello, ch'egli scritto, e composto haveva sopra tal materia; e dopò di haver fatto una bella, e divota oratione, si udì una chiara, e aperta voce da tutti gli astanti, quali con san Tomaso stavano innanzi all'Altare inginocchiati, cosi dicendo. *Bene de hoc sacramento scripsisti, Thoma, et bene determinasti propositam quæstionem, quantum in corpore adhuc mortali constitutus quispiam possit, et humanitate diffiniri.* Con questa fedel voce fu l'opera di san Tomaso da Christo Signor nostro autenticata. Restarono gli astanti da maraviglioso stupore oppressi, benedicendo l'altissimo Dio." *(Vita, p. 25.)*

* Bareille speaks well of the way in which the Angelical lived more and more in the Unseen World as he advanced in years:—"Les extases, les ravissements qu'il avait toujours éprouvés dans l'oraison, devenaient

Thus did the great Angelical converse with the other world; thus did he receive divine illuminations and favours in the great work upon which he was engaged. Supernatural love and supernatural knowledge went hand in hand, and gently led him to the highest summit of perfection—flooding his mind with light, and melting into his heart the charity of the Cross. There is none of the restlessness and uncertainty of mere human talent about him; all is calm, peaceful, and secure, like the summer world when it basks at noonday in the sunshine, sleeping and yet awake, and whilst absorbing the heat and light, displaying through their very influence a thousand varied splendours of flower and fruit, of shade and tint, of sweet scent and soothing melody, of tender mountain distance and rugged broken foreground,—of all that earth can offer as a tribute to the sun.*

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chaque jour plus habituels et plus intenses. Dans de semblables moments, on eût dit que son âme avait entièrement abandonné son corps, tant il revenait alors à la complète inertie de la matière. A son retour dans sa prison terrestre, on l'entendait soupirer, avec les paroles de saint Paul, après le jour de la délivrance et de la vision. Thomas allait redisant souvent à cette époque : 'Qui me délivrera de ces liens de la mort? Oh! que je désire sortir d'esclavage et m'en aller au Christ!" Ces liens cependant ne semblaient pas devoir se relâcher encore; rien n'annonçait que les murs de cette prison terrestre dussent s'entr'ouvrir et tomber. La santé, l'âge même du saint Docteur, qui était celui où les nobles pensées, les grands projets n'ont pu que s'affermir dans le cœur de l'homme, tout paraissait lui promettre une longue existence." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXVI., p.* 334.)

* Gibelli, speaking of our Saint's last days, says :—"Non rifiniva di ripetere quelle dolci parole di Agostino, cioè a dire di quell'inclito dottore, che sopra ogni altro egli avea avuto in ammirazione, in riverenza ed amore : dammiti a conoscere, o Signore, o virtù dell'anima mia; fammi fervente in amarti, fa ch'io ti possieda in mezzo del mio cuore o beatitudine mia sempiterna; lascia deh lascia ch'io abbracci te vero bene, senza il quale niuna cosa è buona. Oh quando verrò e apparirò dinanzi a te, letizia mia? perchè non mi mostri tu la faccia, o allegrezza mia? dove sei

But it is time to return to the *Catena Aurea*, and to show the Angelical's deep acquaintance with the columnal Fathers of the Church.*

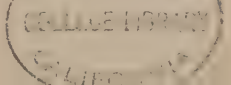
"By a *Catena Patrum* is meant a string or series of passages selected from the writings of various Fathers, and arranged for the elucidation of some portion of Scripture, as the Psalms or the Gospels. *Catenas* seem to have originated in the short scholia or glosses which it was customary in MSS. of the Scriptures to introduce between the lines or on the margin, perhaps in imitation of the Scholiasts on the profane authors. These, as time went on, were gradually expanded, and passages from the Homilies or Sermons of the Fathers upon the same Scripture added to them." †

Catenas were written long before the thirteenth century, but not one of them possesses the same merit as that by the Angel of the Schools. In fact these earlier efforts can only be called *Catenas*, by courtesy. In none of them are the quotations from the Fathers so dovetailed together as to permit the undisturbed flow of the entire sense—as is the case with the work of the Angelical. The

ascoso, luce degli occhi miei, vita dell'anima mia? Forse non ti può vedere uomo che viva? ecco o Signore, se così è, dammi la morte e lasciamiti vedere; non voglio più vivere, sì voglio morire; desidero di essere disciolto e d'essere con Cristo; desidero morire per veder Cristo, rifiuto di vivere per vivere con Cristo. O Signore mio Gesù ricevi lo spirito mio; o vita dell'anima mia, trai l'anima mia!" *(Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Capo XXIX., p.* III. *Seconda Edizione.)*

* Bareille sees clearly the importance of this work, and how it tells for the Angelical's genius :—"Ce dernier ouvrage est l'un des plus étonnants peutêtre qui soient sortis de la plume de Thomas. Il donne une idée effrayante de son érudition et de sa mémoire; et quoiqu'il soit celui de ses écrits où il entre le moins d'invention propre, si l'on considère chaque pensée prise à part, aucun n'atteste mieux en lui cette puissance de création qui est le caractère distinctif du génie. La première conception de cet ouvrage est d'une hardiesse qui le dispute à sa beauté." *(Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XX., p.* 234. *Quatrième Edition.)*

† See *Catena Aurea, S. Matthew, Part I., Vol. I., Preface, p.* 1, *Oxford,* 1841.



first Greek *Catena* was composed by Œcumenius in the ninth century.* Fabritius speaks of hundreds of *Catenas* in the Royal Library of France. The works of Eustathius of Antioch and of Procopius are no more *Catenas* than the Commentaries of S. Bede, or the Exposition of S. Jerome on S. Paul to the Galatians. But S. Isidore, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, Haymo, and Walafrid Strabo amongst the Latins; and the Damascene—who largely borrowed from S. Chrysostom and S. Gregory, Theophylact, and Titus Bostrensis amongst the Greeks, wrote works which more nearly resemble the Exposition of our Saint. Indeed, he borrowed from their writings, and also made frequent use of the "*Glossa Ordinaria*," called sometimes the "*Auctoritas*," and of the "*Glossa Interlinearis*," which was an elucidation of the Sacred Text, written between the lines, for the immediate benefit of the reader.

The *Catena Aurea* occupies, in the Parma Edition of the Saint's works, two volumes of large quarto in double columns. The first volume contains one hundred and forty-four pages, and treats on the Gospels of S. Matthew and S. Mark;

* It appears that the Angelical not only made use of extant translations from the Greek, but he also had new translations purposely made to serve for the work in hand:—"Die griechisch geschriebenen Auslegungen benützte Thomas nach den vorhandenen Uebersetzungen; mehrere derselben wurden, laut der Zueignungsrede an den Cardinal Anibald, erst auf seinen Betrieb, um sie für die *Catena* zu benützen, angefertiget." (*Die heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 219.)

the second numbers four hundred and sixty-four pages, and embraces the Gospels of SS. Luke and John.*

The *Catena* on S. Matthew was dedicated to Pope Urban IV., and was composed at his request. The remainder was written at a later date, and was dedicated to Hannibal, Cardinal di Molaria, a personal friend of the Angelical.

"The *Catena* is so contrived that it reads as a running commentary, the several extracts being dovetailed together by the compiler. And it consists wholly of extracts, the compiler introducing nothing of his own but the few connecting particles which link one extract to the next. There are also a few quotations headed '*Glossa*,' which none of the editors have been able to find in any author, and which from their character, being chiefly introductory of a new chapter or a new subject, may be probably assigned to the compiler; though even this is dispensed with whenever it is possible: when a Father will furnish the words for such transition or connection, they are dexterously introduced." †

The method is described thus :—

"The sacred text is broken into paragraphs longer or shorter; the shortest less than a verse; the longest twenty

* I cannot pass over Bareille's words, which fully appreciate the genius shown in this work, and the masterful grasp of tradition which it exhibits:—"Il est une parole qui seule paraît digne d'expliquer et d'interpréter la parole des saints Evangiles: c'est celle qui participe à la vénération des chrétiens pour ses livres sacrés, la parole de la tradition. Un commentaire de l'Evangile par la tradition serait sans doute le plus sûr, le plus magnifique des commentaires que l'imagination puisse rêver. Mais ce commentaire semble, en effet, un rêve de l'imagination; et cependant il existe en réalité; pas un chapitre, pas un verset de l'Evangile qui n'ait été exposé, commenté par quelque ancien docteur de l'Eglise, et l'on a pu dire avec vérité que si l'Evangile venait tout-à-coup à périr, on en retrouverait les précieux fragments enchâssés dans les pages de ces écrivains vénérés. Mais il fallait ajouter immédiatement que nulle intelligence n'eût été capable de les réunir de nouveau, de reconstruire le divin ensemble." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XX., p.* 235.)

† Mark Pattison's *Preface* to the *Catena Aurea*, to which the author is indebted, *Vol. I., p.* 4. *Oxford*, 1841.

verses; and the exposition of each portion follows this order:—First, the transition from the last paragraph to that under review; if they are events, the harmony with the chronology of the other Evangelists is shewn, S. Augustine *(de consensu Evangelistarum)* being the authority used for this; then comes the literal, or, what is called, the historical exposition. Where different Fathers have given different explanations, they are introduced generally in the order of the most obvious and literal first, and so proceeding to the most recondite, by the words "*Vel aliter.*" Then if any important doctrine hinges upon any part of the passage or comma, selections are given from the most approved treatises on the subject." *

In this striking *Catena* the Angelical makes use of the authority of over eighty authors, from S. Ignatius Martyr to the monk Euthemius.† S. Augustine, S. Hilary, Origen, S. Chrysostom, and S. Gregory the Great, seem to be favourites; whilst more recent writers, such as Rabanus Maurus, and Remigius, together with the *Glosses*,

* Mark Pattison's *Preface* to the *Catena Aurea, Vol. I., p.* 4—5. *Oxford*, 1841.

† Taking the *Catena* on S. Matthew alone, the following authorities are brought forward to witness to the tradition of the Church:—Origen, Presbyter of Alexandria, A.D. 230; Pseudo-Origen, Homiliæ sex ex diversis locis collectæ; S. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, 248; Eusebius, Archbishop of Cæsarea, 315; S. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, 326; Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, 340—530; S. Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers, 354; S. Gregory of Nazianzus, Archbishop of Constantinople, 370; S. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, 370; S. Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, 374; S. Jerome, Presbyter and Monk of Bethlehem, 378; Nemesius, 380; S. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, 396; S. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, 398; S. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandra, 412; S. Maximus, Bishop of Turin, 422; Cassian, Presbyter and Monk of Marseilles, 424; S. Peter Chrysologus, Archbishop of Ravenna, 433; Council of Ephesus, Canons of, and Theodotus of Ancyra, 431; S. Leo I., Pope, 440; Gennadius, Presbyter of Marseilles, 495; S. Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, 595; Bede, Venerable, Presbyter and Monk of Yarrow, 700; S. John, Presbyter of Damascus, 730; Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence, 847; Haymo, Bishop of Halberstadt, 853; Remigius, Presbyter and Monk of Auxerre, 880; Glossa Ordinaria, in ninth century; Paschasius Radbertus, 850; Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1080; S. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1093; Glossa Interlinearis, in twelfth century.

are continually quoted. The Greek Fathers are transcribed from such translations into the Latin as were at hand; though in several instances new translations were made for the special use of the Saint when composing this Exposition.*

"The quotations do not profess to be made with scrupulous adherence to the words of the original. But they are not (a very few excepted) abridgments in the words of the compiler, but condensations in their own language. How admirably this is done may be seen by any one who will take the trouble of collating a few pages of some of the more diffuse writers, *e.g.* S. Chrysostom or Origen, with the *Catena*. For instances particularly in which a sentence is made up of clauses gathered from distant pages, see the summary of the Sermon on the Mount, Chap. VII. in fin., and a quotation from Chrysostom on Chap. XXIII. 26." †

Take as a specimen the first of these examples. The *Catena* follows the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth verses of the seventh chapter of S. Matthew :—

"And it came to pass, when Jesus had fully ended these words, the people were in admiration at His doctrine."

"For He was teaching them as one having power, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees." ‡ GLOSS.—Having related Christ's teaching, he shows its effects on the multitude, saying, *And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these words, the multitude wondered at His doctrine.* RABAN.—This ending pertains both to the finishing the words, and the

* See how highly Professor Gibelli speaks of the *Catena Aurea, Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Capo XXI., p.* 83—84. *Seconda Edizione.*

† *Catena Aurea, S. Matthew, Part I., Vol. I., Preface, p.* 5. *Oxford,* 1841.

‡ "Nec in Glossa quæ nunc est nec in Anselmo id habetur, pro quo Glossa citari sæpe solet, neque in Rabano quoque vel Beda, vel alio simili."—*Ex edit. P. Nicolai.* (See *Opp.* S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Catena Aurea in Matthæi Evangelium, Cap. VII., n.* 11, *note, p.* 104, *Vol. XI.*)

completeness of the doctrines. That it is said that *the multitude wondered*, either signifies the unbelieving in the crowd, who were astonished because they did not believe the Saviour's word; or is said of them all, in that they reverenced in Him the excellence of so great wisdom. PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOM.—The mind of man when satisfied reasonably brings forth praise, but when overcome, wonder. For whatever we are not able to praise worthily, we admire. Yet their admiration pertained rather to Christ's glory than to their faith, for had they believed on Christ, they would not have wondered. For wonder is raised by whatever surpasses the appearance of the speaker or actor; and thence we do not wonder at what is done or said by God, because all things are less than God's power. But it was the multitude that wondered, that is the common people, not the chief among the people, who are not wont to hear with the desire of learning; but the simple folk heard in simplicity; had others been present they would have broken up their silence by contradicting, for where the greater knowledge is, there is the stronger malice. For he that is in haste to be first, is not content to be second.* AUGUSTINE.—From which is here said, He seems to have left the crowd of disciples—those out of whom He chose twelve, whom He called Apostles—but Matthew omits to mention it. For to His disciples only, Jesus seems to have held this sermon, which Matthew recounts, Luke omits. That after descending into a plain He held another like discourse, which Luke records, and Matthew omits. Still it may be supposed, that, as was said above, He delivered one and the same Sermon to the

* The Saint's treatment of what he considered a work of his great authority, S. Chrysostom, is strong evidence of his firm hold of dogma. "Die aus verschiedenen Autoren ausgehobenen Stellen nahm er unverändert in sein Werk auf, höchstens dass er, um hie und da eine Stelle dem Contexte anzupassen, die Worte in eine andere Ordnung stellte, als sie beim Autor vorkommen. Von diesem Verfahren wich er einzig in Benützung des dem Chrysostomus unterschobenen, zu seiner Zeit aber für ächt gehaltenen *Opus imperfectum in Matthæum* ab, dessen arianisch lautende Stellen er für blosse Textesfälschungen hielt und demgemäss in orthodoxem Sinne corrigiren zu müssen glaubte." *(Die heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 219—220.)

Apostles, and the rest of the multitude present, which has been recorded by Matthew and Luke, in different words, but with the same truth of substance; and this explains what is here said of the multitude wondering. * CHRYSOSTOM.—He adds the cause of their wonderment, saying, *He taught them as one having power, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees.* But if the Scribes drove Him from them, seeing His power shewn in works, how would they not have been offended when words only manifested His power? But this was not so with the multitude; for being of benevolent temper, it is easily persuaded by the word of truth. Such however was the power wherewith He taught them, that it drew many of them to Him, and caused them to wonder; and for their delight in those things which were spoken they did not leave Him even when He had done speaking; but followed Him as He came down from the mount. They were mostly astonished at His power, in that He spoke not referring to any other as the Prophets and Moses had spoken, but everywhere shewing that He Himself had authority; for in delivering each law He prefaced it with, *But I say unto you* JEROME.—For as the God and Lord of Moses himself, He of His own free will either added such things as seemed omitted in the Law, or even changed some; as above we read, *It was said by them of old. . . . But I say unto you.* But the Scribes only taught the people what was written in Moses and the Prophets. † GREGORY.—Or, Christ spoke with especial power, because He did no evil from weakness, but we who are weak, in our weakness consider by what method in teaching we may best consult for our weak brethren. HILARY.—Or, they measure the efficacy of His power, by the might of His words. AUGUSTINE.—This

* Had the author but space, he might here compare portions of the writings of Origen and S. Chrysostom with the Angelical's *résumé* of them. The reader then would perceive how the Saint seized on the exact thought of each, and without altering it a single shade, reproduced it in a short and handy form.

† One of the principal guides used by S. Thomas in his study of the Latin Fathers, of S. Gregory and S. Augustine for instance, appears to have been Rabanus Maurus.

is what is signified in the eleventh Psalm, *I will deal confidently in his regard; the words of the Lord are pure words, as silver tried by the fire, purged from the earth, refined seven times.* The mention of this number admonishes me here to refer all these precepts to those seven sentences that He placed in the beginning of this Sermon; those, I mean, concerning the beatitudes. For one to be angry with his brother, without cause, or to say to him Racha, or call him fool, is a sin of extreme pride, against which is one remedy, that with a suppliant spirit he should seek pardon, and not be puffed up with a spirit of boasting.* *Blessed*, then, *are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* He is consenting to his adversary, that is, in showing reverence to the word of God, who goes to the opening His Father's will, not with contentiousness of law, but with meekness of religion, therefore, *Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the land.* Also whosoever feels carnal delight rebel against his right will, will cry out, *Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* And in thus mourning he will implore the aid of the consoler; whence *Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.* What is there that can be thought of more toilsome than in overcoming an evil practice to cut off those members within us that hinder the kingdom of heaven, and not be broken down with the pain of so doing?†

* Of the fidelity of the Saint's references, Mr. Pattison speaks very highly:—"Putting aside the connective Glossæ . . . there are very few which it has not been possible to find." (See *Catena Aurea, Vol. I., S. Matthew, Part I., Preface, p.* 6.)

† The Angelical gives, in his *Prefatio*, a succinct view of the Gospel of S. Matthew, according to the Pseudo-Chrysostom. For instance:—"Corpus autem suæ narrationis ordinavit Matthæus: primum ergo nativitatem, deinde baptismum, tertio tentationem, quarto doctrinam, quinto miracula, sexto passionem, septimo resurrectionem et ascensionem ipsius; non solum historiam de Christo exponere volens per hoc, verum etiam evangelicæ vitæ statum docere, quoniam nihil est, quod ex parentibus nascimur, nisi iterum per aquam et spiritum renati fuerimus ex Deo. Post baptismum autem necesse est contra diabolum stare; post hoc quasi omni superata tentatione factus idoneus ad docendum, siquidem sacerdos est doceat, et doctrinam suam bonæ vitæ quasi miraculis factis commendet: si laicus est, operibus doceat fidem. Deinde necesse est exire nos de hoc stadio mundi, et tunc restat, ut tentationum victoriam resurrectionis merces sequatur et gloria." (Vid. *Catena Aurea, Præfatio in Matthæi Evangelium, p.* 4, *Vol. XI.*)

To endure in faithful wedlock all things even the most grievous, and yet to avoid all accusation of fornication. To speak the truth, and approve it not by frequent oaths, but by probity of life. But who would be bold to endure such toils, unless he burned with the love of righteousness as with a hunger and thirst? *Blessed*, therefore, *are they that hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall have their fill.* Who can be ready to take wrong from the weak, to offer himself to any that asks him, to love his enemies, to do good to them that hate him, to pray for them that persecute him, except he that is perfectly merciful? Therefore, *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.* He keeps the eye of his heart pure, who places the end of his good actions not in pleasing men, nor in getting those things that are necessary to this life, and who does not rashly condemn any man's heart, and whatever he gives to another gives with that intention with which he would have others give to him. *Blessed*, therefore, *are the clean of heart, for they shall see God.* It must needs be moreover, that by a pure heart should be found out the narrow way of wisdom, to which the guile of corrupt men is an obstacle; *Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.* But whether we take this arrangement, or any other, those things which we have heard from the Lord must be done, if we would build upon the rock." *

Or take the words—

" 'And the Word was with God.' CHRYSOSTOM.—Because it is an especial attribute of God, to be eternal and without a beginning, he laid this down first: then, lest any one on hearing *in the beginning was the Word*, should suppose the Word Unbegotten, he instantly guarded against this; saying, *And the Word was with God.* HILARY.—From the beginning He is with God: and though independent of time, is not

* *Catena Aurea, S. Matthew, Part I., Vol. I. p.* 293—296. *Oxford*, 1841. The author has taken the liberty of substituting the Catholic for the Protestant version, when the words of Holy Scripture are quoted.

independent of an Author. BASIL.—Again he repeats this, *was*, because of men blasphemously saying, that there was a time when He was not. Where then was the Word? Illimitable things are not contained in space. Where was He then? With God. For neither is the Father bounded by place, nor the Son by aught circumscribing. ORIGEN.—It is worth while noting, that, whereas the Word is said to come [to be made] to some, as to Osee, Isaias, Jeremias, with God it is not made, as though it were not with Him before. But, the Word having been always with Him, it is said, *and the Word was with God:* for from the beginning it was not separate from the Father. CHRYSOSTOM.—He has not said, was *in* God, but was *with* God: exhibiting to us that eternity which He had in accordance with His Person. THEOPHYLACT. —Sabellius is overthrown by this text. For he asserts that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one Person, Who sometimes appeared as the Father, sometimes as the Son, sometimes as the Holy Ghost. But he is manifestly confounded by this text, *and the Word was with God;* for here the Evangelist declares that the Son is one Person, God the Father another."*

And these :—

"'And the Word was God.' HILARY.—Thou wilt say that a word is the sound of the voice, the enunciation of a thing, the expression of a thought; this Word was in the beginning with God, because the utterance of thought is eternal, when He who thinketh is eternal. But how was that in the beginning, which exists no time either before, or after, I doubt even whether *in* time at all? For speech is neither in existence before one speaks, nor after; in the very act of speaking it vanishes; for by the time a speech is ended, that from which it began does not exist. But even if the first sentence, *in the beginning was the Word*, was through thy

* *Catena Aurea, S. John, Part I., Vol. IV., p.* 7—8. *Oxford.*

inattention lost upon thee, why disputest thou about the next; *and the Word was with God?* Didst thou hear it said, '*in* God,' so that thou shouldest understand this Word to be only the expression of hidden thoughts? Or did John say *with* by mistake, and was not aware of the distinction between being *in*, and being *with*, when he said, that what was in the beginning, was not *in* God, but *with* God? Hear then the nature and name of the Word; *and the Word was God.* No more then of the sound of the voice, of the expression of the thought. The Word here is a Substance, not a sound; a Nature, not an expression; God, not a nonentity. HILARY.—But the title is absolute, and free from the offence of an extraneous subject. To Moses it is said, *I have given thee for a god to Pharaoh:* but is not the reason for the name added, when it is said, *to Pharaoh?* Moses is given for a god to Pharaoh, when he is feared, when he is entreated, when he punishes, when he heals. And it is one thing to be *given* for a God, another thing to *be* God. I remember too another application of the name in the Psalms, *I have said, ye are gods.* But there too it is implied that the title was but bestowed; and the introduction of, *I said*, makes it rather the phrase of the Speaker, than the name of the thing. But when I hear *the Word was God*, I not only hear the Word said to be, but perceive It proved to be, God. BASIL.—Thus cutting off the cavils of blasphemers, and those who ask what the Word is, he replies, *and the Word was God.* THEOPHYLACT.—Or combine it thus. From the Word being with God, it follows plainly that there are two Persons. But these two are of one Nature; and therefore it proceeds, *In the Word was God:* to shew that Father and Son are of One Nature, being of One Godhead. ORIGEN.—We must add, too, that the Word illuminates the Prophets with Divine wisdom, in that He *cometh* to them; but that with God He ever is, because He is God. For which reason he placed *and the Word was with God*, before *and the Word was God.* CHRYSOSTOM.—Not asserting, as Plato does, one to be intelligence, the other soul; for the

Divine Nature is very different from this. . . . . But you say, the Father is called God with the addition of the article, the Son without it. What say you then, when the Apostle writes, *The great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ;* and again, *Who is over all, God;* and *Grace to you and peace from God our Father;* without the article? Besides, too, it were superfluous here to affix what had been affixed just before. So that it does not follow, though the article is not affixed to the Son, that He is therefore an inferior God." *

Once again—

"That was the true Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world."

"AUGUSTINE.—What Light it is to which John bears witness, he shews himself, saying, *That was the true Light.* CHRYSOSTOM.—Or thus; Having said above that John had come, and was sent, to bear witness of the Light, lest any from the recent coming of the witness, should infer the same of Him who is witnessed to, the Evangelist takes us back to that existence which is beyond all beginning, saying, *That was the true light.* AUGUSTINE.—Wherefore is there added, *true?* Because man enlightened is called light, but the true Light is that which lightens. For our eyes are called lights, and yet, without a lamp at night, or the sun by day, these lights are open to no purpose. Wherefore he adds: *which enlighteneth every man:* but if every man, then John himself. He Himself then enlightened the person, by whom He wished Himself to be pointed out. And, just as we may often, from the reflexion of the sun's rays on some object, know the sun to be risen, though we cannot look at the sun itself; as even feeble eyes can look at an illuminated wall, or some object of that kind: even so, those to whom Christ came, being too weak to behold Him, He threw His rays upon John; John confessed the illumination, and so the Illuminator Himself was discovered.

* *Catena Aurea, S. John, Part I., Vol. IV., p.* 8—10. *Oxford.*

It is said *that cometh into this world.* Had man not departed from Him, he had not had to be enlightened; but therefore is he to be here enlightened, because he departed thence, when he might have been enlightened. THEOPHYLACT.—Let the Manichean blush, who pronounces us the creatures of a dark and malignant creator: for we should never be enlightened, were we not the children of the true Light. CHRYSOSTOM.—Where are those, too, who deny Him to be very God? We see here that He is called very Light. But if He lighteneth every man that cometh into the world, how is it that so many have gone on without Light? For all have not known the worship of Christ. The answer is: He only enlighteneth every man, so far as pertains to Him. If men shut their eyes, and will not receive the rays of this light, their darkness arises not from the fault of the light, but from their own wickedness, inasmuch as they voluntarily deprive themselves of the gift of grace. For grace is poured out upon all; and they, who will not enjoy the gift, may impute it to their own blindness. AUGUSTINE.—Or the words, *enlighteneth every man*, may be understood to mean, not that there is no one who is not enlightened, but that no one is enlightened except by Him. BEDE.—Including both natural and divine wisdom; for as no one can exist of himself, so no one can be wise of himself. ORIGEN.—Or thus: We must not understand the words, *enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world* of the growth from hidden seeds to organized bodies, but of the entrance into the invisible world, by the spiritual regeneration and grace, which is given in Baptism. Those then the true Light lighteneth, who come into the world of goodness, not those who rush into the world of sin. THEOPHYLACT.—Or thus: The intellect which is given in us for our direction, and which is called natural reason, is said here to be a light given us by God. But some by the ill-use of their reason have darkened themselves." *

* *Catena Aurea, S. John, Part. I., Vol. IV., p.* 26—27. *Oxford.*

This *Catena Aurea* may be regarded as a sort of *tour de force*, by which the Angelical's extraordinary mastery of the Fathers of the Church is made manifest.* No test could be invented which would show more strikingly the depth and accuracy of his knowledge of the classics of theology. There were no books of reference—no dictionaries and encyclopedias in the days of the Angelical. The Saint had to study the originals themselves; and he did so with advantage. Each Father's special way of viewing a dogmatic or moral truth is seized by him: whilst the very style, in the condensation of the *Catena*, is artfully preserved. And so accurately does the Saint appear to appreciate and reproduce the native cast of thought of each writer, that one would be led to believe that he had had an intimate and personal acquaintance with the mind of each one of them. It seems to have been one of his singular gifts to be able to throw himself into the intellectual position of another, whether he were an adversary or a friend, and to

* Werner gives a good idea of the general tendency of the Angelical's method. Speaking of his work on Scripture, this writer says:—"Die allen seinen geistigen Bestrebungen eigene Tendenz nach höherer, zusammenfassender Einheit verläugnet sich auch hier nicht; er steht über den Gegensätzen von grammatischer und pneumatischer, historischer und dogmatischer Auslegung, indem ihm jede an ihrem Orte und in ihrer Weise als berechtiget gilt, weil auch in der Kirche das christliche Lehrwort nach Geist und Buchstabe unverbrüchlich zu gelten hat, und Geschichte und Lehre sich wechselseitig stützen und tragen. Wol aber muss man sagen, dass er nach den erhabenen Neigungen seines Geistes im Gegensatze zur erbaulichen Auslegung die doctrinelle Auslegung wählt, und Geist und Wort der lehrenden Kirche im Texte der heiligen Schrift nachzuweisen, als seine eigenste Aufgabe verfolgt." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 218.)

bring out with startling clearness the views or arguments which he adopted. There is little doubt that the Saint had thoroughly mastered the minds of the great classic writers of the Church; and that the richness of his dogmatic and moral teaching, its solidity and security, are owing to his having possessed himself of all the deepest thoughts of the deepest thinkers of Catholic antiquity. His acquaintance with their doctrine and with their lives gives a stability and steadiness to the whole character of his theology, which attracts, at the same time that it subdues the mind.*

Indeed so masterfully does the Angelical fasten upon the peculiar note of each columnal Father, and incorporate it into his *Catena*, that any theologian who took the pains to study this golden work would be able to form a fairly just estimate, not only of the method, but also of the special characteristic of each separate writer as he falls under observation. No more striking proof than this could be advanced of the Angelical's grasp of the lives and methods of the early saints. And lest it might be imagined that this assertion is somewhat fanciful, a case in point

* It stands to reason that this cannot be fully realized by one who has not studied the works of S. Thomas as a whole. After having done so, one feels amazed at the width and accuracy of the Angelical's mind no less than at his memory. His power of remembering and comparing the views of various Fathers on delicate theological points, and of seizing the exact shade of meaning in each, is excessively remarkable. His *Opuscula* in defence of the Religious Orders is sufficient in itself to prove his acquaintance with the private lives of many of the early Saints.

shall be submitted to the attention of the reader. Nor shall a Father be selected whose characteristic is so pronounced that there is little possibility of missing it. S. Augustine, for instance, or S. Jerome, or S. Basil, or even S. Gregory the Great, might be discovered in almost any disguise, and the note of each might be pointed out. But what, for instance, is the marked and distinctive feature of S. Chrysostom? His specialty is neither obvious, nor easy all at once to seize. But it comes out with luminous clearness, as does the character of each several Father, in the various extracts incorporated in the *Catena Aurea.*

In case the reader might feel inclined to demur to the writer's estimate of the characteristic of S. John, the very words of one shall be quoted, before whose authority all scholars bow with readiness, in questions which have to do with the lives and teaching of "the Ancient Saints."

In drawing out the special charm of S. John Chrysostom, he writes as follows :—

> "That charm lies, as I have said, in his habit and his power of throwing himself into the minds of others, and of imagining with exactness and with sympathy circumstances or scenes which were not before him. This is why his mode of writing is so peculiar, and why, when once a student enters into it, he will ever recognize it wherever he meets with it. I could not explain in a few sentences what I vividly feel; yet I will refer in illustration to two or three of his remarks on S. Matthew, as they stand in the *Catena Aurea.*"

"I turn, almost at hazard, to the beginning of the seventeenth chapter, in which the Transfiguration is related. Our Lord took three Apostles up into the mountain, six days after He had said, that some of those then present should not die before they had seen His glory. Now Remigius observes on this, that the Transfiguration is the fulfilment of this announcement. S. Jerome reconciles these six with S. Luke's eight. Raban observes, that the six days stand for the six ages which precede the resurrection. Origen, that the six days carry us back to the six days of creation. But Chrysostom views them as illustrating our Lord's tenderness towards his half-trained Apostles; thus: 'He does not take them up at once, but after six days, to avoid making the other disciples jealous,' or that the three favoured disciples might by the delay 'become kindled with a more eager desire.'"

"'Again; our Lord takes with Him three Apostles, to signify, says S. Hilary, the three stocks of Sem, Cham, and Japhet;—'because many are called,' says Raban, 'and few chosen,' and to remind of the Holy Trinity;—to show that those who seek God must mount up, says Remigius. But Chrysostom is led from it to remark, 'how S. Matthew does not conceal that three others were preferred to himself, just as John records the pre-eminent honour given by our Lord to Peter.'"

"And so, again, as to the appearance of Moses and Elias in the glory, Origen says, that it denotes that there is a hidden Christian wisdom in the Law and the Prophets. Hilary, that the Israelites will be judged in the presence of those who preached to them. Jerome, that the Apostles gained what the Pharisees were refused, viz. Elias a sign from heaven above, Moses a sign from the depth beneath, as the prophet proposed to Achaz. But Chrysostom gives, among other reasons, this, viz. that it was to comfort Peter and the others, who were so much frightened at the thought of His death, with the example of Moses and Elias, who had witnessed before tyrants, yet were now in glory."

"'It is good for us to be here,' &c., shows, says Remigius, that S. Peter, transported by the vision, wished to remain on the mountain for ever. S. Jerome says, 'Thou art wrong Peter; if thou must build them tabernacles, build for Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and let their dwelling-place be, not on the mountain, but in thine own bosom.' Raban observes that the Apostle was wrong in thinking there could be tabernacles in that abiding city, in which is no temple. But Chrysostom says, 'Peter fears for Christ, when Moses and Elias speak of his death at Jerusalem; so, shunning a second rebuke, if he should say again, *Lord, be it far from Thee!* he insinuates the same sentiment in the words, *It is good to be here.*'"*

Thus by selecting, "almost at hazard," a few sentences from S. Chrysostom, as they stand in the *Catena Aurea*, the special characteristic of that great expounder of the Sacred Word is brilliantly illustrated and brought out into clear relief. If the charm of one Church Father can be made to display itself so luminously by the accidental selection of a few passages, and if a trait which is by no means obvious can, with so little ingenuity, be thrown into so strong a light from chance extracts from the *Catena*, with how much greater ease could not the bias of the other Fathers be elicited, whose peculiarities lie more upon the surface, and whose leading features are less difficult to grasp.

If the Angelical has proved himself so great a master in the case even of S. John Chrysostom, how marvellously deep an insight must he not have had into the methods, lives, and characters

* *The Ancient Saints, Chap. V., p.* 341—342; *see the Rambler, Vol. III.*, 1860.

of such men as S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*, S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Gregory the Great!

Added to his keen perceptive powers and his extraordinary grasp, S. Thomas was endowed with a memory equally uncommon and remarkable. The *Catena* of the Four Gospels—the smooth continued flow of patristic quotation which makes up the entire work—appears to have issued direct from the chambers of his memory. The whole was written down, so Tocco says, from previous readings. In travelling from one Convent to another, the Saint had spent some portion of his time in perusing the great Church authorities.* What he once had read he never again forgot. And hence he was ready, at any moment, through the activity of his association of ideas, to pour out the full wealth of his capacious mind, and flood the world with light. Then, besides the *Catena Aurea*, his "Commentary" on the Lombard, his "*Contra Gentiles*," his "Expositions" on the Sacred Scriptures—all testify to his wide and intimate acquaintance with the intellects of the classic Fathers of the Church; the *Catena Aurea* simply brings this out in so startling a manner as

* These are Tocco's words:—"Scripsit prædictus Doctor opus super quatuor Evangelia, Sanctorum auctoritatibus miro modo contextum, ex quibus sic evangeliorum continuavit historiam, quasi unius Doctoris videatur esse Postilla; in quo opere mirandum creditur Deus ostendisse miraculum; quia discurrens per diversa monasteria, et diversorum Sanctorum legens volumina, pro majori parte ipsorum auctoritates mente retinuit, quas in exponendo notavit: nam eodem agebatur spiritu, quo legendo Doctor colligeret, quæ scribendo servaret." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. IV.*, *n.* 18, *p.* 663, *Vol. VII.*)

to impress it with greater vividness upon the mind. But it is only by studying the work itself, and by comparing the quotations with the originals, that the discriminating powers of the Angelical can be fully realized. Had he not possessed this deep acquaintance with S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory *Theologus*, S. Chrysostom, S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and Pope Gregory, he never would have been able to have built, upon so deep and immoveable a basis, the splendid fabric of the *Summa Theologica*.* And had not a slight sketch of these great classic Fathers been given in this volume, the richness of his mind, and the texture of his work, would have remained, in a great measure, hidden from the reader. The Angelical was a scholastic, but he was a scholastic who lived in the company of "the Ancient Saints."

And his mastery over the Sacred Scriptures was no less remarkable than his wide and accurate knowledge of the Fathers. This was the second

* Bareille fully appreciates the patristic love of the Angelical; he says:—"Depuis le premier jusqu'au douzième siècle, on compte plus de quarante auteurs différents dont les ouvrages, souvent immenses, ont été fouillés par saint Thomas, et dont les citations textuelles forment les anneaux de sa *Chaîne d'or*. Au premier siècle, saint Denis l'Aréopagite; au troisième, Origène, Jules l'Africain, saint Cyprien et Denis d'Alexandrie; au quatrième, Tite de Bostra, saint Hilaire de Poitiers, Eusèbe de Césarée, saint Athanase, saint Didime d'Alexandrie, saint Grégoire de Nazianze, saint Basile, Josèphe de Jérusalem, saint Grégoire de Nysse, saint Epiphane de Salamine, saint Jean Chrysostôme, saint Damase, pape, saint Ambroise de Milan, Séverien de Gabale; au cinquième, Théophile d'Alexandrie, saint Jérôme, saint Augustin, saint Prosper, saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie, saint Isidore de Péluse, Théodoret, saint Léon et saint Maxime; au sixième, saint Fulgence; au septième, saint Grégoire, pape, et saint Isidore de Séville; au huitième, saint Jean Damascène, le vénérable Bède, Alcuin; au neuvième, Haymon, Raban-Maur et Remigius; au dixième, Téophylacte; au douzième, Pierre Alphonse et le moine Eutymius." (*Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XX., p.* 236.)

of his three great studies preparatory to the scientific construction of the *Summa Theologica.**

Those who have mastered the Angelical's Expositions on the Sacred Text can well believe that he had learnt it off by heart when imprisoned at San Giovanni.† It would seem almost an impossibility for one who had not done so to have made use of it as the Saint has done in the course of his various Expositions. His extraordinary gift of seeing analogies, and perhaps his still more remarkable readiness in illuminating Scripture by means of Scripture, the exuberant richness of his applications, and the facility with which he brings texts to bear from all parts of the Sacred Volume, upon the point he has in hand, from the book of Genesis to the last chapter of S. John—

* See *Chap. III., p.* 224.

† Werner sums up his methods in his various Expositions thus :—"Eine gewiegte doctrinelle Auslegung stützt sich auf eine reiche exegetische Tradition ; dem Rechte dieser Forderung wird auf grossartige Weise in der *catena aurea* Genüge geleistet. Auf grund der exegetischen Traditionen soll die doctrinelle Auslegung die kirchliche Lehrformel nach ihrer vollen Schärfe und Prägnanz aus dem Texte der Schrift deduciren ; diess geschieht in den Commentarien zu den Paulinischen Briefen, namentlich in der tiefsinnigen Auslegung des Römerbriefes. Wie die Doctrin mit Beziehung der aus Natur und Geschichten geschöpften Erkenntnisse die erhabenen Worte der Schrift zu beleuchten habe wird im Commentare zum Buche Job gezeigt. In der Auslegung des Hohenliedes endlich schwingt sie sich zu den Höhen der contemplativen Mystik empor und dollmetscht in lehrhafter Weise die Geheimnisse der heiligen, gottinnigen Liebe. Er zeigt sich, mit Einem Worte, in seiner Auslegung ganz als denselben, als welchen er in seinen systematischen Werken sich darstellt ; dass er die philologische und historische Auslegungskunst der neuen Zeit nicht kennt, thut seiner eigenthümlichen Grösse und dem theologischen Werthe seiner Commentarien so wenig Abbruch, als es der Erhabenheit seiner speculativen Conceptionen Eintrag thut, dass ihn der Gedanke einer subjectiv psychologischen Vermittelung derselben noch fremd ist. In beiden Beziehungen tritt dafür die strenge Objectivität seiner Denkrichtung desto imposanter hervor ; er macht sich zum unmittelbaren Organ der ernsten Majestät der Kirche und ihrer heiligen Lehre." *(Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 218.)

all this speaks of the width of his reading, the marvellous retentiveness of his memory, and of that special genius he was endowed with, of being able, as it were by one intuition, to grasp and look steadily upon vast fields of thought—losing nothing in his microscopic appreciation of the detail, on account of his complete comprehension of the whole.* What man has ever been gifted with the combination of so vast a memory, and a mind so exquisitely logical—so overwhelming in the security and the severity of its processes of reasoning, and yet so full of mystic tenderness and deep poetic feeling ?

The Saint's mastery of the traditionary teaching of the Church exhibits itself in all his Commentaries on Scripture. In his treatment of the Pauline Epistles,† for instance, he so draws out the words of the Apostle, as to illuminate the moral and

* One of the striking differences between S. John Chrysostom's Homilies, and the Expositions of S. Thomas, consists in this : that S. Chrysostom ever appears to aim at the practical edification of his hearers—speaking either to exhort, or to warn, or to encourage, or to terrify, or to soothe them ; whilst the Angelical ever seems to strive after scientific unity, bent upon confirming, not so much man, as dogma and tradition, by means of numberless independent arguments or illuminations, gathered from various Fathers or places in Holy Scripture, and concentrated upon the truth which is brought under discussion. One was the Doctor of practical moral teaching ; the other of constructive theology.

† Having given the skeleton of these Expositions, Werner sums up :—"Schon diese kurzen Skizzen genügen zu zeigen, wie sehr Thomas darauf ausgeht, überall einen klaren übersichtlichen Zusammenhang der Gedanken des commentirten Autors hervorzustellen. Er verfolgt dieses Streben bis in's Einzelnste und Kleinste, kein einziges Satzglied kann sich dieser sorgfältigen logischen Umnetzung entziehen. Durch diese stete Reflexion auf den logischen Zusammenhang werden häufig Worte und Sätze, welche für sich von minderer Bedeutung zu sein scheinen, in eine überraschende Beleuchtung gerückt und tiefere Blicke in den reichen Schatz der Schriftweisheit erschlossen." *(Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 251.)

dogmatic teaching of theology, and illustrates that teaching with such a prolific richness of allusion, with so many authorities from every portion of the Sacred text, as to throw a new light upon, and to give a fresh significance to the words of the Apostle. Then his statement of objections is so lucid; his solutions are so precise, and often so ingenious; there is so much matchless simplicity combined with so powerful a logic, that the reader is both overpowered and fascinated as he proceeds—overpowered by the mental force which he continually encounters, and fascinated by the beauty of illustration, by the ingenuity of analogy, and by those sudden flashes of light produced by the juxtaposition of portions of Scripture, which, at first sight, to the ordinary reader, appear to have no relation whatever with one another.*

Perhaps of all the Expositions of the Angelical on the Sacred Text, that on the Epistle to the Romans is the most admirable. Its depth of thought, the singular clearness in which the

* "Dabei lässt er niemals von jener streng objectiven Haltung, wie sie dem ächten Ausleger des Gotteswortes ziemt; die ganze Spürkraft seines exegetischen Scharfsinnes ist vielmehr einzig darauf gerichtet, den im geschriebenen Worte enthaltenen Sinn nach den allgemein giltigen Grundsätzen einer rationellen Hermeneutik zu erheben, diess aber in vollständigster und umfassendster Weise. Da ist ihm kein Wort bedeutungslos, keines umsonst gesagt; man braucht in die Paulinische Lehrweisheit keine fremden Gedanken hineinzutragen, es genügt, an das gegebene Wort sich mit voller unbedingter Treue und Hingebung anzuschliessen, um eine Fülle von Gedanken und Beziehungen zu entdecken, in welchen bereits die ganze traditionelle Kirchenlehre mit ihren später formulirten Sätzen und Dogmen vorliegt. Die logische Präcisirung des biblischen Ideengehaltes gibt dem heiligen Thomas die Formeln des kirchlichen Lehrbegriffes; in der kunstgemässen Ablösung dieses Begriffes von der Hülle des biblischen Wortes besteht ihm die Aufgabe des Hermeneuten." *(Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 251.)

teachings of tradition are laid down, and the general interest of the subject-matter, lend to it a special charm. In the Commentary on Job, nature and history are used in the illumination of the Inspired Word; whilst in that on the Canticle of Canticles, the Saint finds himself in his own native element, as he traces the relationship between the Soul and the Beloved, and ascends into the highest regions of mystic union with God.

Let us now briefly consider in detail the labours of the Angelical on the Sacred Text. He expounded in the schools the Gospels of S. Matthew and S. John.* We have his Commentary on the Epistles of S. Paul,† on Job,‡ on a portion of the Psalms, upon the Canticle of Canticles, and upon the Prophets Isaias and Jeremias. And if this is not enough to show the Saint's wide acquaintance with the Inspired Writings, the *Summa Theologica* may be referred to, which testifies to a deep mastery of many other portions of the Ancient Law.

The Exposition on S. Matthew's Gospel was taken down from the Saint's lips by his familiar

* Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis *in Matthæum Evangelistam Expositio, p.* 1—278; *in Joannem Evangelistam Expositio, p.* 279—645: *Opera Omnia, Vol. X.* See the critical Dissertation of Rubeis, which enters into the question of date and authorship, *p.* 647—656.

† Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis *Expositio in omnes Sancti Pauli Epistolas, p.* 3—790. For full information on their integrity, &c., see *Dissertatio De Commentariis in Epistolas Sancti Pauli Apostoli, eorumque Integritate, ac Editionum Fide, p.* 791—804: *Opera Omnia, Vol. XIII.*

‡ *Expositio in Librum Beati Job, p.* 1—147; *in Psalmos Davidis Expositio, p.* 148—353; *in Canticum Canticorum Expositio, p.* 354—386; *in Isaiam Prophetam Expositio, p.* 467—576; *in Jeremiam Prophetam Expositio, p.* 577—685: *Opera Omnia, Vol. XIV.*

disciple, Brother Peter Andrea, who studied under him when occupying the post of *Regens Primarius* in the school of S. James's. Any one comparing the first five chapters of the Commentary on S. John, with any portion of that on S. Matthew, will at once perceive a difference of style. The Treatise on S. Matthew, however, possesses this interest, namely, it shows the reader how accurately the students were able to follow their professors, and how little was lost through the *viva voce* method of the schools. To hear the living voice, and then to go through the labour of writing down the words of wisdom as they flowed fresh from the lips, must have greatly tended to fix truth within the mind. The student, in this day, was forced out of his position of being a mere passive recipient, and was, as it were, compelled to bring his own mind actively to bear upon the matter of the lecture.*

The Exposition of S. Matthew occupies two hundred and seventy-seven pages of the Parma edition. Its division follows the twenty-eight chapters in the Gospel. The Prologue of S. Jerome is given at the commencement, as an "*argumentum;*" and upon this the Angelical makes a short comment. The first chapter of the Gospel is then given, and this is divided

* It stands to reason that it is impossible in this volume to treat at length of any of the great works of the Angelical; all that is possible is to indicate—as the title of this book promises—his labours. What may fairly be expected is to find sign-posts which honestly point the way to an intimate acquaintance with his various masterpieces.

into a certain number of paragraphs. For instance, the first chapter contains six, the second four, the third two, and so of the rest. Following each Gospel chapter comes the Angelical's Exposition, which is thrown into numbers corresponding to the paragraphs of the Gospel chapter. By this means the Commentary on any portion of the matter in hand can be hit upon without difficulty; for the numerals of the paragraphs in the Gospel are made to correspond with those in the Exposition.

In this Commentary the traditional dogmatic and moral teaching of the Church is brought into full relief, not only by the Angelical's method of handling the text itself, but by the weight of patristic authority which he advances in its support. Here also he manifests his singular gift of marshalling an array of Scriptural quotations in support of the point he is elucidating, and of so placing various groups of truths as to make them shed a light upon each other.

The Gospel of S. Matthew, according to S. Thomas, is principally concerned with the humanity of Christ. He divides it into three portions. The first part treats of the coming of our Lord into the world; the second, of His progress through the world; and the third, of His out-going from the world.* The reader who takes the trouble to study

* In the first part, including the three first chapters, the human generation and birth of our Lord are treated of; then the title of the Gospel is dwelt upon at length, and difficulties are solved with regard to its

this Exposition will at once observe how great a tendency is manifested, throughout its structure, towards that unity of conception which was one of the Angelical's greatest gifts.

The Exposition on S. John's Gospel is of a considerably later date. The five first chapters were written out by the Saint's own hand. The remainder was dictated by him to his disciple, Reginald of Piperno; but was finally revised, corrected, and approved of by himself. This Gospel would perhaps be one of the fairest tests of the powers of the Angelical. Its subject-matter, especially the first portion, would elicit those exceptional gifts with which he had been endowed. Here the deepest philosophy, the most abstract metaphysical speculation, would be called into play; as well as the highest theories of religion, and the cardinal principles of contemplative life.*

imperfect mode of expression and its seeming contradiction to the words of the prophet Isaias. Then the words of the Sacred Text are taken one by one, and are explained and illuminated by other portions of Holy Writ; whilst the heresies advanced against the true doctrine concerning Christ are stated, and the genuine teaching of the Church is given. The genealogy of our Lord is next considered, and is shown to have proceeded from Abraham to David, through the Prophets; from David to the transmigration of Babylon, through the Kings; and from the transmigration of Babylon to Joseph, which begins with leaders of the people, and ends with private individuals. Then the Nativity is expounded, and the testimony of the Magi and the Innocents, the Birthplace and the Star, are carefully considered.

* Werner gives a detailed, though excessively dry skeleton of this Exposition. He begins thus:—"Dem Commentar zum Evangelium Johannis ist eine Vorrede vorausgeschickt, welche sich über die Bedeutung dieses Evangeliums im Allgemeinen auslässt. Die Synoptiker leiten uns zum activen Leben an, das Johannesevangelium aber zur Contemplation. Was der Apostel selber erschaute, lässt sich mit den Worten bei Jesai. 6, 1, ausdrücken welche zugleich die Eigenschaften der Johanneischen Contemplation: Höhe, umfassender Weitblick und vollkommenes Eindringen

The entire Commentary occupies three hundred and sixty-five pages. It begins with a Prologue by the Saint, which is followed by that of S. Jerome, upon which the Angelical gives an Exposition. The Gospel of S. John contains twenty-one chapters. These chapters are subdivided, and upon each subdivision or "*Lectio*" the Exposition is made. For instance, the first chapter contains sixteen "*Lectiones;*" the second, three; the third, six; and so on. The whole Commentary bears upon it signs of great care in the composition, and the Prologue gives evidence of the greatness of the work which the Angelical must have felt he had before him.

Besides his Expositions on the Gospels, S. Thomas wrote fourteen Commentaries on the Epistles of S. Paul, which occupy seven hundred and ninety pages of the Parma Edition.* The

in den Gegenstand, charakterisiren. Sie schwingt sich über alles Geschaffene, über alle Berge, Himmel und Engel bis zu Gott empor: *Vidi Dominum sedentem super solium excelsum* (vgl. Jesai. 40, 26); unter diesem Herrn ist aber laut Joh. 12, 41, Christus zu verstehen. In dieser Anschauung des heiligen Johannes ist eine vierfache Hoheit zu erkennen: die Hoheit der Macht (darum *Vidi Dominum)*; der Ewigkeit *(sedentem)*; der Würde *(super solium excelsum)*; der Unbegreiflichkeit des Erschauten *(elevatum)*." *(Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 231—232.)

* "Commentationum ab Angelico Doctore Thoma Aquinate elucubratarum opus in *Epistolas omnes Sancti Pauli*, recentium Criticorum nemo unus est qui Thomæ nostro non adjudicet . . . Guillelmus de Tocco in Vita Aquinatis hæc habet pauca et simplicia verba capite IV.: 'Scripsit super Epistolas Pauli omnes, quarum scripturam præter Evangelium super omnes commendabat.' Hinc ratio patet, cur Evangelica Historia commentario explicata, cæteris Novi Testamenti libris prætermissis, mentem operamque Thomas applicuerit, ut Paulinas Epistolas elucidaret. Etenim quas Commentationes proprio stylo scripserit ille in easdem Epistolas Pauli, quos etiam a suggestu legerit, exceperintque alii, silentio præterit Guillelmus." (Vid. J. Bernardi Mariæ de Rubeis Dissertationes, *Dissertatio I., De Commentariis in Epistolas S. Pauli Apostoli, Eorumque Integritate, ac Editionum Fide, Opp. S. Thomæ, p.* 791, *Vol. XIII.)*

method is much the same as that adopted in the previous Expositions. The Prologue, which introduces the whole subject, is in the Angelical's best manner. Each Epistle, however, besides this general one, has a Prologue to itself. The Epistles are commented on chapter by chapter, and are divided into "*Lectiones*," like the Expositions on S. Matthew. The Fathers are more seldom used than in the works on the Gospels; nor are heresies so prominently discussed. The Manicheans, however, form an exception; and possibly because they represented a phase of error which was excessively active in the thirteenth century. And though the Fathers are less frequently alluded to here than elsewhere—except perhaps in the Commentary on the Galatians, they are by no means overlooked. S. Athanasius, S. Jerome, S. Gregory, S. Isidore, S. Hilary, the Damascene, as well as Haymo, Rabanus, Denis, Gelasius, Seneca, and the *Gloss*, are referred to from time to time. The "*Magister*," and the "*Philosophus*," are also made use of to confirm dogmatic or philosophical positions, as the case may be.*

* As an example of his method of solving difficulties:—"Videtur quod Epistola ad Romanos non sit prima: prius enim videtur scripsisse ad Corinthios, secundum illud Rom. ult. 1: 'Commendo autem vobis Phœben sororem nostram, quæ est in ministerio Ecclesiæ quæ est Cenchris,' ubi est portus Corinthiorum. Sed dicendum, quod Epistola ad Romanos præmittitur tum propter dignitatem Romanorum, qui aliis Gentibus dominabantur: tum quia hic confutabatur superbia quæ est initium omnis peccati, ut dicitur Eccli. 10; tum quia etiam hoc exigit ordo doctrinæ, ut prius gratia consideretur in se quam ut est in sacramentis. Item quæritur unde Apostolus hanc Epistolam scripsit. Augustinus dicit quod de Athenis, Hieronymus quod de Corintho. Nec est contradictio; quia forte Athenis incepit eam scribere, sed Corinthi consummavit." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Expositio in omnes S. Pauli Epistolas, Prologus, p.* 3, *Vol. XIII.*)

The General Prologue gives the best possible index to the seven hundred pages of which the Commentary is made up. It hangs from the following text :—

"This man is to me a vessel of election, to carry my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel." [a]

"Men are found in Sacred Scripture to be compared to vessels for four reasons: first, on account of make; for a vessel is dependent on the will of the artificer. 'He made another vessel, as it seemed good in his eyes to make it.' [b] So the making of man is dependent on the will of God, of Whom in the Psalm, 'He made us and not we ourselves.' Hence, 'Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it What art thou making?' [c] And in Romans, 'Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?' [d] And, hence, it is that, according to the will of God the Artificer, there are formed vessels of different makes. 'In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth.' [e] What sort of a vessel Blessed Paul was, who is called a vessel of election in the words above-mentioned, appears by what is said in Ecclesiasticus, 'As a massy vessel of Gold, adorned with every precious stone.' [f] For he was a golden vessel on account of the effulgence of wisdom, concerning which can be understood what is said, 'the gold of the land is very good;' [g] because, as it is said, 'She is more precious than all riches.' [h] Hence, Blessed Peter also gives testimony to him, saying, 'As also our most dear brother Paul, according to the wisdom given him, hath written to you.' [i] And he was

(*a*) *Acts, Chap. IX., v.* 15.
(*b*) *Jeremias, Chap. XVIII., v.* 4. (*c*) *Isaias, Chap. XLV., v.* 9.
(*d*) *Romans, Chap. IX., v.* 20. (*e*) *II. Timothy, Chap. II., v.* 20.
(*f*) *Ecclesiasticus, Chap. X., v.* 20. (*g*) *Genesis, Chap. II., v.* 12.
(*h*) *Proverbs, Chap. III., v.* 13. (*i*) *II. S. Peter, Chap. III., v.* 15.

massy through the virtue of charity, of which it is said, 'Love is strong as death.'[a] Hence he says himself, 'For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor might, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God.'[b] And he was adorned with every precious stone, that is, every virtue, of which it is said, 'If any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, &c.'[c] Hence too he says, 'For our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity of heart, and sincerity of God, and not in carnal wisdom, but in the grace of God, we have conversed in the world.'[d] What kind of vessel this was is clear from the things it has furnished: for he taught the mysteries of the most exalted Divinity, which appertain to wisdom, 'We speak wisdom among the perfect.'[e] He praised charity in a most excellent manner.[f] He instructed men in divers virtues: 'Put ye on therefore, as the elect of God, holy, and beloved, the bowels of mercy, benignity, humility, modesty, patience.'"[g]

"Secondly, this seems to be the object of vessels, that they be filled with some liquor, according to that, 'They brought her the vessels, and she poured in.'[h] And there is found to be a diversity in vessels with regard to the contents: for some are vessels of wine, some of oil, and different ones of different kinds. So men also are divinely filled with godly graces, as with various liquors. 'To one indeed, by the Spirit is given the word of wisdom; and to another, the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit.'[i] But this vessel with which we are concerned was full of a precious liquor, that is of the name of Christ, of whom it is said, 'Thy name is as oil poured out.'[k] Hence it is said '*to carry my name.*' For it

(*a*) *Canticles, Chap. VIII., v.* 6. (*b*) *Romans, Chap. VIII., v.* 38.
(*c*) *I. Corinth., Chap. III., v.* 12. (*d*) *II. Corinthians, Chap. I., v.* 12.
(*e*) *I. Corinthians, Chap. II., v.* 6. (*f*) *I. Corinthians, Chap. XIII.*
(*g*) *Colossians, Chap. III., v.* 12. (*h*) *IV. Kings, Chap. IV., v.* 5.
(*i*) *I. Corinthians, Chap. XII., v.* 8. (*k*) *Canticles, Chap. I., v.* 2.

seemed to have been full of this name: 'I will write upon him my name.'[a] He possessed that name in the knowledge of the intellect, 'For I judged not myself to know anything among you, but Christ.'[b] He possessed that name in the love of the affections: 'What then shall separate us from the love of Christ.'[c] 'If any man love not our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema.'[d] He possessed it in the whole conversation of his life, hence he said, 'And I live, now not I; but Christ liveth in me.'"[e]

"Thirdly, with regard to use, it is to be considered that all vessels are destined for some use: but some for an honourable, some for a vile use, 'Or hath not the potter power over the clay of the same lump, to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?'[f] And so men, according to divine ordination, are destined for different uses, 'and all men are from the ground, and out of the earth, from whence Adam was created. With much knowledge the Lord hath divided them, and diversified their ways. Some of them hath he blessed and exalted . . . some of them hath he cursed and brought low.'[g] Now this vessel is set aside for a noble use; for it is the vessel for carrying the divine word; for it is said '*to carry my name:*' and it was necessary that the word should be carried, because it was far off from men. 'Behold the name of the Lord cometh from afar.'[h] And it is far off from us on account of sin, 'salvation is far from sinners.'[i] It is also far from us on account of obscurity of the intellect: hence it is said of certain men, that they were beholding afar off,[k] and 'I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not near.'[l] And just as the angels bear to us as if distant from God, divine illuminations; so the Apostles bring the Evangelical Doctrine to us from

(*a*) *Apocalypse, Chap. III., v.* 12. (*b*) *I. Corinth., Chap. II., v.* 2.
(*c*) *Romans, Chap. VIII., v.* 35. (*d*) *I. Corinth., Chap. XVI., v.* 22.
(*e*) *Galatians, Chap. II., v.* 20. (*f*) *Romans, Chap. IX., v.* 21.
(*g*) *Ecclesi., Chap. XXXIII., v.* 12. (*h*) *Isaias, Chap. XXX., v.* 27.
(*i*) *Psalm CXVIII., v.* 155. (*k*) *Hebrews, Chap. XI.*
(*l*) *Numbers, Chap. XXIV., v.* 17.

Christ: and as in the Old Law, after the Law of Moses, the Prophets are read, who gave the doctrine of the Law to the people, 'Remember the law of Moses my servant,'[a] so, also, in the New Testament, after the Gospel, the doctrine of the Apostles is read, who gave to the people what they had received from the Lord, 'I have received of the Lord that which also I deliver unto you.'[b] Blessed Paul, in the first place, carried Christ in his body by imitating his conversation and his Passion, 'I bear the marks of the Lord Jesus in my body."[c] Secondly, in his mouth: which is evident from this that he is ever and again naming Christ in his Epistles: 'From the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh.'[d] Hence, it can be signified by the dove of which is said that she came to the ark carrying a bough of an olive tree in her mouth.[e] Since the olive signifies mercy, the name of Jesus Christ, which also signifies mercy, is fitly understood by the bough of the olive, 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.'[f] And he brought this bough of green leaves to the altar, that is to the Church, when he expressed its virtue and significance in a manifold manner, by showing forth the grace and the mercy of Christ, hence he himself says: 'For this cause have I obtained mercy: that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all patience.'[g] And hence it is that, as amongst the writings of the Old Testament the Psalms of David, who obtained pardon after sin, are most used in the Church; so in the New Testament the Epistles of Paul, who gained mercy, are used; that thus sinners may be lifted into hope; although there might be another reason namely, because in both these writings almost the whole teaching of theology is contained. Thirdly, he carried (the word) not only to those present, but to those absent, and those to come, committing

(*a*) *Malachias, Chap. IV., v.* 4.
(*b*) *I. Corinth., Chap. XI., v.* 23.
(*c*) *Galatians, Chap. VI., v.* 17.
(*d*) *Matthew, Chap. XII., v.* 34.
(*e*) *Genesis, Chap. VIII.*
(*f*) *Matthew, Chap. I., v.* 21.
(*g*) *I. Timothy, Chap. I., v.* 16.

it to writing, 'Take thou a great book, and write in it with a man's pen.'[a] His excellency is shown in three ways in this office of carrying the name of God. First, with regard to the grace of election; wherefore it is said, vessel of election. 'He chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world.'[b] Secondly, with regard to fidelity, because he sought nothing of his own, but Christ's, 'For we preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ.'[c] Hence he says, '*to me a vessel of election*.' Thirdly, with regard to singular excellency: hence he says himself, 'I have laboured more abundantly than all they.'[d] Wherefore he says with emphasis, '*to me a vessel of election:*' as if more especially to me than to others."

"With regard to fruit it is to be considered that some persons are like useless vessels, either on account of sin, or on account of error, 'He hath made me as an empty vessel.'[e] But Blessed Paul was pure from sin and error: hence he was a useful vessel of election, 'If any man therefore shall cleanse himself from these [viz. errors and sins] he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and profitable to the Lord.'[f] Hence the utility or fruit of this vessel is expressed by the words '*before the Gentiles*' of whom he was the Doctor, 'a Doctor of the Gentiles in faith and truth;'[g] '*and Kings*' to whom he announced the faith of Christ, as to Agrippa,[h] and also to Nero and his princes: hence he says, 'The things which have happened to me have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the Gospel; so that my bonds are made manifest, in Christ, in all the court;'[i] 'Kings shall see, and princes shall rise up;'[k] and '*the children of Israel*' against whom he argued concerning Christ. 'But Saul increased much more in strength, and confounded the Jews who dwelt at Damascus, affirming that this is the Christ.'"[l]

(*a*) *Isaias, Chap. VIII., v.* 1.
(*b*) *Ephesians, Chap. I., v.* 4.
(*c*) *II. Corinth., Chap. IV., v.* 5.
(*d*) *I. Corinthians, Chap. XV., v.* 10.
(*e*) *Jeremias, Chap. LI., v.* 34.
(*f*) *II. Timothy, Chap. II., v.* 21.
(*g*) *I. Timothy, Chap. II., v.* 7.
(*h*) *Acts, Chap. XXVI., v.* 2.
(*i*) *Philippians, Chap. I., v.* 13.
(*k*) *Isaias, Chap. XLIX., v.* 7.
(*l*) *Acts, Chap. IX., v.* 22.

"Thus, from the aforesaid words we can draw four divisions of this work, that is of the Epistles of S. Paul which we have in hand. Firstly, the author is a vessel. Secondly, the subject-matter is the name of Christ, which is the fulness of the vessel, because all this doctrine is concerning Christ. Thirdly, the method,—in the way of carrying: for this doctrine is given by means of letters which used to be borne by messengers, 'and the posts went with letters by command of the king, and his princes.' * Fourthly, the division of the work according to the usefulness above-mentioned: for S. Paul wrote fourteen epistles; nine of which teach the Church of the Gentiles; four, Prelates and Princes of the Church, that is Kings; one, the people of Israel, that is, the Hebrews who are the children of Israel . . . And this doctrine is wholly concerning the grace of Christ: which may be considered in a threefold manner.† One way, according as it is in the Head itself, namely in Christ; and so it is commended in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In another way, according as it is in the principal members of the mystical body: and so it is commended in the Epistles written for Prelates. In a third way, according as it is in the mystical body, which is the Church, and thus it is commended in the Epistles to the Gentiles, which are distinguished according as the grace of Christ is considered in a threefold manner. In one way, it can be looked upon as it is in itself; and thus it is commended in the Epistle to the

* *II. Paral., Chap. XXX., v.* 6.

† "Sic igitur ex verbis præmissis possumus accipere quatuor causas hujus Operis, scilicet Epistolarum Pauli, quas præ manibus habemus. Primo quidem auctorem in vase. Secundo materiam in nomine Christi, quæ est plenitudo vasis; quia tota doctrina hæc est de Christo. Tertio modum in usu portationis: traditur enim hæc doctrina per modum Epistolarum, quæ per nuntios portari consueverunt, secundum illud 2 Paral. 30, 6: 'Perrexerunt cursores cum Epistolis, ex Regis imperio, et principum ejus.' Quarto distinctionem operis in utilitate prædicta: scripsit enim quatuordecim epistolas quarum novem instruunt Ecclesiam Gentium; quatuor prælatos et principes Ecclesiæ, idest Reges; una populum Israel, scilicet quæ est ad Hebræos, filios Israel." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Expositio in omnes S. Pauli Epistolas, Prologus, p.* 3, *Vol. XIII.*)

Romans; in another, as it resides in the Sacraments of Grace; and thus it is commended in the two Epistles to the Corinthians, in the first of which the Sacraments themselves are treated of, in the second, the dignity of the ministers; and in the Epistle to the Galatians, in which superfluous sacraments are excluded, in opposition to those who wished to associate the Sacraments of the Old Law with those of the New.* Thirdly, the grace of Christ is considered with regard to the effect of unity which it produced in the Church. First, therefore, the Apostle treats of the institution of Ecclesiastical unity in the Epistle to the Ephesians; secondly, of its confirmation and advance in the Epistle to the Philippians; thirdly, concerning its defence against errors in the Epistle to the Colossians; against present persecutions in the first to the Thessalonians; and against future ones, principally in the time of Antichrist, in the second. He also teaches both spiritual and temporal Prelates of the Churches; spiritual Prelates concerning the instruction and government of ecclesiastical unity, in the first to Timothy; concerning constancy against persecutors, in the second; thirdly, concerning defence against heretics, in the Epistle to Titus; whilst he teaches temporal lords in the Epistle to Philemon. And thus comes out the meaning of the distinction and order of all the Epistles."†

* "Est enim hæc doctrina tota de gratia Christi: quæ quidem potest tripliciter considerari. Uno modo secundum quod est in ipso capite, scilicet Christo; et sic commendatur in Epistola ad Hebræos. Alio modo secundum quod est in membris principalibus corporis mystici et sic commendatur in Epistolis quæ sunt ad prælatos. Tertio modo secundum quod in ipso corpore mystico quod est Ecclesia; et sic commendatur in Epistolis quæ mittuntur ad Gentiles: quarum hæc est distinctio. Nam ipsa gratia Christi tripliciter potest considerari. Uno modo secundum se, et sic commendatur in Epistola ad Romanos. Alio modo secundum quod est in sacramentis gratiæ; et sic commendatur in duabus Epistolis ad Corinthios; in quarum prima agitur de ipsis sacramentis, in secunda de dignitate ministrorum: et in Epistola ad Galatas, in qua excluduntur superflua sacramenta contra illos qui volebant vetera sacramenta novis adjungere." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Expositio in omnes S. Pauli Epistolas, Prologus, p.* 3, *Vol. XIII.*)

† The Prologue ends with this objection, and its reply:—"Objicitur contra id quod in Glossa dicitur quod aliqui fideles, antequam Petrus,

The Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans is the most important of the number, and occupies one hundred and fifty-six pages. The Saint's treatment of Original Sin;[a] of Faith;[b] of the Universality of the Gospel Preaching;[c] of the difference between the Baptism of John and that of Christ;[d] as well as his remarks on the Negative and Affirmative Precepts of the Law;[e] on Scandal;[f] and on the Generosity of Christ;[g] are well worth careful perusal.

There are very many beautiful and instructive passages in the Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, for instance, on the words "Were you baptized in the name of Paul?"[h] on the preaching of the Gospel—"not in wisdom of speech,"[i] on the spiritual man being the judge of all things, yet being judged by none himself.[k] Then in the Sixth Lesson of the Seventh Chapter the Saint shows his ability in pointing out the fallacies in popular objections. The sharpness and incisiveness of the answer, the flow of quotation, the

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Romanis prædicaverunt; in ecclesiastica vero Historia dicitur, quod Petrus primus prædicavit eis. Sed intelligendum est primus inter Apostolos, et cum sequela magni fructus. Ante vero prædicaverat Romæ Barnabas, ut habetur in itinerario Clementis." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Expositio in omnes S. Pauli Epistolas, Prologus, p.* 3, *Vol. XIII.*)

(*a*) See *Opp.* S. Thomæ Aquinat. *Expositio in Epistolam ad Romanos, Cap. V., Lect. III., p.* 51., *Vol. XIII.*
(*b*) *Cap. X., Lect. II., p.* 105. (*c*) *Cap. X., Lect. III., p.* 107.
(*d*) *Cap. XI., Lect. IV., p.* 117. (*e*) *Cap. XIII., Lect. II., p.* 132.
(*f*) *Cap. XIV., Lect. II., p.* 140. (*g*) *Cap. XV., Lect. I., p.* 146, *sqq.*
(*h*) *Expositio in Epistolam I. ad Corinthios, Cap. I., Lect. II., p.* 161, *Vol. XIII.*
(*i*) *Cap. I., Lect. III., p.* 163. (*k*) *Cap. III., Lect. III., p.* 173.

exhaustless power of illustration, affords great gratification to the mind. [a] There are also some very interesting points spoken of in the eleventh chapter, regarding, for instance—the relation of man and wife; [b] the veiling of women in the church; [c] heretics; [d] transubstantiation; [e] vision (*visio imaginaria*); and so on through the Exposition. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians offers much matter for useful teaching. The Saint's treatment of the Son, as perfect image of the Father; [f] of Satan, as an angel of light; [g] might be recommended. Then in Galatians, the explanation of the word "anathema," [h] and the analysis of the method of Scripture interpretation; and in Ephesians, the full treatise of the Order of the angels, [i] in which the influence of the Areopagite becomes evident, could be perused with advantage.

Perhaps the most striking of all the Expositions of the Angelical, is that on the Book of Job. Here the illustrations and quotations from the Scriptures and the Fathers are met less often than in the other Commentaries. True S. Paul and Ecclesiasticus now and then shed a gleam across the

(*a*) *In Epistolam I. ad Corinthios, Cap. VIII., Lect. II., p.* 215—216.
(*b*) *Cap. XI., Lect. III., p.* 238; *Cap. VII., Lect. III., p.* 205.
(*c*) *Cap. XII., Lect. III., p.* 257.
(*d*) *Cap. XI., Lect. IV., p.* 240.
(*e*) *Cap. XI., Lect. V., p.* 243.
(*f*) *In Epist. II. ad Corinthios, Cap. IV., Lect. II., p.* 318.
(*g*) *Cap. XI., Lect. III., p.* 360.
(*h*) *In Epist. ad Galatas, Cap. I., Lect. II., p.* 385.
(*i*) *In Epist. ad Ephesios, Cap. I., Lect. VII., p.* 454.

pages; whilst at distant intervals S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, S. Gregory, as well as Denis, Boethius, and S. Isidore, Porphyry, Pliny, and Aristotle are to be met with, either as illustrating or recommending the point under discussion.*

This Treatise occupies one hundred and forty-six pages. The Prologue, as usual, is full of ingenuity. The object of the work is to prove God's Providence over the world, and its argument is, in reality, an answer to many cardinal tenets of that Eastern philosophy which had eaten its way into the Paris schools.

The subject-matter is divided according to the forty-two Chapters of the Book, and these are subdivided into the usual "*Lectiones.*"

The unrivalled power of analysis possessed by the Angelical, gave him entire scope for bringing out into full expression the character of blessed Job. The way in which the intellectual position of this Patriarch is described—his former prosperity, his abject misery, his vision of the future, his trust in God—exhibits great dramatic power in the

* "Aus den alttestamentlichen Schriften commentirte Thomas das Buch Job, die Psalmen, das Hohelied, die Propheten Jesaias und Jeremias. Bezüglich des Buches Job erklärt er, dass er sich ausschliesslich auf Darlegung des Literalsinnes beschränken wolle, indem die vortreffliche mystische Auslegung des heiligen Papstes Gregorius M. Alles erschöpft habe, was sich über den mystischen sinn dieses heiligen Buches sagen lasse. Bei der lehrhaften Tendenz desselben wäre die Frage, ob Job eine geschichtliche Person sei, von untergeordneter Bedeutung, wenn er nicht in anderen Büchern der heiligen Schrift (Ezech. 14; Jac. 5) auf solche Weise erwähnt würde, dass ein Zweifel an seinem geschichtlichen Charakter einem Angriffe auf das Ansehen und die Glaubwürdigkeit der heiligen Schrift gleich käme." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 226.)

commentator. Then come the groaning of his inferior nature; the maledictions which proceed from "the lower parts of his soul;" the approach of his friends, of Eliphaz, Baldad, and Sophar, who are so occupied with their own ideas that they seem incapable of comprehending his state of mind; then his obstinate persistence in his own way of seeing things, in spite of their determination to the contrary;—all this is brought out with extraordinary vividness by the Angel of the Schools.*

And no less brilliantly does he develop the main argument, in illustration of which the Exposition was principally written. Job, in his position of profound misery, still trusting in and proving the over-ruling providence of God; and his friends, by the very method they adopt, all the more firmly clenching his conclusions;—these different dramatic elements are so made use of in the argument, as to imprint, as much upon the imagination

* Werner speaks thus:—"Ueber den Zweck des Buches erklärt sich Thomas, anknüpfend an die verschiedenen Ansichten der alten Philosophie über den Lauf der Welt und die Schicksale der Menschen. Die zuerst ausgesprochenen Meinungen waren die rohesten und unvollkommensten; die ältesten griechischen Physiker (Naturphilosophen) kannten keine Vorsehung und hielten den Zufall für das Princip alles Geschehens in der Welt, worin ihnen auch einige Spätere (Demokrit, Empedokles) wenigstens theilweise beistimmten. Die ihnen nachfolgenden Philosophen konnten sich die strenge Gesetzmässigkeit in der Ordnung der Natur nicht verbergen, und wurden zur Ueberzeugung hingedrängt, dass es wenigstens im Bereiche des natürlichen Geschehens eine göttliche Providenz gebe; aber sie blieben fast alle darüber im Zweifel, ob auch in den menschlichen Erlebnissen eine solche Providenz walte. Einige glaubten, dass in denselben lediglich nur so viel vernunftgemässer Zusammenhang sei, als der Mensch durch die Kraft seines Wollens und Erkennens in sie bringe; Andere glaubten, dass alles menschliche Geschehen durch siderische Einflüsse oder andere fatalistische Ursachen bestimmt sei." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 226.)

as upon the intellect, a persuasion that, in spite of all external signs, there is an unseen Hand and an all-wise Intelligence, which are over-ruling and directing each minutest detail, as well as the general order of the world.

Since space will not permit long extracts, certain passages may be referred to as singularly able, and as illustrating in a striking manner the mind of the Angelical. See for instance his treatment on the limits of Satan's power ;[a] on the lawfulness of sorrow ;[b] on the nature of visions ;[c] on stability ;[d] on the life of man ;[e] on the power of human reason ;[f] on contentions ;[g] on the testimony of conscience ;[h] on God's knowledge ;[i] on tendency towards an end ;[k] on the Resurrection—which is treated with great mastery ;[l] on immortality ;[m] on the prosperity of the wicked ;[n] on astronomy ;[o] on metals and precious stones ;[p] birds ;[q] asses ;[r] reverence ;[s] temperature ;[t] on wisdom ;[u] on Platonism ;[v] on Satan ;[w] on sleep ;[x] on the Leviathan ;[y] on

(*a*) S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia, Expositio in Job, Cap. I., Lect. II., p.* 5—6, *Vol. XIV.*
(*b*) *Cap. III., Lect. I., p.* 12. (*c*) *Cap. IV., Lect. III., p.* 19.
(*d*) *Cap. IV., Lect. III., p.* 20. (*e*) *Cap. VII., Lect. I., p.* 29.
(*f*) *Cap. VII., Lect. IV., p.* 33. (*g*) *Cap. IX., Lect. I., p.* 37.
(*h*) *Cap. IX., Lect. III., p.* 41. (*i*) *Cap. XII., Lect. II., p.* 53.
(*k*) *Cap. IX., Lect. IV., p.* 42. (*l*) *Cap. XIV., Lect. IV., p.* 61.
(*m*) *Cap. XIV., Lect. V., p.* 61—62 ; *Cap. XIX., Lect. II., p.* 76.
(*n*) *Cap. XVI., Lect. I., p.* 67 ; *Cap. XXI., Lect. I., p.* 81 ; *Lect. III., p.* 82.
(*o*) *Cap. IX., Lect. II., p.* 39 ; *Cap. XXIII., Lect. I., p.* 87 ; *Cap. XXXVIII., Lect. II., p.* 130.
(*p*) *Cap. XXVIII., Lect. II., p.* 98. (*q*) *Cap. XXXIX., Lect. I., p.* 133.
(*r*) *Cap. XXXIX., Lect. I., p.* 133. (*s*) *Cap. XXXII., Lect. I., p.* 109.
(*t*) *Cap. XXVI., Lect. I., p.* 93. (*u*) *Cap. XXVIII., Lect. II., p.* 98.
(*v*) *Cap. XXXVII., Lect. I., p.* 125. (*w*) *Cap. XL., Lect. II., p.* 135—9.
(*x*) *Cap. XXXIII., Lect. II., p.* 113.
(*y*) *Capp. XLIII.—XLI., Lect. I., p.* 141, *Vol. XIV.*

the motion of the heavens, and on the great Behemoth.* Besides his Commentary on Job, the Angelical wrote an Exposition on the first fifty Psalms. This occupies about two hundred pages. The care with which the *Prooemium* is composed, shows that the author looked upon this as an important work. † It consists in an ingenious, not to say profound application of the words : "In all his works he gave thanks to the Holy One, and to the Most High with words of glory." ‡

In this Exposition the Angelical enters, more perhaps than in any of his other works, into the full meaning of each word, and follows out its signification into the minutest detail. It is not at all an uncommon thing for him to devote half a column, or more, to the elucidation of a single adjective, substantive, or pronoun. He brings various portions of Scripture to bear, as in a focus, upon the elements of thought ; and after having displayed them in different lights, draws out and manifests their proper meaning with a facility

* *Cap. XL., Lect. II., p.* 137—139.

† The Prooemium begins thus :—" 'In omni opere suo dedit confessionem sancto et excelso in verbo gloriæ. Eccli. 47.' Verba hæc dicuntur de David ad litteram ; et satis convenienter assumuntur ad ostendendum causam hujus operis. In quibus ostenditur quadruplex causa hujus : scilicet materia, modus seu forma ; finis et agens. Materia est universalis ; quia cum singuli libri canonicæ Scripturæ speciales materias habeant, hic liber generalem habet totius Theologiæ : et hoc est quod dicit Dionysius 3 lib. Cœlest. Hierar. *Divinarum odarum, idest Psalmorum, sacram Scripturam intendere, est, sacras et divinas operationes universas decantare.* Unde signatur materia in hoc quod dicit : *In omni opere*, quia de omni opere Dei tractat. Est autem quadruplex opus Dei : scilicet Creationis : Gen. I. Cap. : *Requievit Deus die septimo ab omni opere, &c.* Gubernationis : Joan. 5 : *Pater meus usque modo operatur, &c.* Reparationis : Joan 4 : *Meus cibus est ut faciam voluntatem ejus qui misit me, ut perficiam opus ejus.*" (Vid. *Prooemium* S. Thomæ *in Psalmos, p.* 148, *Vol. XIV.*)

‡ *Ecclis. XLVII., v.* 9.

which is all his own.* The "*Gloss*" is here often brought into requisition. At times, a Hebrew expression gives a clue to the true signification; sometimes the force of the Greek appears to recall a thought; or S. Augustine, or S. Chrysostom, or Denis, is called in to settle, by means of his authority, texts which of themselves might be explained in different ways. Then, difficulties suggested by other portions of Holy Writ are advanced—passages which seem to contradict the Psalm: these are solved, either by a principle of moral or a principle of dogma, or by the light of some telling sentence in Scripture, or by the traditionary teachings of the Fathers, or finally, by that gift of intuition by means of which master-minds are enabled to cut the Gordian Knot, or to unravel a tangle, with an ease which is one of the attributes of genius.†

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* The Prooemium continues thus:—"Glorificationis: Eccl. XLII.: *Gloria Domini plenum est opus ejus.* Et de his omnibus complete in hac doctrina tractatur. Primo de opere creationis: Psal. VIII.: *Videbo cœlos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum.* Secundo gubernationis: quia omnes historiæ veteris testamenti tanguntur in hoc libro: Psal. LXXVII: *Aperiam in parabolis os meum, etc.* Tertio reparationis, quantum ad caput, scilicet Christum, et quantum ad omnes effectus gratiæ: Psal. III.: *Ego dormivi et somnum,* &c. Omnia enim quæ ad fidem Incarnationis pertinent, sic dilucide traduntur in hoc opere, ut fere videatur evangelium, et non prophetia. Quarto est opus Glorificationis: Psal. 149: *Exultabunt sancti in gloria, etc.* Et hæc est ratio, quare magis frequentatur Psalterium in Ecclesia quia continet totam Scripturam. Vel secundum Glossam, ad dandam nobis spem divinæ misericordiæ: quia cum peccasset David, tamen per pœnitentiam est reparatus." (Vid. *Prooemium*, S. Thomæ *in Psalmos, p.* 148, *Vol. XIV.*)

† The Prooemium ends thus:—"Sed circa ordinem Psalmorum sciendum est, quod Psalmi quidam tangunt historias, sed non sunt ordinati secundum ordinem historiæ. Nam *Diligam te Domine*, pertinet ad historiam Saulis, sed *Domine quid multiplicati sunt*, ad historiam pertinet Absalonis; et hæc est posterior; unde aliquid aliud significant præter historiam tantum. Prima ergo quinquagena pertinet ad statum præni-

Perhaps the most valuable portion of this Exposition is that which brings out the relation of the Psalms to the Redemption by our Lord. No possible point of resemblance is omitted. Christ lives in the Psalms, and His tender loving Voice is ever and anon heard, speaking with clear articulation of His sufferings, His patience, His love, and His most merciful atonement for the sake of man. On the full treatment of so large a subject this is not the place to dwell. But the detailed method of the Saint will be clearly seen by one or two examples, which are selected as being interesting in themselves.

For instance, take the words—

"'Truths are decayed from among the children of men.'[a] Why does he say truths in the plural? 'There is no truth of God in the land.'[b] The answer is that the primeval Truth is one, and is the Divine Intellect. But, as the one face of a man produces many reflections in many mirrors; and many also in one broken mirror; so many truths are produced in many souls through the influence of one Divine truth. So, manifold truths appear in our soul which does not reach divine simplicity; and this is the effect of that one Truth, by which a devout soul is illuminated: and these truths diminish as the soul, through sin, recedes from God."[c]

tentiæ, et ideo figuraliter tractatur in ea de tribulationibus et impugnationibus David, et liberatione ejus. Et ut divisio fiat secundum litteram, David in regno suo existens, contra duplicem impugnationem vel persecutionem orat. Primo contra eam quæ fuit contra totum populum Dei: et hoc in quinta decade. Psal. XLI.: *Quemadmodum desiderat, &c.* . . . Universaliter autem justus in persona sua dupliciter affligitur: quandoque a temporaliter persequentibus, quandoque ab aliquibus injuste viventibus &c." (Vid. *Prooemium, S. Thomæ in Psalmos, p.* 150, *Vol. XIV.*)

(*a*) *Psalm XI., v.* 1. (*b*) *Osee, IV., v.* 1. (*c*) *Psalm XI., p.* 180.

Take the word "*In Petra* exaltavit me," being *v.* 5 *of Psal. XXVI.*

"*In Petra.* Hic proponit aliud beneficium promotionis in bonum; et est duplex. Unum exaltationis quantum ad se. Secundum quantum

Once more :—

"'In Thy Light we shall see light.'[a] The rational creature has two privileges: one, is that of seeing in the light of God; and because other animals do not see by the light of God, he says, 'In Thy light.' This does not refer to the light created by God, because in this sense the words '*Fiat lux*,' of Genesis are understood. But 'in Thy light' (by which viz. Thou enlightenest), which is a similitude of Thy Substance. Brute animals do not participate in this light; but the rational creature first participates in it in natural cognition: for the natural reason of man is nothing else than the refulgence of the divine brightness in the soul, by reason of which brightness it is said to be made to the image of God: 'The Light of Thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us.'[b] The other, is the light of grace: 'Arise thou that sleepest.'[c] The third is the light of glory: 'Arise, be enlightened, O Jerusalem, for thy light is come.'[d] Or, 'In Thy light,' that is, in Christ, Who is light of light: and so is the light which is true God. Christ therefore is the light, inasmuch as he proceeds from the Father: He is the fountain of life, inasmuch as He is the principle of the life-giving Spirit. The other privilege is that the rational creature alone sees this light: hence he says, 'we shall see light.'[e] This

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ad hostes, ibi, *nunc exaltavit caput meum.* Dicit ergo, *In petra exaltasti me.* Secundum literam alludit ad ea quæ circa eum sunt gesta; quia quando persecutionem partiebatur, ibat per petras invias [vel pervias] I. Reg. XXIV.: 'Sed quando evasit.' *Tunc exaltavit cor meum super inimicos meos.* Sed mystice exponitur, *In petra exaltavit me,* idest in Christo; I. Cor. X.: 'Petra autem erat Christus.' Vel, *In petra,* idest in Deo: II. Reg. XXII.: 'Dominus petra mea:' Psalm. LX.: 'Dum anxiaretur cor meum, in petra exaltasti me.' Et nunc jum exaltavit: quasi dicat, istud feci in spe, sed nunc in re. *Exaltasti caput meum,* idest mentem meam, *super inimicos meos,* idest super omnes appetitus meos: Gen. IV.: 'Subtus te erit appetitus tuus.'" *(In Davidem, Psal. XXVI., p.* 238, *Vol. XIV.)*

(*a*) *Psalm XXXVI., p.* 270. (*b*) *Psalm IV., v.* 7.

(*c*) *Ephesians, Chap. V., v.* 14. (*d*) *Isaias, Chap. LX., v.* 1.

(*e*) On the seeming contradiction in the words: "Quoniam *tacui* . . . . dum *clamarem* tota die," the Angelical speaks thus:—"Respondeo. Tacebat ab eo quod dicendum erat, sed clamabat quod dicendum non erat, nedum clamandum. Et in utroque est peccatum. De primo Isa. VI.: 'Væ mihi quia tacui.' Debet enim peccator dicere peccata

light is the created truth, that is Christ, according as He is man: or it is the uncreated Truth, by which we know some true things. For spiritual light is truth; and as a thing, inasmuch as it is lucid, is known by means of the light: just so is a thing known inasmuch as it is true. Brute animals know some true things well, for example, 'This sweet,' but not the truth of this proposition 'this is true'; for to do so would be to adequate the intellect to the thing, which brutes cannot do. Therefore brutes have not created light. And in the same way, they have neither the uncreated light, because man alone was made to see God by faith and hope; and as now we see by faith in light; so shall we see Him face to face when we enter into heaven." *

The next Exposition is that on the Canticle of Canticles. It follows in the main the plan adopted in other Commentaries. But Scripture references occur here less frequently than in the Treatise on Job. The Fathers are more sparingly used. Aristotle's Ethics can be felt in many places, as fixing a basis on which is built some beautiful and stable superstructure. The ardent words of the Spouse are taken up with the same warmth in exposition, by the Saint, as they are poured out by the Inspired Lips. The Angelical was at home in this train of thought. † His soul, ever

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sua: Job XVI.: 'Si tacuero, non recedit a me; nunc autem etc.' Ergo quoniam tacui peccata mea, *Inveteraverunt ossa mea:* Baruch III.: 'Quid est Israel, quod in terra inimicorum es, inveterasti etc.' De secundo Isa. V.: 'Expectavi, ut faceret judicium, et ecce iniquitas: justitiam, et ecce clamor.' Et hoc est quod dicit. *Dum clamarem tota die.* Clamabat enim se justum, clamabat de pœna, et tacebat de culpa." *(In Davidem, Psal. XXXI., p. 257, Vol. XIV.)*

* *In Davidem, Psal. XXXV., p. 279, Vol. XIV.*

† Werner speaks thus:—"Der Commentar zum hohen Liede wird mit den Worten Hohel. 2, 14 eingeleitet. *Sonet vox tua in auribus meis; vox enim tua dulcis et facies tua decora.* Diese Worte können entweder als Worte des Bräutigams an die Braut, d. i. Christi an die Kirche, oder als

present with his Lord, could run along the course of the glowing canticle; and, without any difficulty, keep pace with the exuberance of joy therein displayed. Continually, as if inspired himself, he takes up the rapture of Holy Writ, and pours it forth, following with a commentary thrown into rapture too, flowing with a like rapidity of love; and evidently proving that under the quiet calm exterior of the man, there lived a very volcano of seraphic tenderness and charity. Then the swift comment stops, and the Saint draws out the requisites for some important office, or the ingredients of some mighty gift, stating all calmly and with measure, like a deep philosopher. Now comes the application to the words of the Canticle; next, an analysis of various expressions; then a knitting together of Scripture phrase,—the writer making his own thought flow with equal stream, text running into comment, and then losing itself, till the Angelic Doctor's mind, and the inspiration of the Spirit, seem to combine in one shining current

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Worte der Kirche an Christus genommen werden. Im ersteren Sinne erklären sie uns den Titel, im letzteren Sinne die vier *causas* des heiligen Buches. Dieses ist 'Lied der Lieder' betitelt. Damit ist kein sinnlich vernehmbarer, sondern vielmehr ein geistiger und geistlicher Hochgesang gemeint. Denn wie es ein zweifaches Wort gibt, ein äusseres und ein inneres, so auch eine zweifache Harmonie, eine sinnlich hörbare und eine geistig vernehmbare. Boëthius lehrt in seinem Werke über Musik, dass Alles Harmonie sei insofern Alles nach bestimmten Maassverhältnissen geordnet sei; Augustinus findet die musikalischen Maassverhältnisse auch in den Vorgängen und Thätigkeiten des Seelenlebens, und specificirt sie als *numeros judiciales, progressivos, occursores, recordabiles, consonales.*" (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 286—287.)

of purest psalmody.* Yet all this is done in order; all is subservient to a common purpose; all adds light to the guiding thought contained in the customary magic text, which here is cast in the following words:—"Let thy voice sound in my ears: for thy voice is sweet, and thy face comely." †

Two more works of the Angelical complete his Scripture preparation for his master undertaking, namely, his Expositions on the Prophecies of Isaias and Jeremias. The former occupies about one hundred and fifty pages; and is divided, according to the chapters of the prophecy, into sixty-six portions, varying greatly in length. The Scripture illustrations are in harmony with the usual method of the Saint. S. Gregory, S. Bernard, and S. Augustine are made use of; the last often, the others seldom. S. Jerome and Rabanus ‡ are touched upon, and there is one reference to Homer. The best way of giving an idea of this Exposition is to select one or two passages. For instance:—

* How beautifully he speaks:—"*Pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata.* Luna a sole illuminatur; et Ecclesia pulchra est ut luna, quia claritate sponsi sui Christi illuminatur, et ejus gratia resplendet. Sive *pulchra* est *ut luna* in præsenti vita, ubi aliquando concessa sibi pace et securitate crescit, aliquando adversitatibus obscurata decrescit; *electa ut sol*, in alia vita, ubi perpetuo splendebit visione Conditoris sui. Sive *electa* est *ut sol*, quia illum verum solum imitari nititur, de quo scriptum est, Malach. IV.: 'Vobis timentibus nomen meum, orietur sol justitiæ.' Hunc solem imitatur vivendo in omni humilitate et justitia et pietate. *Terribilis*, aereis potestatibus, *ordinata ut castrorum acies*, idest caritatis unitate unita, ut nullis tentationibus penetrari valeat." (*In Cant. Cantic., Cap. VI., p.* 377, *Vol. XIV.*)

† *Canticle of Canticles, Chap. II., v.* 14.

‡ *Expositio in Isaiam, Cap. IX., p.* 467, *Vol. XIV.*

"Note, with regard to those words, 'there shall come forth a rod,' that the Blessed Virgin is called a rod; first, as consoling in tribulations: 'But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch forth thy hand over the sea, and divide it: that the children of Israel may go through the midst of the sea on dry ground.' Secondly, as fructifying: 'And Moses found that the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi, was budded: and that the buds swelling it had bloomed blossoms, which spreading the leaves, were formed into almonds.'[a] Thirdly,[b] as satiating: 'When Moses had lifted up his hand, and struck the rock twice with the rod, there came forth water in great abundance, so that the people and their cattle drank.'[c] Fourthly, as scourging: 'A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall spring up from Israel, and shall strike the chiefs of Moab.'[d] Fifthly, as watching: 'I see a rod watching.'"[e]

Then, the words:—

"'He shall pass in peace.'[f] Note, upon the words, 'he shall pass in peace,' that Christ passed in peace. First, in peace of the flesh with the spirit which He experienced: 'Knowing that thy Tabernacle is in peace.'[g] Secondly, in

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(*a*) *Numbers, Chap. XVII., v.* 8.

(*b*) Here is an interesting solution:—"Videtur quod augurium non sit peccatum. Aves enim meliorem æstimationem habent quam pisces qui sunt magis aquosi; sed marinarii ex motu quorumdam piscium accipiunt conjecturas de tempestate futura: ergo etiam per aves potest aliquid pronosticari de futuris. Et dicendum, quod Deus providit unicuique rei ea quibus possit conservari in esse, secundum suæ naturæ capacitatem: et ideo homini dedit rationem per quam conferendo potest sibi ad invenire remedia contra nociva. Et quia in brutis deficit ratio, ordinavit ut quod ex ratione deficit, natura suppleret; et ideo talibus data sunt arma et operimenta naturaliter, quæ homo per artem sibi acquirit. Similiter creata est eis quædam vis naturalis æstimationis, impellens ea ad operandum opera suæ speciei. Unde potius aguntur quam agunt, ut dicit Damascenus. Et cum natura inferior reguletur per naturam superiorem et moveatur, relinquuntur in ipsis impressiones superiorum motuum fricantium hujusmodi motum per quem moventur ad providendum sibi in necessariis. Et in talibus accipere conjecturam ab avibus, vel avium motibus, vel aliorum animalium, non est peccatum; sed tantum de his quæ habent causam ex libero arbitrio, quod non operatur necessitate stellarum." *(In Isaiam, Cap. II., p.* 439, *Vol. XIV.)*

(*c*) *Numbers, Chap. XX., v.* 11. (*d*) *Numbers, Chap. XXIV., v.* 17.

(*e*) *Jeremias, Chap. I., v.* 11.—See Opp. S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Expositio in Isaiam Prophetam, Cap. XI., p.* 474, *Vol. XIV.*

(*f*) *Isaias, Chap. XLI., v.* 3. (*g*) *Job, Chap. V., v.* 24.

the peace of man toward his neighbour, which He taught: 'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings and that preacheth peace.' [a] Thirdly, in the peace of the world towards the Lord, which He brought about: 'Making peace, and reconciling both to God in one body.'" [b]

Once more:—

"Note, upon the words, 'I will pour out my spirit,' [c] that the Spirit is given to beginners; first, in the beginning of their life: 'And the spirit came into them and they lived.' [d] Secondly, in the laver of regeneration: 'By the laver of regeneration, and renovation of the Holy Ghost.' [e] Thirdly, in the privilege of adoption: 'You have not received the spirit of bondage in fear; but you have received the spirit of adoption of sons of God.' [f] Secondly, it is given to those who are progressing: first, to instruct the intellect: 'The Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things.' [g] Secondly, to refresh the affections: 'My spirit is sweet above honey.' [h] Thirdly, as help in action: 'The spirit helpeth our infirmity.' [i] Thirdly, it is given to the perfect; first, for the benefit of Liberty: 'Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.' [k] Secondly, for a bond of unity: 'Careful to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.' [l] Thirdly, as a pledge of inheritance: 'You were signed with the holy spirit of promise, who is the pledge of our inheritance.'" [m]

Again:—

"'He was wounded for our iniquities.' [n] Here is stated

(*a*) *Isaias, Chap. LII., v.* 7.
(*b*) *Ephesians, Chap. II., v.* 15.—*Expositio in Isaiam Prophetam, Cap. XLII., p.* 530.
(*c*) *Isaias, Chap. XLIV., v.* 3.
(*d*) *Ezechiel, Chap. XXXVII., v.* 10.
(*e*) *Titus, Chap. III., v.* 5.
(*f*) *Romans, Chap. VIII., v.* 15.
(*g*) *John, Chap. XIV., v.* 26.
(*h*) *Eccles., Chap. XXIV., v.* 27.
(*i*) *Romans, Chap. VIII., v.* 26.
(*k*) *II. Corinth., Chap. III., v.* 17.
(*l*) *Ephesians, Chap. IV., v.* 3.
(*m*) *Ephesians, Chap. I., v.* 13.—*Expositio in Isaiam Prophetam, Cap. XLIV., p.* 537.
(*n*) *Isaias, Chap. LIII., v.* 5

the fruit of His humiliation or passion, and first he mentions the effective reason, 'But He' not as we thought, 'was wounded,' with thorns, nails, lance, to take away 'our iniquities.'[a] 'He was bruised,' with scourges, smitings; or, 'wounded,' in reference to 'struck;' 'bruised,' in reference to 'afflicted.'[b] 'The breath of our mouth Christ the Lord is taken in our sins.'[c] Secondly, he shows the utility consequent on the reconciliation of peace: 'The chastisement of peace;' that is, for our sakes he bore the chastisement of correction, by which peace we have access to God: 'For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life.'[d] And in the restitution of lost health through the 'bruises,' which he received from the scourges: 'By whose stripes you were healed.'[e] 'Who forgiveth all thy iniquities: who healeth all thy diseases.'[f] Thirdly, he shows the imminent necessity on our part, because we are all sick, and we all need the physician, and no one else can offer a sufficient remedy.[g] 'For there is no distinction; for all have sinned: and do need the glory of God.'"[h]

And, finally, the words:—

"'Be enlightened O Jerusalem.' Note, upon the words, 'Be enlightened O Jerusalem,'[i] that the Church is enlightened by the light, first, of sacred doctrine: 'The commandment is a lamp, and the law a light.'[k] Secondly, of spiritual intelligence: 'God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Christ Jesus.'[l] Thirdly, of grace: 'If we walk in the light, as he also is in the light; we have fellowship one with

(*a*) *Isaias, Chap. LIII., v.* 5.
(*b*) "As one struck by God, and afflicted."—*Isaias, Chap. LIII., v.* 4.
(*c*) *Lament., Chap. IV., v.* 20.
(*d*) *Romans, Chap. V., v.* 10.
(*e*) *I. Peter, Chap. II., v.* 24.
(*f*) *Psalm CII., v.* 3.
(*g*) See Opp. S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Expositio in Isaiam Prophetam, Cap. LIII., p.* 553.
(*h*) *Romans, Chap. III., v.* 22.
(*i*) *Isaias, Chap. LX., v.* 1.
(*k*) *Proverbs, Chap. VI., v.* 23.
(*l*) *II. Corinth., Chap. IV., v.* 6.

another.'[a] Fourthly, of glory: 'In thy light we shall see light.'[b] Fifthly, of joy: 'What manner of joy shall be to me, who sit in darkness, and see not the light of heaven.'[c] Sixthly, of the Divine Substance: 'Who only hath immortality, and inhabiteth light inaccessible.'"[d]

The Exposition on Jeremias is an unfinished composition, the Angelical having died before he had time to complete the fifty-second chapter.[e] In fact, the whole has more the character of an *imbozzo*, than of a perfect piece. There is, indeed, the same wealth as elsewhere, of Scripture illustration; and S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, S. Gregory, and the *Gloss*, are alluded to in a passing way. Take one or two examples of our Saint's method; first on various kinds of Circumcision:—

"Note, that circumcision is manifold, of the mind and of evil thoughts: 'Until their uncircumcised mind be ashamed.'[f] Of the heart from evil affections: 'Circumcision is that of the heart, in spirit, not in the letter.'[g] Of the

(*a*) *I. John, Chap. I., v.* 7. (*b*) *Psalm XXXV., v.* 10.
(*c*) *Tobias, Chap. V., v.* 12.
(*d*) *I. Timothy, Chap. VI., v.* 16.—*Expositio in Isaiam Prophetam, Cap. LX., p.* 568.

(*e*) Es erübriget noch eine kurze Erwähnung des Commentars über Jeremias, dessen charakteristische Eigenthümlichkeiten als prophetischen Schriftstellers im Vorworte zum Commentar mit Anknüpfung an die Stelle 2 Macc. 15, 14 geschildert werden. Jeremias ist der heilige Mann, der auf den Trümmern der heiligen Stadt über das Elend seines Volkes weint, und betend zwischen ihm und Gott steht. Dieser Gedanke wird durch eine schöne, mit reichen biblischen Anführungen ausgestattete kurze Erörterung durchgeführt. Inhalt seiner Prophetie ist, im historischen Sinne aufgefasst, die Gefangenschaft seines Volkes. Sie zerfällt in drei Theile; im ersten Theile sagt er die Gefangenschaft als eine zukünftige voraus; in den Klageliedern beweint er sie als eine bereits geschehene; im Buche Baruch führt er die in die Gefangenschaft Abgeführten redend ein. Thomas hat nur die ersten zwei Parthien dieses dreitheiligen Ganzen commentirt, und auch da nicht vollständig; der Commentar zu den Prophezeiungen des Jeremias reicht bis Cap. 42, die folgenden zehn Capitel blieben unerklärt. Er fasst sich in diesem Commentar weit kürzer, als in allen seinen übrigen exegetischen Schriften." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 301—302.)

(*f*) *Leviticus, Chap. XXVI., v.* 41. (*g*) *Romans, Chap. II., v.* 29.

mouth, from evil speech: 'I am of uncircumcised lips.' [a] Of the ears, from detraction and evil words: 'Their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot hear.' [b] Of the flesh, signifying circumcision from carnal desires: 'You shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, that it may be for a sign of the Covenant between me and you.'" [c]

"Note, moreover, that the heart is washed with the water of Baptism: 'I washed Thee with water, and cleansed away thy blood from Thee.' [d] With the tears of compunction: 'Every night I will wash my bed; I will water my couch with my tears.' [e] With the wine of Divine Love: 'He shall wash his robe in wine, and his garment in the blood of the grapes.' [f] With the milk of the Divine word: 'His eyes are as doves upon brooks of waters, which are washed with milk.' [g] With the ardour of correction: 'If the Lord shall wash away the filth of the daughters of Sion, and shall wash away the blood of Jerusalem out of the midst thereof, by the spirit of judgment, and by the spirit of burning.' [h] With the blood of the Lord's passion: 'They have washed their robes, and have made them white in the blood of the lamb.'" [i]

Again:—

Note, that mystically some wine is good and some bad. There is good wine of the wisdom of contemplation: 'Drink the wine which I have mingled for you:' [k] of divine love: 'I will give thee a cup of spiced wine and new wine of my pomegranates:' [l] of compunction: 'Thou hast made us drink the wine of sorrow.' [m] And there is an evil wine of fraudulent deception: 'Their wine is the gall of dragons, and the venom of asps, which is incurable:' [n] of carnal delight: 'All nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication; and the kings of the earth have

(*a*) *Exodus, Chap. VI., v.* 30. (*b*) *Jeremias, Chap. VI., v.* 10.
(*c*) *Genesis, Chap. XVII., v.* 11. (*d*) *Ezechiel, Chap. XVI., v.* 9.
(*e*) *Psalm VI., v.* 7. (*f*) *Genesis, Chap. XLIX., v.* 11.
(*g*) *Canticles, Chap. V., v.* 12. (*h*) *Isaias, Chap. IV., v.* 4.
(*i*) *Apocalypse, Chap. VII., v.* 14.—*Expositio in Jeremiam Prophetam, Cap. V., p.* 590.
(*k*) *Proverbs, Chap. IX., v.* 5. (*l*) *Canticles, Chap. VIII., v.* 2.
(*m*) *Psalm LIX., v.* 5. (*n*) *Deuteronomy, Chap. XXXII., v.* 33.

committed fornication with her:'[a] of the riches of indignation: 'If any man shall adore the beast and his image, and receive his character in his forehead, or in his hand, he also shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is mingled with pure wine in the cup of his wrath.'" [b]

To enter further into the Angelical's labours on the Sacred Scriptures would occupy too much space. It would fill a volume to indicate all his merits, and to show the influence upon him of the great Classical Fathers of the Church. Any one, sufficiently interested, would speedily detect the difference between his method and theirs, by taking parallel passages of Scripture exegesis from S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, and S. Augustine, and comparing them with the Exposition of our Saint.[c] The schools of Antioch and Alexandria have made an equal mark upon him; he is as theological as Origen, when it answers the purposes of truth; and as practical and concrete as Chrysostom, when the literal treatment is more in keeping with his scope, or with his subject-matter: whilst he

(*a*) *Apocalypse, Chap. XIV., v.* 8. (*b*) *Apocalpse, Chap. XIV., v.* 9.—*Expositio in Jeremiam Prophetam, Cap. XIV., p.* 612, *Vol. XIV.*

(*c*) Touron says distinctly, what is evident to a student of the Angelical's expositions,—that he had learnt the sacred text off by heart:—"Il y lut dès-lors, et il relut souvent, avec cette joie intérieure, qui est le fruit, ou la marque de la parfaite charité, que tous ceux qui veulent vivre dans la piété, à la suite de Jesus-Christ, seront exposés à la persécution du monde; mais qu'une couronne de justice sera le prix de leur persévérance. Pour avoir ces vérités toujours présentes à son esprit, il apprit par cœur tout le texte de l'Ancien et du nouveau Testament; et il voulut que ce qui devoit être la régle de toute sa conduite, fût aussi le sujet ordinaire de ses plus sérieuses réflexions, prenant ainsi pour lui-même, ce que S. Jérôme écrivoit autrefois à S. Paulin, pour l'animer à la méditation continuelle des Ecritures: *Oro te inter hæc vivere, ista meditari, nihil aliud nosse, nihil quærere.*" (*Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas, Liv. IV., Chap. VI., p.* 380—381.)

surpasses all in the precision of his grasp of Faith and Morals, and in his special gift of throwing into an organic form the apparently heterogeneous elements of dogma or revelation which he meets with in the course of his exposition. S. Thomas appears incapable of touching any order of Church knowledge without at once detecting new bearings, and bringing the various portions into harmony. No man in the whole range of ecclesiastical biography knew, as he did, how to reduce chaos into order.* The Holy Spirit seems to be painting his picture when He says—

"The wise man will seek out the wisdom of all the Ancients, and will be occupied in the Prophets. He will keep the sayings of renowned men, and will enter withal into the subtilties of Parables. He will search out the hidden meaning of proverbs, and will be conversant in the secrets of Parables. The Lord will fill him with the spirit of understanding, and he will pour forth the words of his wisdom in showers. The Lord shall direct his counsel and in his secrets he shall meditate. Many shall praise his wisdom: and it shall never be forgotten. The memory of him shall not depart away, and his name shall be in request from generation to generation." †

* Frigerio speaks strongly of the supernatural help given to the Angelical in his Scripture studies:—"Convien per necessità confessare, che gli fossero di sopra interamente svelati e rivelati i sensi più profondi, e misterij più reconditi della sacra Scrittura vecchia e nuova, la quale egli in gran parte felicemente comentò, portando con non minor pietà ch'eruditione i veri sentimenti del testo e secondo la lettera e secondo lo spirito. Onde a ragione Fabiano Giustiniano Vescovo d'Aiace nel suo comentario sopra la sacra Scrittura hebbe a dire: *Sanctus Thomas Aquinas, &c. in sacra Scripturæ interpretatione adeò excelluit, ut omnes penè sensus literales et mysticos, vestigiis Patrum inhærens, assequutus fuisse videatur.*" (*Vita di S. Tomaso d'Aquino, Lib. III., Cap. I., n.* 4, *p.* 126.)

† *Ecclesiasticus, Chap. XXXIX., v.* 1.

It was thus, by the help of prayer, meditation, and the illumination of Truth, that the Angelical was enabled to penetrate into "the subtilties of Parables," and to "search out the hidden meaning of Proverbs;" he was "filled with the spirit of understanding," and therefore "his name shall be in requisition from generation to generation." It was at the foot of the crucifix, and in the rapture of ecstasy, that his intellect was replenished with the fulness of Light.

Having seen what kind of preparation was made by our Saint, in Tradition and in Scripture, for his master-work; now we must consider the third point, and mark how Reason also, or Philosophy, was enlisted in his service for carrying out the same design.

CHAPTER VII.

GREEK PHILOSOPHERS.

THE mightiness of the columnal Fathers of the Church grew out of their abiding communication with the Unseen World; and they were built up into such strong and sublime moral characters through their intense personal love of a personal Saviour and Model.* In proportion as they became one in will with Him, they became one in character with Him also. His divine grace, working in their beings, gradually transformed them into Christians in the highest sense of the word;—into men full of love and reverence towards the Author of their salvation, filled with a spirit of genuine adoration, and spotless with a purity which alone

* Melchior Canus *(De locis Theologicis)*, Natalis Alexander *(Dissert.)*, and Father Perrone *(Prælectiones Theolog.)*, have said so much on the position of the great Fathers, that it is not necessary to dwell any further on their importance in building up a theological system. "Les Pères de l'Eglise," says Alzog, "forment comme le fleuve de la vie divine dont la source est en Jésus-Christ; ce sont eux qui, avec l'enseignement verbal du ministère infallible qui réside dans les évêques, perpétuent leurs écrits d'une manière ininterrompue, le dépôt de la doctrine chrétienne; en sorte que leurs ouvrages constituent une partie de la tradition écrite *(παράδοσις ἐκκλησιαστική)*." *(Manuel de Patrologie, trad. par P. Bélet*, § 3, *p.* 6—7.)

can proceed from the free Hand of the Almighty. They understood the meaning of sin and of salvation; they knew the significance of the word "creation," and they believed in an Eternal World to come. The mind and heart naturally turn towards them, and spontaneously adore the Power which made them what they were. They exhibit the highest types of what can be produced by Christianity, and their teaching is the genuine doctrine of the New Law.* From them the Angelical drew the traditions of the Universal Church, and with the assistance of their master-minds he constructed his immortal synthesis of Catholic Theology.

But it is evident at a glance, that, if the substance of the Angelical's writings be identical with the teaching of the Fathers, the form is not so. The logical precision, the brevity, the scientific formality of the Angel of the Schools, were unknown to the more emotional and rhetorical minds of the classic Doctors. If he gained so large a portion of his substance from them, whence came so great a difference in his method?

* Dr. Huber, who, unfortunately, cannot be safely followed, says well:—"Die Zeitalter der Kirchenväter bezeichnet den Uebergang der alten Geschichte in die neue und sie selbst sint es, welche diesen Uebergang bewekstelligen. Sie verhelfen dem christilichem Gedanken der alten Welt gegenüber zum Sieg, entwickeln ihn aus seinen anfänglichen Grundzügen zu einem überliefern darin der Zukunft eine Ideensaat, worin ein neues Weltalter angelegt war. So sind sie nicht blos die Väter der Kirche, die an ihnen die Stützen ihrer Dogmen und Institutionen besitzt und erst durch sie ausgebaut wurde, sondern, insofern sich an diese die christliche kultur knüpft, die Väter der christliche Zeiten überhaupt." (*Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter, p.* 360—361; *München*, 1859.)

To answer this question the reader must, for a short time, leave the influences of the Christian Church, and turn to the Fathers of Greek philosophy.*

To comprehend the position of the great pagan thinkers, a rapid outline must be given of the spiritual polity of the Greeks, and of the nature of their initial attempts at creating a religion.

After the fall of Adam, man, weakened in will, fell under the dominion of lust and passion. Still, the voice of his conscience was not entirely extinguished; the yearning after an object to adore was not wholly quenched in his heart. But his spiritual sight being weakened, and sometimes altogether obscured, instead of fixing itself on the unseen God of Heaven, Spiritual, Personal, One, Everlasting, was arrested by the sensible phenomena of the universe; and, with fear and trembling, he knelt down and worshipped the sun, the moon, and the stars. †

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* Stöckl appreciates the Angelical like a true philosopher. "War Angustinus in der patristischen Zeit und für dieselbe war, das ist Thomas in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik und für dieselbe. Wie in Augustinus alle Radien der patristichen Wissenschaft sich concentrirten und so in seinen Schriften zu Einen herrlichen Lichte aufleuchteten, so gilt das Gleiche von Thomas von Aquin in Bezug auf die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit. Mit Recht haben ihm seine Zeitgenossen den Ehrentitel, 'Doctor Angelicus' beigelegt. Diese Tiefe des Gedankens, diese Schärfe des Urtheils, diese Feinheit der Unterscheidung, diese Fülle von Inhalt, welche in seinen Schriften uns überall entgegentritt, berechtigte sie wohl gewiss dazu, den grossen Denker in solcher Weise auszuzeichnen." (*Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Zweiter Band, Erste Abtheilung*, § 120, *p.* 422.)

† How profoundly true are not these words:—"Die Philosophie konnte nicht einmal die Reform des religiös-sittlichen Lebens bewirken; wohl haben sie nach Weisheit gesucht, ober 'indem sie suchten, weise zu sein, sind sie Thoren geworden.' Dieses scheinbar allzu harte

Those tribes and communities which went to form what is called the Greek people, introduced each its own special worship; and the fusion of the various divinities to which men offered sacrifice, formed a confused medley of idolatry, rather than an intelligible system of religion.

Homer and Hesiod wrote the Bible of the Greeks. Selecting, as they thought best, the traditions and superstitions of the different races amongst which they moved, they created a system of belief, which, by means of exquisite poetry, and through the activity of wandering minstrels, was soon fixed in the mind of the entire population. Then, the enthusiastic rhapsodists did their share. Dressed in bright attire, and wearing crowns of gold, they appeared in the thronging assemblies, and by means of their marvellous gift of simulating passion, and striking the "cords of Adam" in the heart, speedily carried away with them, in the *élan* of their inspiration, the admiring multitudes who hung upon their lips. The sweet music of the voice, the touching concord of melting sounds, beauty appealing to the eye and to the ear, and lighting up the intellect, made rhapsody one of the most powerful instruments of education

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Urtheil des Apostles wird in noch schrofferer Weise bestätigt durch *Cicero*, wenn er sagt: 'es gibt nichts so Absurdes, was nicht von einem der Philosophen wäre geglaubt worden' Und doch hatte er mit hingebender Liebe sich den philosophischen Studien geweiht, und in seinen Schriften die Resultate aller Forchungen, die Systeme der verschiedenen Schulen unparteiisch und vollständig niedergelegt." (Hettinger, *Der Beweis des Christenthmus, Zweite Abtheilung, Eilfter Vortrag, p.* 472—473.)

amongst the Greeks, one of the most telling means of popularizing the theology of Homer.*

The forces of nature were converted into immortal men; and the gods of the Greeks became simply the transcripts of their own passions, drawn out on a larger scale, embellished by the help of art, and thrown into epic and dramatic form by the highest masters of fascinating verse. There was not a form of lust or impiety, of thieving, perjury, imposture, and debauchery, or of any other kind of abomination, to which the Greeks could not appeal as sanctioned by the refined lewdness or gross immorality of their gods.† Simply to read the history of the Hellenic priests and of their divinations, of their oracles and purifications, their sacrifices and festivals, their temples and their

* Herodotus distinctly says, that the religion of the Greeks was put together by Homer and Hesiod. Of course this does not imply that there was no dissimilarity between the two poets. Homer knew nothing of the strange cosmogony of Hesiod. They had this in common, however; that their gods were equally debauched, and represented the passions of mankind, magnified by the imagination of the poet, and coloured by the imagery of the most seductive verse. Hesiod's Titans were simply a set of violent revolutionists. Cronos, Uranus, and Zeus, conquered each other in turns. Love of combat, skill in feats of arms; to eat, drink, and laugh; to enjoy all the pleasures that sense could offer;—these are the passions and propensities of both Greeks and gods.

† Even those divinities who loved the "passionless bride, divine Tranquillity," were little calculated to be models of human energy and action.

> "The Gods, who haunt
> The lucid interspace of world and world,
> Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,
> Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,
> Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
> Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
> Their sacred everlasting calm!"

are simply patterns of rich and elegant idleness, and, with all the poet's touch of heaven, are mere sleek, refined, and cultivated animals. The exquisite education of the senses does not tend to anything like male and lasting virtue.

mysteries, is enough to make the face flush with horror.* So ashamed were some poets and philosophers of these gods, that they endeavoured to give a mystic turn to the poems of Homer and of Hesiod, and to explain away the wickedness of their divinities by a system of historico-allegorical interpretations. †

But the inquisitiveness of the Grecian mind was not satisfied with putting down everything to allegory. Men were anxious to trace the multiplicity of life to some primary existence; so that, whilst the people were worshipping the impure creations of their poets, the philosophers—who were to the Greeks what the Fathers are to the Christians—were feeling in gross darkness after truth. Like the rest of their pagan countrymen, they did not rise above material things. Their lives were spent in seeking and never finding: in great yearnings, accompanied by obscurity of intellect and sadness of spirit. They

* And the reason of this is simple: because the Pagans seemed fond of turning into divine action what was strongest and showed the most energetic life. The human passions of love and hatred, violence of all kinds, deeds of daring, strength of arm, and feats of prowess mixed with sensuality—are ever recurring in the histories of the gods. True virtue and self-forgetfulness, pardon of injuries, humility, obedience—in fact many virtues which men from the uprightness of original nature practised in the world below—are seldom found amongst the deities. The Pagans only turned that into godly action, which best corresponded with the sensuous and passionate side of human nature.

† Döllinger shows very clearly that, even as early as B.C. 520, Theogenes taught that there was a hidden and internal meaning in the writings of Homer and Hesiod. He turned the quarrel amongst the gods, in the Iliad, into an allegory. Heraclitus did in like manner. The first, however, to systematize the doctrine thoroughly, was Metrodorus of Lampsacus. Plato was too pure-minded to approve of the scandals of the gods in any form. (*Cf. Gentile and Jew, Vol. I., Book V.*, § 1, *p.* 281—282.)

prove what mere philosophy, with no other help than human ingenuity, is able to effect for man.*

For instance, Thales the Milesian (B.C. 600), discovered that water was the ultimate cause of all things; Anaximenes, his disciple, evolved all things out of chaos; his successor, Anaximander (B.C. 502), made air the first principle; Diogenes of Apollonia added life to air; Heraclitus, the Ephesian (B.C. 500), declared that caloric was all in all; Pythagoras traced everything to the primal monad; Xenophanes of Colophon (B.C. 617) was a material pantheist; Parmenides (B.C. 500) denied the world of sense altogether, and believed simply in pure being; Empedocles of Agrigentum (B.C. 492—432) was a pantheist; Democritus of Abdera (B.C. 460), the most learned naturalist before Aristotle, declared the human soul to be a fiery atom; Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ in Lydia (B.C. 500), maintained an Eternal Matter penetrated by an Eternal *Nous;* Protagoras of Abdera, the Sophist (B.C. 480—410), held the doctrine of perpetual flux; Gorgias of Leontium (B.C. 494—400),

* And in fact, Greek philosophy, instead of making an advance as it gained in experience, evidently grew not towards light, but towards darkness. True, Socrates, Aristotle, and especially Plato, illuminated the lower world for a time. But even their teachings were too high and pure for the tendencies of fallen man; or, at all events, they had not the power to give man an assurance of a certain future, or the key to cardinal problems of human destiny. What were the teachings of Carneades, and of the later Academy, but testimonies to the world that philosophy, as a religion, or as a directive power amongst men, had failed? What do they tell us else than that neither the drastic mind of Socrates, nor the sagacity of the Stagyrite, nor the high musings of Plato, had been able to make man certain of his destiny, or to keep sensualism from degrading and darkening his mind?

the most famous orator of his day, taught that nothing had any existence whatever.

Then Sophists took the place of the poets and the rhapsodists. They were essentially rhetoricians, who, with a vast store of self-assurance and mother-wit, professed to prepare the young for the battle of life. They undertook to popularize philosophy; to have an answer ready-made for every difficulty, and to lay down the law off-hand on every subject. Gorgias, Protagoras, Prodicus, and other such brilliant speakers—like the scholastics of the days of Abelard,—travelled from city to city throughout Greece, and fascinated the eager and impressionable minds of their restless countrymen, by the dash of their rhetoric, by their assumption of knowledge, and by the readiness of their resource.

Their irreverence and rationalism speedily introduced elements of unbelief.* Many of them looked with contempt on the indecent mythologies, and the crude theogonies, which had been the favourite theme of poets. Protagoras spoke with undisguised contempt of them. Prodicus said the

* Of course the Greek religion, being founded in error, and not in truth, could not stand the application of any test. The two great standards to which the Greeks appealed, were tradition and the authority of their priests. The piety of the Athenians generally ended in cruelty, and always bred intolerance; for whilst they appealed to the past in support of their worship, they were excessively sensitive to anything like discussion on matters of belief. They felt, no doubt, that their system was not made to be cross-questioned, and that when the curious human mind began to tamper with it, it would speedily come to pieces. Though they may not have believed in it themselves, they would often support it on grounds of political expediency.

gods were set up by the egotism of man; Critias declared that they were the invention of the lawyers; the comic poets joined the chorus, and, with all the inconsistency of Aristophanes, turned upon the philosophers for simply doing that which they themselves were doing every day. Yet the masses of the population were desperately attached to the odious practices of their diabolical religion. Cruelty and superstition are the constant associates of sensual debauchery.* Recall the frequent religious prosecutions in Athens; the power of the priests over Alcibiades; the trial of Aspasia; the exile of Protagoras; the accusation directed against Æschylus; the imprisonment of Anaxagoras; or the danger in which Pericles himself stood of being branded with impiety; and the truth of this assertion becomes evident at a glance.

What a fearful state of moral and intellectual confusion must not the Greek world have been in, during the full bloom of its highest cultivation! The heavens darkened with families of disgusting gods; the earth poisoned by the impurity of their worship; philosophers doubting of all things, and, when dogmatising, teaching a code of error con-

* I need simply refer to the Eleusinian mysteries, the wild orgies in worship of Bacchus, with their violence, lust, and frenzy; and to the readiness with which the most popular rulers were accused of "impiety," "sacrilege," or "profanation." Doubtless the same love of excitement, and of the "sensational," which made them invent their unclean mysteries and rites, gave the Greeks a taste for persecuting, with unmitigated cruelty, those who ridiculed their gods.

tradictory to the first principles of natural and moral truth.* What a deep contrast between the "Fathers" of Christian and of Greek philosophy! —between men who, on the whole, were equal in intellect and culture, but were distinguished by this one note: that the former possessed Christ, whilst the latter had no Christ at all.!†

In place of S. Anthony look on Heraclitus. He was a confirmed misanthrope. He was eaten up with a devouring melancholy, and nourished supreme contempt for his fellow-man.

> "He fled to the mountains, there, in secret, to prey on his own heart. He was a misanthrope, and misanthropy issues more from the morbid consciousness of self, than from the sorrowful opinion formed of others." ‡

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* Even Plato, the purest of the Greeks, as will be seen later on, manifests the blindness of his mind. Providence has allowed these great men, it would seem, to testify by their very nobleness of character to the fact, that man, with the highest of human gifts, is not self-sufficing; that nature has been struck; that man cannot be his own physician; that the best and purest that he can do, when endowed with the most perfect natural qualities, witnesses to his imbecility, and calls for a higher light. The very contrast, for example, between some portions of the *Republic* and others, would lead the mind at first to imagine that the same soul could not have conceived such contradictory ideas. To talk so divinely on "Justice," and then to advocate abortion, is quite unintelligible, except on the supposition of original sin.

† Speaking merely æsthetically, how far more beautiful and touching, how much more refined, the gentle humility of a Christian martyr, trusting in himself not at all, but in God alone, giving up his body to the torture through the power of Christ who strengthens him, and putting down all he does with any virtue in it, not to himself, but to another;—how much more perfect in its conception is not this, than the defiance of Socrates, and the self-reliance of those who were simply supported by philosophy! There is something so coarse and vulgar in pagan heroism—something which speaks so strongly of the animal man, that, in comparison with the beautiful refinement of Christian devotedness, it becomes absolutely distasteful to one's conception of the beautiful in morals.

‡ I quote the words of Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, in order that the reader may be quite certain that I am not "making out a case" against the Greek philosophers, in order to set off Christianity the more. The contrast is so great, I admit, that it might easily be imagined that dramatic effect had been aimed at. (See *Vol. I., Second Epoch, Chap. I.*, § 1, *p.* 66, *Third Edition.*) Heraclitus was born about the 69th Olympiad (B.C. 503).

In place of S. Athanasius, look upon Parmenides:

"Born to wealth and splendour, enjoying the esteem and envy which always follow splendour and talent, it is conjectured that his early career was that of a dissipated voluptuary." *

Diochœtes taught him to despise riches, and he devoted himself to philosophical pursuits. The result of his meditations issued in the construction of a theory which opened the door to universal doubt.

In place of S. Basil, look on Empedocles.† He was of a haughty and passionate character:—

"His love of distinction showed itself in priestly garments, a golden girdle, the Delphic Crown, and a numerous train of attendants. He proclaimed himself to be a god whom men and women reverently adored." ‡

His death does not resemble that of S Basil any more than his life. He plunged headlong into the crater of Mount Ætna. §

In place of S. Gregory *Theologus*, look on Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaics. ‖ He

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* Lewes' *History of Philosophy, Vol. I., First Epoch, Chap. III.*, § 3, *p.* 50—51. Parmenides was born at Elea, B.C. 536.

† Born at Agrigentum, in Sicily, B.C. 444.

‡ Lewes' *History of Philosophy, Vol. I., Second Epoch*, § 3, *p.* 88.

§ "Hippobotus vero illum ait ubi exsurrexerat Ætnam petivisse; quo cum pervenisset, in ignis crateras se injecisse, ibique, dum famam cupit adstruere, quod Deus effectus sit, ignibus consumtum esse, postea ut sese res haberet agnitum esse, una ex illius crepidis vi flammæ ad exteriora reiecta, quippe calciari solebat aere. Huic famæ Pausanias reluctabatur." (See Diogenis Laertii *de Vitis, Dogmatibus et Apophthegmatibus Clarorum Philosophorum Libri V. posteriores Græce et Latine recensiti cum Indicibus a Paullo Daniele Longolio: Curiæ Regnitianæ apud Gotthard, Joannem Püttnerum, Vol. III., Tom. II., Lib. VIII., Cap. II., n.* 11, *p.* 937.) If the story of Ætna be not true, still it shows the character of men's opinion of the philosopher.

‖ Diodorus gives B.C. 366 as the date of this philosopher.

was so enslaved to lust, which he had learnt to indulge in at Minyæ, that some say he disgusted even Socrates.

"Socrates with such men as Aristippus and Alcibiades reminds one of Dr. Johnson with the 'young bloods' Topham Beauclerk and Bennet Langton: he was wise enough and tolerant enough not to allow his virtue to be scandalized by their love of pleasure. . . . From Athens he went to Ægina, where he met Laïs the world-renowned courtesan, whom he accompanied to Corinth" *

In a word, Aristippus was a gay, brilliant, and prudent debauchee, who preserved his health in order to prolong his pleasure, and raised up delight into a philosophic system. †

In place of S. Jerome, look upon Antisthenes:—‡

"He was stern, and his doctrine was rigid; he was proud, and his doctrine was haughty; he was cold, and his doctrine was unsympathising and self-isolating. . . . Even whilst with Socrates he displayed his contempt of ordinary usages, and his pride in differing from other men. He used to appear in a threadbare cloak, with ostentatious poverty. Socrates saw through it all, and exclaimed, 'I see your vanity,

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* Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, *Vol. I.*, *Fifth Epoch*, *Chap. II.*, *p.* 180. If the reader would know more of the wickedness and evil courses of this man, let him open Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and read Plato's hint about him in the *Phædo*.

† Diogenes Laertius gives a comparatively full account of this philosopher. (See *Vol. II.*, *Lib. II.*, *Cap. VIII.*, *nn.* 1—19, *p.* 200—239.) "Erat autem ei ingenium facile, ut se accommodaret et loco, et tempori, ac personæ. Noverat omnem convenientiæ simulare rationem. Quamobrem et Dionysio plus cæteris probabatur, quia omne, quod emergeret, bene disponere nosset. 'Nam libenter percipiebat præsentium voluptatem, ita ut absentibus frueretur, non laborabat' unde et Diogenes ipsum *regium* adpellabat *canem;* eumque Timon ut nimis delicatum acriter mordet, cum ait:

'Qualis Aristippi molis natura sophistæ,
Quæ potuit tactu a falso discernere verum.'"

(Loc. Cit., Vol. II., Lib. II., Cap. VIII., n. 3, p. 201—202.)

‡ Flourished B.C. 366.

Antisthenes, peering through the holes in your cloak.' . . . Antisthenes thought he could only preserve his virtue by becoming a savage. He wore no garment except a coarse cloak: allowed his beard to grow; carried a wallet and a staff; and renounced all diet but the simplest. His manners corresponded to his appearance. Stern, reproachful, and bitter in his language; careless and indecent in his gestures, . . . as he grew old, his gloomy temper became morose; he became so insupportable that all his scholars left him, except Diogenes of Sinope. . . . In his last agony, Diogenes asked him whether he needed a friend: 'Will a friend release me from this pain?' he replied. Diogenes gave him a dagger, saying, 'This will.' 'I wish to be freed from pain, not from life,' was the reply." *

He was often called "The Dog."†

In place of S. John Chrysostom, look at Diogenes.‡ Diogenes of Sinope embraced poverty as a profession, and the contempt of his fellow-man as his end in life. His language was coarse and brutal, he lived in a tub, his only garment was a cloak.

"In public he performed all those actions which decency has condemned to privacy. Decency of every kind he studiously outraged. . . . Diogenes was so feeble in doctrine, so brutal in manner, that we doubt whether the

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* Lewes' *History of Philosophy, Vol. I., Fifth Epoch, Chap. III., p.* 185.

† The school of the Cynics was so called, probably, on account of the dog-like habits, shameless insolence, obstinacy and vehemence of those who belonged to it. The attacks of Antisthenes on Alcibiades show the violence of this man's character.

‡ A Cynic of Sinope, born about B.C. 412. Dissolute and extravagant in youth, he eventually became morose, and fanatically austere. In summer he would roll in hot sand, in winter embrace frozen statues. Doubts are thrown by some on the tradition of his having taken up his residence in a tub. He is about the most disgusting and anti-christian manifestation of human pride that is to be met with in pagan history.

debauchery of the first profligate in the profligate city [Athens] were more reprehensible, than the debauchery of pride which disgraced the Cynic. . . . One day he called out, 'Approach, all men!' When some approached, he beat them back with his club, saying, 'I call for men; ye are excrements.' . . . Thus he lived till his ninetieth year, bitter, brutal, ostentatious, and abstemious. . . . One day his friends went to see him. On arriving at the portico under which he was wont to sleep, they found him still lying on the ground wrapped in his cloak. He seemed to sleep. They pushed aside the folds of his cloak: he was dead." *

And so, did space permit, I might draw out the characters of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; and they would present a very miserable picture by the side of S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, and S. Gregory the Great.

Where Christianity does not exist to maintain the balance, the moral and intellectual world ever swings restlessly between extremes. One extravagance gives birth to another. Superstition is the first-born of scepticism; and even luxury itself at length creates its contrast in the brutal

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* Lewes' *History of Philosophy, Vol. I., Fifth Epoch, Chap. III., p.* 186—192. His energy of character was most remarkable. His *Life*, by Diogenes Laertius, is full of curious anecdote. For example:—"Cum vero Athenas concessisset, ad Antisthenem se adplicavit. Eum ille cum repelleret, quippe ex constituto suo neminem recipiebat, vicit perseverantia sua. Illo siquidem aliquando intentante baculum, subiecto capite, 'Cæde,' inquit, 'non enim ita durum baculum reperies, qui me abs te, quandiu aliquid dixeris, arcere possit.' Hinc jam auditor illius factus est, ac, veluti profugus ex patria, se ad victum simplicem contulit." *(De Vitis, Dogmatibus et Apophthegmatibus Clarorum Philosophorum Libri recensiti cum Indicibus a Paullo Daniele Longolio: Curia Regnitianæ apud Gotthard, Joannem Püttnerum, Vol. III., Lib. VI., Cap. II., n.* 2, *p.* 581—582.) His cynical character seems to have shown itself to the last: at least Diogenes Laertius says:—"Aiunt quidam, illum, dum moreretur, mandasse, insepultum proiici cadaver, ut omnes bestiæ participes ipsius essent." *(Vol. III., Lib. VI., Cap. II., n.* 11, *p.* 637.)

asceticism of an Antisthenes or Diogenes. Zeno and Epicurus are simply examples of kicking the beam on either side.*

It was, in great measure, the influence of a reaction which brought out the genius of the father of Greek philosophy. The pantheistical absurdities, the materialism and atheism, of the philosophers who preceded him, gave a powerful impetus to the faculties of Socrates. Then the ignorance and conceit of sophists, rhetoricians, and grammarians—who dealt in fine words and sonorous phrases, but had nothing solid or serious about them,—disgusted an intellect like his, naturally keen, accurate, and observant.

Socrates (B.C. 469) was the son of a sculptor (Sophroniscus), and his mother was a midwife.† At first he worked in his father's studio, and is said to have carved a statue of the Graces.‡ But

* And whilst they are absolute opponents, they unite in falling into greater mist and obscurity regarding the highest interests of man, than the philosophers from whom they ought to have learnt a lesson. Zeno (B.C. 340—260) taught complete materialism, or pantheism, which is the same thing—making matter and divinity to be one. Thus there is no such thing as freedom or evil: faults are "mistakes," and "natural proportion" is the highest end of man. Epicurus (B.C. 342—270). Diogenes Laertius shall speak of him. He gives a full account of this philosopher. (*Vol. IV., Lib. X., p.* 1083—1234.) Love of sensual pleasure was his philosophy of life:—"In Libro quoque de Fine sic scribere: 'Nam equidem nihil habeo, quod bonum intelligam, si saporum voluptates, et quæ ex Venereis constant, et quæ auribus percipiuntur, quæque ex formæ venustate blandiuntur oculis, auferam.'" (*Loc. Cit., Vol. IV., Lib. X., n.* 3, *p.* 1089.)

† Phænarete.

‡ "Porro Duris, serviisse illum ait, et sculpsisse lapides. Opus illius esse gratias, quæ sunt in arce, vestitas, plerique adserunt. Unde illum et Timon in Sillis ita depingit his versibus:

'Fluxit ab his legumque loquax, lapidumque politor
Græcorum vates, imposturæque magister,
Derisor, rhetorque subatticus, et simulator.'"

(Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n.* 4, *p.* 152—153.)

he soon threw down his chisel, and feeling himself divinely called, began to advocate the cause of true philosophy. His education was not conducted by the Sophists, he was too poor for that; but he was trained in the open air of Athens, in the agora, the gymnasia, and in the market-place; and in the company of poets, philosophers, and statesmen, his keen and penetrating intelligence received a stimulus which it is out of the power of books to give.*

But it was not an impulse in the direction of the sophistry of the rhetoricians. Socrates saw through all their hollowness, and loathed the acrobatic display of dexterity by which they imposed on the volatile Athenians, who were "*contentionis avidiores quam veritatis.*" Nor was he dazzled or subdued by the philosophers. He had studied their physical, moral, and dialectical systems, and discovered that they had undertaken to treat on subjects which were beyond their depth.† His feeling was rather to combat than

* "Von seiner Jugend wissen wir wenig, und schliessen daraus, dass seiner Bildung sonst keine Hülfsmittel zu statten kamen, als solche, deren jeder Athener seiner Zeit sich erfreuen konnte. Zwar wird uns gesagt, er sei Schüler des Anaxagoras oder des Archelaos des Physikers gewesen: aber das erstere ist erweislich falsch, und das andere wegen des Stillschweigens der älteren Zeugen wenigstens sehr unwahrscheinlich." (Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit, Zweiter Theil, Vol. II., Zweites Capitel, p.* 18—19: *Zweite verbesserte Auflage; Hamburg*, 1837.)

† "Animadvertens autem naturalem speculationem ad nos non admodum pertinere, de morali disciplina philosophari incepit, et in officinis, et in publico quotidie: idque inquirendum hortabatur,

'Quid tibi in ædibus pravum aut bonum fuerit.'

Sæpe vero inter loquendum, agente id orationis vehementia, talitrum ferire solebat, et crines vellere, ita ut a plerisque rideretur, habereturque despectui, quæ tamen omnia ferebat æquo animo. Unde et cum fuisset a quodam calce percussus, admirantibus illius tolerantiam dixit: 'Quid' enim 'si me asinus calce impertisset, num illi diem dixissem?'" (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n.* 6, *p.* 154—155.)

to follow them. He perceived how their vanity and arrogance had undermined the first principles of stability, and how his impressionable countrymen were practised upon, and injured, by the extravagances and unrealities of their favourite teachers. He perceived how debauched the beautiful city had become, and that truth and honesty were little reverenced by the vain and frivolous frequenters of its agora, gymnasia, and public places.

He felt a divine call to become the apostle of truth in a world of delusion, hollowness, and rhetorical inflation.* He saw clearly that the Sophists did not know what they were discoursing about; and that this species of self-deception was the ruin of all true wisdom, and a peril to the State.†

He was a genius. He did not require to travel, like other philosophers, into foreign lands, to learn the just and true.‡ His store of knowledge lay in the circumference of his own teeming brain. Unless when forced to serve the army, he hardly

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* "Nitebaturque summo ingenii acumine, non tam illorum sententiam refellere, quam ipse, quid verum esset, invenire. Fertur cum Euripides ei legendum Heracliti opusculum dedisset, rogaretque, quid sibi videretur? dixisse: 'Ea quidem, quæ intellexi, fortia sunt: puto item et quæ non intellexi: verum Delio quopiam natatore indigent.'" (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n.* 7, *p.* 155—156.)

† Sophisms went by the name of their inventors, such as the *Crocodile*, the *Nobody*, the *Electra*, the *Tumbler*, the *Baldpate*, the *Heap of Sand*, the *Covered Head*, &c.

‡ "Peregrinatione vero illi opus non fuit, quemadmodum plurimis, nisi cum militare incumberet. Alias enim semper eodem in loco manens, contentius cum familiaribus, ac studiosis disputabat." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n.* 7, *p.* 155.)

once went outside the walls of Athens. He was even a stranger to the cool and classic banks of the Ilyssus.* His life was spent in the free open air, amidst the crowds of the busy city. He sought men; he freely conversed with all; all loved to hear him. He was a novelty in Athens, so different to the shallow grammarian and the empty Sophist. Though of repulsive personal appearance, his intellect was so crystal clear, his reason so exquisitely accurate, his vision so swift and keen, his readiness so remarkable, his agility in throwing an opponent, in twisting him into some unbearable position, so astounding,—there was something so preternatural about these powers of his mind,—that he speedily became, amongst a city of famous men, of all the most distinguished.†

The rhetoricians had been the centre of attraction. Now the charm was to witness Socrates upset these vain pretenders. They dealt in the sentimental, in phrases which were full of rhetoric, but had little point or logic. Socrates showed the

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* Socrates was also a man of extraordinary courage:—"Denique ad Amphipolim armatus militiam secutus est, atque prælio commisso circa Delium, lapsum equo Xenophontem adprehendit, atque servavit. Ac fugientibus tum Atheniensibus ceteris, ipse lento passu abibat, sæpe clam retrospiciens, et ulcisci paratus, si quis se invadere tentasset." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n.* 7, *p.* 156.)

† Diogenes Laertius gives several examples of his great influence over men:—"Aequa illi et hortandi et dehortandi facultas fuit. Etenim Theaetetum cum de disciplina dissereret, ut ait Plato, mirifice immutatum divinumque ferme remisit. Euthyphrona, qui patri peregrinitatis diem dixerat, quædam de justitia et pietate loquens, ab instituto revocavit. Lysidem autem hortando maxime moralem fecerat, &c." (*Loc. Cit., n.* 12, *p.* 162—163.)

world that such displays were exhibitions at once of emptiness and ignorance: that ignorance was the mother of every vice, and that the really learned man could not be vicious.* He looked with contempt upon the chosen pastimes of the wrangling Athenians, and proved, by means of his matchless gift of logic, the utter inanity of those mental puzzles which seemed so greatly to fascinate the people. They never appeared happy except when in the midst of spiritual or physical conflict; the stage, the arena, the law courts, the supper-table, the rostrum, and the cock-pit,—all were made to minister to this abnormal craving, and to supply materials for an endless round of intellectual dissipation. Socrates showed what all this was worth. He, as no other, could snap their sophisms; and the "quibble," the "hook," the "labyrinth," and the "snare," and all that family of logical abortions, held out no mystery to him. He was a master of destructive as well as constructive philosophy; and his very keenness tended to lessen in the minds of the people their overweening admiration for the jugglery of sophistical contention.†

* "'Otium, ut possessionum omnium pulcherrimum laudabat,' ut et in Symposio testatur Xenophon. Dicebat, 'et unicum esse bonum, scientiam; et malum contra unicum, inscitiam. Opes ac nobilitatem non solum nihil in se habere honestatis, verum et omne malum ex eis oboriri.'" (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n.* 14, *p.* 165.)

† He seems to have possessed all the logical adroitness of Abelard, and at the same time to have been attracted by a more serious object in life. See their points of likeness, *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. X., p.* 197. *Note.*

Still, he appeared amongst them without boast of philosophy. He did not profess to be wise, but to be ignorant. To examine,* to scrutinize, to sift the teachings of men; to weigh his own words, to get to the bottom of them, and by means of a series of drastic questions to eliminate all foreign matter, till he came to the inner core of truth,—such was the design which Socrates had in view. Thus it was that, as with the point of a pin, he touched the inflated and dithyrambic rhetoric of the pretentious Sophists, and it collapsed at once.†

It is little surprising that men of great mind should have been struck and dazzled by the simplicity and directness, by the solidity and honesty, of the method of this man. His fundamental maxim was "Know thyself." His object was ethical; his instruments were dialectics, definition, and induction. He set on foot, and may be considered the father of, the theory of

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* "Adserebat et daemonium sibi futura praedicere. 'Ac bene incipere, parvum non esse, sed magno proximum. Et scire se nihil praeter hoc ipsum, quod nihil sciret. Eos item, qui aestivos fructus magno emerent, desperare, aiebat, 'se longevos fore.' Rogatus aliquando, quænam sit iuvenis virtus? 'Nihil nimis,' inquit." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n.* 16, *p.* 166.)

† Are we much better than the Athenians? Would not a Socrates be useful now, if men would listen to him? "Such terms as nature, law, freedom, necessity, body, substance, matter, church, state, revelation, inspiration, knowledge, belief," says Max Müller, "are tossed about in the wars of words as if everybody knew what they meant, and as if everybody used them exactly in the same sense; whereas most people, and particularly those who represent public opinion, pick up these complicated terms as children, beginning with the vaguest conceptions . . . but never taking stock, never either enquiring into the history of the terms which they handle so freely, or realizing the fulness of their meaning according to the strict rule of logical definition." (*Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, p.* 526—527.)

scientific knowledge.* Anaxagoras, in all probability, suggested to him his high view on the objective nature of love, beauty, and truth; Zeno must have influenced him with regard to dialectics. But he it was who clipped the wings of ignorant presumption, turned men's minds from the physical world upon themselves, and encouraged a spirit of accuracy and analysis, of testing and dissecting, of the rigorous and the precise, in place of the rhetorical, the emotional, and the unreal.†

It is impossible to consider the career and character of this extraordinary genius, without being affected with a sense of sadness and admiration; of admiration, on account of his earnestness, his gifts, and his hatred of sham; of sadness, on account of the blighting influences of his pagan education.

His pride came out during his memorable defence. His views on purity discover his taint in nature; the highest and noblest of pagans here witnesses sadly to Christianity. The aspirations of such men, their theories, their soaring intuitions, at times appear to be almost

* Ritter touches the principle or root of his philosophy in these words:—"Wir können also nur voraussetzen, dass die Idee des Wissens, welche den Sokrates leitete, in dem Ganzen seines untersuchenden Verfahrens sich ausgedrückt haben werde. Und in Allgemeinen finde ich zweierlei hierüber zu bemerken, erstens, dass er an dem Unscheinbarsten am träufigsten und liebsten anknüpfte, um von ihm aus den philosophischen Gedanken zu entwickeln oder wenigstens das Streben nach ihm zu erzeugen, und zweitens, dass er zur Prüfung eines Gedankens ihn in jede mögliche Verknüpfung brachte." (*Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit, Zweiter Theil, Zweites Capitel, p.* 55.)

† The great principle of intellectual honesty which ruled his life and formed his specialty was little known to the philosophers who preceded him. See Ritter's treatment of his principle of "self-knowledge." (*Loc. Cit.*, 52—53.)

divine; but look on their actual lives. Theory, however beautiful and chaste, is too ethereal to counteract the emotional violence of passion; the concrete only can confront the concrete.* If man's life is to be spotless, it must be through the personal power of One more mighty than himself. Here it is that the greatest pagan is inferior to the lowliest saint. Banishing the accusation that Socrates was guilty of bigamy, and of corrupting the mind of youth, it is certain that he was the friend and familiar of dissolute courtesans. He was the intimate of Theodota, and he acknowledges himself that he learnt rhetoric from the beautiful and profligate Aspasia, and looked with an approving eye on the irregular courses of her life.† Hence it is not so surprising

* Xenophon's picture of him certainly is most beautiful :—"As to myself, knowing him of a truth to be such a man as I have described; so pious towards the gods, as never to undertake anything without first consulting them; so just towards men, as never to do any injury, even the very slightest, to any one, whilst many and great were the benefits he conferred on all with whom he had any dealings; so temperate and chaste, as not to indulge any appetite or inclination at the expense of whatever was modest and becoming; so prudent, as never to err in judging of good and evil, nor wanting the assistance of others to discriminate rightly concerning them; so able to discourse upon, and define with the greatest accuracy, not only those points of which we have been speaking, but likewise every other, and, looking as it were into the minds of men, discover the very moment for reprehending vice, or stimulating to the love of virtue. . . . " (See Lewes' *History of Philosophy, Vol. I., Fourth Epoch*, § 1, *p.* 151. *Third Edition.)*

† There is little doubt that the method of Socrates did tend to produce scepticism in many minds. That is to say, unreality and untruth could not withstand the power of his direct cross-questioning. Whilst his enemies declared that he was a corrupter of youth, he declared that it was society which did the work. The more corrupt society became, so much the more would his teachings have a sceptical effect; for so much the less would those who listened to him believe in the governors of the state, and in those traditionary theories and ingrained beliefs which formed the religious code of Hellas. The Socratic method was too negative to offer a substitute for what it destroyed. To lift man right out of sense, and set him in a world of fantasy, was the scope of Plato, with his exquisite prose-poetry.

that he should support the worship of gods hardly more abandoned than his tenderest friends. He offered sacrifices on their altars, and joined in the sacred rites. He protested his belief in them, and ordered an oblation to be made to one of them when he was on the point of death.*

These are the words of Phædo :—

"And Socrates also touched himself, and said that when the poison reached his heart he should then leave us. But now his lower belly was almost cold : when, uncovering himself (for he was covered), he said (which were his last words), 'Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius. Discharge this debt for me, and dont neglect it.'" †

Such was the end of the most original, forcible, and logical thinker of pagan times. Men of high genius, when deprived of the light of revelation, with ardent longing, yearn after the Unseen : like strong swimmers in a rough sea, they may battle bravely for a time, but at last their vital force becomes exhausted, and they sink back prostrated into that coarser and stifling element which belongs to the senses and the flesh.

The influence of Socrates on the Athenian mind

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* Diogenes Laertius speaks very plainly of the saying that Socrates had "utraque simul." *(Vol. I., Lib. II. Cap. V., n.* 10, *p.* 159.)

† See Lewes' *History of Philosophy, Vol. I., Fourth Epoch, p.* 151. *Third Edition.*

The accusation against Socrates is spoken of thus by Diogenes Laertius :—"Ceterum calumniæ jusjurandum hujusmodi fuit. Servatur enim adhuc, inquit Phavorinus in Metroo : 'Accusavit Melitus Meliti filius Pitheensis, Socratem Sophronisci filium Alopecensem, de hisce criminibus. Jura violat Socrates, quos ex maiorum instituto suscepit civitas, deos esse negans, alia vero nova daemonia inducens. Contra jus et fas iuvenes corrumpit. Poena illi mors.'" (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n.* 19, *p.* 173—174.)

can hardly be exaggerated. He almost emptied the school of the Sophists. His exposition of their hollowness was too thorough, and too brilliant, to be passed over by so emotional a people as the Greeks.* There was something almost preternatural in the fascination of his conversation. Zeno, the great master of dialectic, travelled twenty miles by night, disguised as a woman, in order to attend his teaching. The wealthy Crito was his intimate friend. The beautiful Euthydemus was won over in spite of himself. Antisthenes walked four miles each day to be with Socrates. Cebes and Simmias followed him from Thebes. Isocrates and Aristippus were his disciples; Alcibiades said he would "grow old in listening to his talk," if he did not fly away; whilst all know the enthusiasm of Xenophon for the great master of "philters and incantations."†

What a contrast between Socrates and many of his disciples! See them all listening to him, as he upsets a Sophist, or plays with some foolish

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* Not even in his own immediate interest could he overcome his antipathy to the arts of the rhetorician. "Philosophus vero, cum illi Lysias, quam pro eo scripserat, apologiam recitasset: 'Bona,' inquit 'et præclara est oratio, Lysia, mihi tamen minus congruit.' Erat enim illa iudiciali instituto vicinior, quam ut philosopho convenire videretur. Percontanti Lysiæ, Cur si bona esset, non sibi congrueret oratio; 'Nonne,' inquit, 'et indumenta, et calceamenta speciosa esse possent, neque tamen mihi convenire?'" (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n.* 20, *p.* 174—175.)

† But he also made his enemies. "Pythiæ testimonio laudatus est, quæ Chaerephonti id oraculum edidit, quod in omnium ore est:

'Mortalium unus Socrates vere sapit.'

Ex quo magna in illum invidia conflata est &c. . . ." Diogenes then gives several examples. (*Loc. Citat., Vol. I., Lib. II., Cap. V., n.* 18, *p.* 171—172.)

young Athenian who imagines he has learnt the art of government, and the hidden secrets of life. What a new sense for the Greek mind of that day, to find a man protesting he knew nothing, and at the same time showing himself superior to all ! *

See that young man hanging on the words of the philosopher; he is, in every way, a contrast to his master. Graceful and noble in appearance, his fine *physique* looks as if it had been developed by the trainer's skill in the gymnasium. His brow is broad and fair, his expression supremely spiritual and deeply sad ; he is evidently a rare type of Greek intellectual beauty, manifested in Hellenic gracefulness of form. His whole mind seems absorbed by the thoughts suggested by his master, his eyes are riveted upon him in eager admiration. He cannot be taken by the personal beauty of Socrates, for "in appearance he resembled a Silenus; his flattened nose, with wide and upturned nostrils, his projecting eyeballs, his thick and sensual lips, his squab figure, and unwieldy belly, were all points on which ridicule might be fastened." † But the youth

* Xenophon thus speaks of his habit of seeking out society in order to instruct it :—" He was constantly in public. For early in the morning he would go to the walks and the gymnasia ; and when the agora was full, he was to be seen there ; and constantly, during the remainder of the day, he would be wherever he was likely to meet with the most persons ; and for the most part he would talk, and all that would might hear him." *(Cf.* Hampden's *Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, *p.* 317.)

† See Lewes' *History of Philosophy*, *Vol. I.*, *Fourth Epoch*, § 1, *p.* 127. The following highly-celebrated passage from the Symposium, is said to contain the combined perfection of wit and humour. It loses little in

does not dream of ridicule, for there is something so fascinating in his master's conversation, so bewitching in his direct and trenchant logic, so full of genius in his easy sovereignty of mind, that the very splendour of his gifts of intellect seems almost to throw a halo over his unfortunate countenance and figure. Who is this youthful admirer of Socrates? He is no other than Aristocles the Athenian, son of Aristo and Potona, now known by the name of "Plato the divine." This was he on whose infant lips the bees are said to have dropped their honey.* Some declared his father was Apollo; others traced his parentage to Neptune; all admitted that the blood of Codrus, the patriot-king, and of Solon, the great law-giver, flowed within his veins.†

Professor Jowett's translation.—"I shall praise Socrates," says Alcibiades, "in a figure which will appear to him to be a caricature, and yet I do not mean to laugh at him, but only to speak the truth. I say then that he is exactly like the masks of Silenus, which may be seen sitting in the statuaries' shops, having pipes and flutes in their mouths; and they are made to open in the middle, and there are images of gods inside. . . . Mankind are nothing to him; all his life is spent in mocking and flouting at them. But when I opened him, and looked within at his serious purpose, I saw in him divine and golden images of fascinating beauty." (See the original *Platonis Opera, ex Recensione R. B. Hirschigii, Vol. I., Convivium, Cap. XXII., p.* 690. *Parisiis.)*

* Here is another legend (referred to, indeed, in *Vol. I., Chap. I., p.* 7, of this work):—"Fertur et Socrates vidisse per somnium oloris pullum sibi super genibus plumescere, qui continuo exortis alis in altum evolans suavissimos cantus ediderit. Postridie cum Plato sibi a patre commendatus esset, hunc cygnum quem viderat, dixisse." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 7, *p.* 286—287.)

† These are the words of Diogenes Laertius:—"Plato, Aristone patre et matre Perictiona, Athenis natus est. Mater a Solone genus deducebat. Solonis quippe frater Dropides, Critiam genuit, cujus filius Calæschrus; huius autem Critias filius, qui unus fuit ex triginta, Glauconisque pater: ab eo Charmides et Perictione geniti sunt, atque ex ea et Aristone Plato sextus a Solone nascitur. Porro Solon ad Neleum et Neptunum genus refert." *(Loc. Cit., p.* 282—283.)

He was twenty years of age when he listened first to Socrates. His education had been carefully attended to; both mind and body had been exercised, so as to become supple and strong—capable of great and sustained exertion in their respective spheres. Dionysius the grammarian, Draco and Metellus the musicians, and Aristo the trainer, were his early masters. Poetry, the lyre and the flute, wrestling, boxing and running, occupied his early years.* His versatility displayed itself from the first. He seems to have excelled as a boy in poetry and in gymnastics. He is said to have entered the lists at the Isthmian games, and only began to despair of poetry after he had read the masterpiece of Homer.†

Thus was his mind prepared to receive whatever impressions might be made upon it. The influence of Socrates was at the zenith. He had given an impetus to philosophy quite new amongst the Greeks. Ambition, curiosity, love of novelty, as well as desire after truth, drew the city round that grotesque-looking philosopher. The very originality of his system was in itself sufficient

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* "Literasque apud Dionysium didicit, cujus et in Anterastis meminit. Exercitatusque est apud Aristonem Argivum palæstritam." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 5, *p.* 285—286.)

† He also loved painting:—"Picturæ quoque fuisse studiosum, ac poemata scripsisse; primo quidem dithyrambos, deinde melos ac tragœdias . . . Demum cum tragicum certamen esset initurus, ante Dionysiacum theatrum, audito Socrate, igni poemata exussit, dicens:

'Huc ades O Vulcane, Plato nam te eget in hac re.'"

(*Ibid., Lib. III., n.* 6, 8, *p.* 286—287.)

attraction to a people proverbially frivolous and volatile. Here was the "wisest of men" publicly declaring the first principle of his philosophy to be, that "he knew nothing." Plato speedily perceived that a deep and pregnant truth lay hidden from the multitude, in this *dictum* of his master. His mind was just of that texture, of that breadth and elasticity, which would appreciate the fine irony, the inimitable analytical skill, and the thorough intellectual honesty of Socrates.* Then his own natural talent for dramatic effect, his expanding imagination, and emotional nature, would find a special comfort in listening to those dialogues in which Socrates proved, with a witchery all his own, that they who professed themselves skilled in everything, were either stone-blind with self-conceit, or inflated with mental vapour.† Then, again, the very system itself must have stimulated so exuberant and energetic

* There is little doubt that this *dictum* was the foundation of the *prestige*, as well as the philosophy of Socrates:—"The influence of Socrates upon metaphysical science arises from his peculiar method of instruction. This was based upon the general workings and principles of his own mind. 'Know thyself,' was the key-stone to his philosophy. The first step in the pursuit of useful knowledge, was a rigid examination into man's nature. This he ever steadfastly kept in view." (See Blakey's *History of the Philosophy of Mind, Vol. I., Chap. VII., p.* 52.)

† Professor Jowett comes to the conclusion that Plato, when he speaks so strongly against the Sophists, is drawing rather from an ideal type than from any living examples. Speaking of Plato's description of these men, he says:—"We are not to suppose that Plato intended by such a description to depict Protagoras or Gorgias, or even Thrasymachus, who all turn out to be 'very good sort of people' when we know them, and all of them part on good terms with Socrates. But he is speaking of a being as imaginary as the wise man of the Stoics, and whose character varies in different dialogues. Like mythology, Greek philosophy has a tendency to personify ideas; and the Sophist is truly a creation of Plato's, in which the falsehood of all mankind is reflected." (See *The Dialogues of Plato, Introduct. to Soph. III., p.* 448. *Four Vols.; London,* 1871.)

a mind as his. It opened to him, no doubt, vast fields of thought. It pointed, unlike the majority of systems which had gone before, to some steady and spiritual truths ; and lifted the mind out of the flux and flow, the darkness and the obscurity of gross material things, into a higher and purer world.

Thus the great work done by Socrates for Plato, was to give him a bias towards the Good and the True; and to engage his curiosity, by artistic display of dialectic, definition, and induction.

But Plato was far too universal in his tendencies to be content, as his master had been, with the voice of his own reason, and the responses elicited by its conflict with other intellects. Socrates possessed no erudition. His was simple impact, and native force of mind. He had been influenced, doubtless, by independent thinkers, but he had never been to school ; the vigour of his own intelligence was sufficient for itself.

Plato, on the contrary, studied with avidity the philosophical systems of other men. At an early age he had mastered the Ionic view, and the teachings of Parmenides and Zeno.* It is clear

* Diogenes Laertius gives the following account :—"Philosophari cœpit primum in Academia, inde se in hortum, qui juxta Colonum est, contulit, ut Alexander in Successionibus scripsit, Heraclitum adducens testem . . . Hinc annum vicesimum ætatis agens Socratem audivit. Illo decedente, Cratylo Heracliti discipulo, et Hermogem Parmenidis Philosophiam tuenti operam dedit. Deinde cum esset annorum duodetriginta, ut ait Hermodorus, Megara se ad Euclidem cum aliis aliquot Socraticis contulit. Hinc Cyrenem profectus Theodorum mathematicum audivit ; atque inde in Italiam ad Pythagoricos, Philolaum atque Eurytum concessit." *(De Vitis, &c., Lib. III., n. 8, p. 287—288.)*

from the *Phaedrus* and the *Lysis*, which were written before the death of Socrates, that the doctrines of the Pythagoreans had already informed his mind.* How far the theories of those monks of the pagan times influenced his philosophical career, and purified his mental vision, by encouraging him to love a mystic life, has never yet been fully realized.† Of the impress of Anaxagoras, and the Eleatic school, there is abundant evidence in the "*Dialogues.*" Heraclitus, also, with his doctrine of eternal flux, was introduced to him by Cratylus in early youth.

At the death of its founder (B.C. 399) the Socratic school broke up. It possessed no badge, or bond of union. Socrates maintained no theory; he simply stimulated thought, and taught intellectual honesty.‡

And Plato, with his vast creative mind, with the marvellous richness of his fancy, and his power of dialectic, was destined to confer on Socrates an immortality, which he deserved indeed, but which,

* See Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit, Zweiter Theil, Erstes Capitel, p.* 162.

† Pythagoras divided virtue into two distinct branches—to seek truth and to do good. "The whole school of Pythagoras made chastity one of its leading virtues, and even laboured for the creation of a monastic system." (See Lecky's *European Morals, Vol. I., Chap. I., pp.* 54, 109. *Second Edition.)*

‡ Still his influence lived on. If Plato was so deeply impressed, how much must not others have been moved. "Es ist glaubhaft," says Ritter," dass Sokrates eine solche Gewalt über ihm ausübte, da Platon selbst in seinen Gesprächen nirgends die sokratische Grundlage seiner Philosophie verleugnet und die Macht, welche Sokrates über die Gemüther der Menschen ausübte, mit den glänzendsten Farben schildert. Von nun an blieb er beim Sokrates bis zu dessen Tode als einer seiner treuesten Schüler, von seinem Lehrer geschätzt." *(Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit, Zweiter Theil, Erstes Capitel, p.* 162.)

in all probability, would never have been his, had it not been for the genius of his disciple.

The training of Plato was not yet complete. Having learnt all that could be taught him by the greatest mind at home, he was now fit to profit by travelling abroad. He wished to have the widest education which men and things could give. In his "*Laws*" he clearly indicates how great a benefit he derived from seeing many famous men, and visiting many celebrated cities.* He was now eight and twenty years of age. First, he set out for Megara. Here, under Euclid, he studied dialectic, and read greedily the writings of Zeno and Parmenides. Then he went to Cyrene, where he continued his course of geometry, most likely under the renowned Theodorus, who, when at Athens, had listened with delight to the skilful dialogues of their common master.

Next, he betook himself to Italy and Sicily,† and here it was that he appears to have received his deepest mark. It was in Italy, Sicily, and Magna Græcia, that the children of Pythagoras had established their *Synedria* or colleges.

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* See Platonis *Opera, ex Recensione* C. E. Ch. Schneideri, *Lib. XII., p.* 263—501. *Parisiis.*

† "Inde in Italiam ad Pythagoricos, Philolaum atque Eurytum concessit." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 8, *p.* 288.) "He was acquainted with Egypt and Sicily from personal observation, and was by far the most universal intellect of the ancients up to his own time. And yet his philosophy was a genuine growth of the Greek intellect. The Socratic doctrine of the absolute good and beautiful, and of the Deity revealing himself to man as a kind of providence, formed the basis on which he started." (Döllinger, *Gentile and Jew, Vol. I., Book V.*, § 1, *p.* 307.)

What could have had greater charm for a noble mind, than a generous love of wisdom? And what were these colleges or monasteries, but homes, in which men spent their lives in the abiding contemplation of what they looked upon as truth? There is something sadly grand in these high strivings of the nobler part of man, even in pagan darkness, after light. The special characteristic of the Pythagorean was, that he loved wisdom, not for profit, but simply for wisdom's sake. His one end in life was to make himself one with it. He abhorred, and stamped upon the idea, that science should be prostituted to gain.* To facilitate their life-object, these earnest men instituted a species of monastic life. They fled the world. The Rule was most severe; its end was to exclude base and low-born minds, and to secure only such as were worthy of contemplation. Hence, the noviciate lasted five years. During this period, strict silence was enjoined; those who could not stand the test were deemed unfit.† They were

* There is very little doubt that it was from the Pythagoreans that Plato learnt to despise the Sophists for taking stipends for their teaching. This venal practice was especially odious to his lofty and generous mind. The *Gorgias* is full of his anger against both Sophists and rhetoricians. He looked upon the whole class as shams, teaching sham knowledge. Socrates had taught him to see the hollowness of all their mock wisdom, and to combat it with all the power he had. The Socratic *Elenchus* was the great instrument for detecting inflation. Division, classification, and definition, which were the strong points of Socrates, were also powerful elements for bringing vague notions to the test, and for arranging knowledge in some sort of scientific order.

† I am aware that Sir Lytton Bulwer speaks of the Pythagoreans as a political sect. They may, like the Trades' Unions, have turned their organization to special political purposes; but it still remains true that the primitive institution of the Pythagorean life was to give men facilities for the contemplation, first of mathematical and then of pure truth. "Now

tried by the "*dura*" and "*aspera;*" and like novices in a Benedictine house, they were practised in humiliations and self-denials. The Pythagoreans inculcated reverence, humility, a spirit of prayer and purity of thought, "and accustomed men to associate their moral ideas with the Deity, rather than with themselves."* They practised self-examination, held the doctrine of a future state; and chastity may be looked upon as the cardinal virtue of their school. They seem also to have entertained a deeper respect for human life than the majority of pagan philosophers. They appear to have believed in a purgative and illuminative way. When they had been sufficiently purified, they were permitted to chasten their minds by the contemplation of intellectual truth. Thus they passed their days, preparing themselves by severe asceticism for the apprehension of that object which all men seek after, but few men realize.

Such a system as this was quite a novelty amongst the Greeks. They could not understand any advancement, except such as was elicited through the social intercourse of daily life. And this very fact would cause the Pythagorean system

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Pythagoras," says Lewes, "loved wisdom for its own sake. Contemplation was to him the highest exercise of humanity; to bring wisdom down to the base purposes of life was desecration. He called himself therefore a philosopher—a lover of Wisdom,—to demarcate himself from those who sought Wisdom only as a power to be used for ulterior ends." (*History of Philosophy, First Epoch, Chap. II.*, § 2, *p.* 22.)

* See Lecky's *History of European Morals, Vol. I., Chap. II.*, *p.* 356.

to exert all the deeper influence on Plato.* He found the monastic houses in full activity in Tarentum, Crotona, and Magna Græcia. He was captivated by what he saw and heard. Archytas, who was the deepest ascetic, and the noblest representative of that conventual school, came in contact with Plato at Tarentum;† and there is little doubt that the high principles of the pagan monk, his contempt of pleasure, his worshipping of wisdom, his intense love of the mystic life, must have left a lasting mark on his friend's impressionable and observant mind. Naturally sad and meditative, modest and gentle in demeanour, loving the world of thought and of spiritual entities, looking with a certain compassion, if not disgust, upon physical enquiry, mostly absorbed in the unseen, never married, loving retirement, Plato—had he been a Christian—would have been a monk, and one of the noblest Fathers of the Church.‡ Even as it is, it is pretty certain that

* "It may readily be imagined with what eager curiosity Plato undertook this voyage, what delight he promised himself in seeing the place itself where Pythagoras had taught, and in personal conference with the living successors of the mystic sage, and in obtaining a greater insight into the doctrines of a school which had such charms for him. . . . He undoubtedly was greatly captivated by the Pythagorean doctrines, and has introduced them largely into his own speculations." (Hampden, *Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, *p.* 180.)

† "Archytas, nurtured in the reserve and mysticism of the Pythagorean discipline; Plato, formed to busy and importunate discussion by the ever-colloquial Socrates,—two philosophers so contrasted with each other in many respects, and yet so concordant in their love of ancient wisdom and indefatigable research after truth." (*Ibid.*, *p.* 181.)

‡ So greatly were many Catholic writers impressed with the orthodox tendency of many of the teachings of Plato, that they tried to account for it in various ways. Some have imagined that he procured and studied a Greek copy of the Old Testament. Though there is no foundation for

much of his spiritual-mindedness, many of his highest intuitions and foreshadowings of truth, are the result of his monastic bias, and of the comparative purity of his mind and heart. It is as much Plato's character, as his system, which offers so indescribable a fascination to noble and generous minds, and acts with a species of dynamic influence upon man's loftier nature; drawing him, even though possessing the light of Christianity, into a still tenderer love and reverence of wisdom.

From Italy Plato travelled into Egypt. He is said to have disguised himself as an olive-merchant, that he might the more freely move amongst a class of men who regarded strangers with suspicion. If there was any country under the sun which would attract the attention of such a man, it certainly would be this fountain-land, it might almost be called, of Grecian civilization.* Greek colonies and Greek history had already made the Athenians, if not familiar, at least con-

such an assertion, still it cannot be doubted that the Jews must have left their mark amongst some of the Eastern nations. Others have said that the philosopher met the Prophet Jeremias, which is chronologically impossible. Another legend, finally, says that the body of Plato was found in the time of Constantine with a plate of gold fastened to his breast, having engraved on it his prophecy of the birth of Christ, and his belief in a future Redeemer. If they do nothing else, these imaginings point to the feeling entertained with regard to the greatest of pagan philosophers.

* "Theodorum mathematicum audivit; atque inde in Italiam ad Pythagoricos, Philolaum atque Eurytum concessit. Ab his se in Aegyptum ad prophetas recepit, quo et Euripidem aiunt una secum profectum esse: atque ibi morbo comprehensum, a sacerdotibus marina curatione fuisse restitutum; qua ex re postea dixerit: 'Mare universa proluit hominum mala.' Quin et dixisse secundum Homerum, 'Aegyptios omnes medicos esse.' Decreverat Plato Magis etiam congredi, verum propter Asiæ bella proposito destitit." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 8, *p.* 288—289.)

versant, with the manners and thoughts of the strange people of the East.*

Had it not been for the unsettled state of those countries, Plato would have visited India and Persia also. Prudence, however, constrained him to journey homewards; and after spending some further time with his Pythagorean friends, he returned, after about ten years absence, to teach philosophy at Athens.†

With the exception of his journeys in search of wisdom, and his three fruitless visits to Sicily—which evince the immense influence which his Pythagorean friends exerted over him,—Plato passed the remainder of his life in his little house and garden at the Ciramicus.‡ It was a mile from Athens; and close upon the pleasant shady walks of that beautiful suburban spot to which his genius has given immortality. There is something sweet and pure in the thought of this great master-spirit of philosophy dedicating his whole energies to wisdom, travelling first to find

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* Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 8, *p.* 288.

† "Regressus vero Athenas in Academia commorabatur. Est autem gymnasium in suburbano nemorosum, a quodam heroe Academi nomine adpellatum, sicut et Eupolis in Astrateutis memorat dicens:

'In ambulacris Academi umbrosis Dei.'

Sed et Timon in Platonem sermonem vertens inquit:

'Hos inter dux ille Plato celsissimus ibat,
Cujus ab ore melos manabat, quale Hecademi
Arbustis lepida modulantur voce cicadæ.'"

(Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 9, *p.* 289.)

‡ "He had a villa out at Heraclea," says Dr. Newman; "and he left his patrimony to his school, in whose hands it remained, not only safe, but fructifying, a marvellous phenomenon in tumultuous Greece, for the long space of eight hundred years." (*On Universities, Chap. IV., p.* 66.)

her, and then returning home, and, far from the din of the city strife, passing away his quiet days in her companionship, and in teaching others to prefer the Supremely Good and the Sovereignly True before all the vulgarities of ambition, and all the thraldoms of the senses.*

Quickly did his rich fame people the shady grove! Soon did the noblest and the fairest spirits of beautiful wicked Athens, flock to look on him and hear him. Unlike Socrates, Plato loved monastic solitude. He shrank from the whirl of men, and the sounds of strife; and the very Athenians themselves were not displeased to quit, for a time, their rivalries and intrigues, to listen to the sad and graceful Plato, descanting with his thin and gentle voice on the highest happiness of man.† Old and young were equally attracted. The ambitious hoped to learn something which would teach them how to rule their fellow-men. The gay young Athenian, like some summer bird, all life and plumage, would flutter around him, dazzled for the moment; the wondering youth from some far province of Asia

* The following anecdotes are characteristic of the man :—"Platonem tradunt, cum vidisset quendam aleis ludentem increpasse, et cum ille, Quam me in parvis reprehendis, diceret, respondisse : 'At est consuetudo non parva res.' Rogatus, an ipsius celebre aliquod dictum, sicuti superiorum, futurum esset? 'Primum,' inquit, 'comparare oportet nomen, tum multa fore.' Ingresso aliquando Xenocrati, 'Cæde,' inquit, 'hunc servum; nam ipse, quod iratus sim, nequeo.' Cuidam item servorum, 'Jam,' inquit, 'vapulasses, nisi iratus essem.' Cum equo insedisset, continuo descendit, dicens, 'Vereri se, ne equi instar, fastu efferretur.'" (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 26, *p.* 318—319.)

† "Vox illi gracilis fuit. ut ait Timotheus Atheniensis in libro de Vitis." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 7, *p.* 286.)

Minor, from the wild woods of Cappadocia, or the rocky lands of Thrace, would hang spell-bound on the sage's lips, as if enthralled by some divinity, whilst the self-contained and haughty Lacedæmonian would feel himself compelled, though half unwillingly, to offer his proud testimony to the mastership of the Athenian mind.* Neither the fame of Isocrates, the celebrated rhetorician, nor the tenets of Aristippus, which flattered the lowest passions of mankind, were able to cast a shade on the unapproachable popularity of the divine Academy. Men who were learning to become Tyrants; future orators, governors, philosophers, and poets; men of acute intellect and restless temperament; nay, even accomplished courtesans, such as Aspasia, Lasthenea, and the profligate Axiothea, mixed with the general throng, testifying at once by their presence to the corruptions of the State, and to the hollowness of all philosophy which is simply founded on human genius and natural gifts. The whole of this picture, there is no doubt, is refined, is captivating, is sweet and soothing to the cultivated intellect of man. Nature can rise no higher.

* His advice was often very much to the point:—"Ebriis consulere solitus erat, 'ut in speculo se studiose intuerentur; fore enim, ut ejusmodi fœditate deterrerentur. Potasse usque ad ebrietatem nusquam decere' monebat, 'præterquam in diebus festis dei largitoris vini.' Somnus item immodicus illi displicebat. In legibus siquidem ait: 'Dormiens autem nemo illius pretii est. Veritatem suaviorem auditu omnibus, quæ dicerentur.' Alii, 'vera loqui jucundius est omnibus dixisse putant.' Sic autem et de veritate dixit in legibus: 'Præclarum quiddam est veritas, O hospes, atque durabile. Verum id persuadere non facile videtur.'" (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 26, *p.* 319—320.)

Plato manifests it at its brightest and its best. Elegance, culture, taste, delicacy, high thoughts, noble aspirations, beautiful conceptions of the mind and the imagination—all are here displayed in their most perfect grace and flower.* It is a charming dream, a lovely apparition, but it lacks substance and stamina. Demosthenes, Hyperides, Aristotle, Speusippus, Xenocrates, Dion,—all these lived on the lips of "Plato the Divine." But what is the best of them, but a specimen of weakness and impurity, compared with their master's highest theories? What is the best of them, compared with the humblest Father of the desert, but a contradiction of pride, self-love, and periodical unchastity?†

Philosophy may refine the feelings and educate

* Whether it came from culture, or from original nature, Plato possessed a generosity of soul which was one of the great causes of his fascinating influence. A man who could love with such ardour and disinterestedness the image of wisdom, the figure of the Sovereign Good and True, must have had a rare combination of high gifts. One would not be enough. Such devotion is the result of character, which is complex. Highly-wrought feelings, soaring imagination, a spontaneous yearning after something higher, as the flame flies up—these must have been some of the specialties of Plato. So great an admiration did a Corinthian agriculturist feel for him, after reading the *Gorgias*, that, abandoning his holding, he at once set out for Athens and became Plato's disciple. It is only the action of enthusiasm which can light up such fires as this.

† The difference comes from this: that the pagans, even the best of them, like Plato, rested on emotion and the human loveliness of a moral and spiritual life. The great power of Plato's dialogues is not, after all, so much their force of logic, as their power of appeal to the purest aspirations of the heart. They speak to the higher natural sense which is in man. They present a splendid picture of a moral hero, or of a just man, and the mind is at once subdued by the action of ethic loveliness, and the impress of those virtues which are at the root of true nobility. Who can read the *Gorgias*, without being deeply struck by the sublime conception which it represents! But, *vana est pulchritudo*; loveliness, without stern duty, and the personal love of a personal God, possesses little struggling power. Emotion, at its highest, is too flimsy to stand the wear and tear of working life.

the taste, but it cannot control the concrete—subdue pride in the intellect, and passion in the heart. And since philosophy was the highest, and certainly the purest religion of the Greeks, philosophy, as a moral guide, has proved herself to be an egregious failure.*

The reader must already have been struck by the resemblance between the Angelical and the master of the Academy. Both were nobly born; both were grave from youth; both loved wisdom with intensity of devotion; both followed her to the end. If Plato was instructed by Socrates, S. Thomas was taught by Albertus Magnus; if Plato travelled into Italy, Greece, and Egypt, S. Thomas went to Cologne, Naples, Bologna, and Rome; if contrary to his inclination Plato attended the court of Dionysius, S. Thomas, against his will, was Councillor to Louis, King of France.† If Plato was famous for his erudition and the breadth of his research, S. Thomas was no less noted for universal knowledge. Both were naturally meek and gentle; both in their respective measure pro-

* Hettinger, in his *Apologie des Christenthums*, has a chapter, *Das Bedürfniss der Offenbarung*, in which he proves these three propositions, bearing upon what has been advanced :—"Erstens: Die Menschheit, sich selbst überlassen, hat die Idee der wahren Religion nicht realisirt. Zweitens: Die Menschheit, sich selbst überlassen, kann die Idee der wahren Religion nicht realisiren. Drittens: Die natürliche Religion, an sich betrachtet, ist mangelhaft und schwach um die Menschheit in ihrem gegenwärtigen Zustande ihrem Ziel entgegen zu führen." (*Der Beweis des Christenthums, Zweite Abtheilung, Elfter Vortrag, p.* 464.)

† Of course, the *style* of the Angelical and of Plato cannot be compared; but their resemblance lies in the natural moral character. The style of the *Summa, e.g.*, is not that of the *man*, S. Thomas, but of the *scholastic*. He cast self on one side when treating of science: when he left self, then he adopted Aristotle.

fessed monastic life; Plato, like S. Thomas, was never married; both loved solitude; both were celebrated for their self-control; both were brave; both held their audience spell-bound by their brilliant mental gifts; both passed their time in lecturing in the schools. What the Pythagoreans were to Plato, that the Benedictines were to the Angelical. Both shrank from display of self. If the Angelical is extremely objective in his method, and never mentions self, Plato only alludes to self twice in all his *Dialogues*, and that for the sake of others.* Both men were ardent thinkers, deep dialecticians, keen in their power of analysis, overflowing with emotion well controlled. Both wrote on morality, politics, and religion. Had Plato been a Christian he would have been a saint; had the Angelical been a pagan he would have been another Plato.

The gulf which separated them was this: the Angelical was formed on Christ. He was sound and pure throughout. He had the workings of a personal love of his Redeemer in him; he

* It is quite curious how Plato, in the *Republic*, when sketching the picture of a true guardian of the State, gives those very qualities which one meets as specialties of the Angelical. It is but natural that they should recall Plato himself, and here the likeness between him and S. Thomas comes out again.

"Now let us enumerate the characteristics of the true philosophic disposition. They are (1) an eager desire for the knowledge of all real existence; (2) hatred of falsehood, and devoted love of truth; (3) contempt of the pleasures of the body; (4) indifference to money; (5) high-mindedness and liberality; (6) justice and gentleness; (7) a quick apprehension, and a good memory; (8) a musical, regular, and harmonious disposition." (See Davies' and Vaughan's *Republic of Plato, Analysis of Book VI., p. XXII.*; or read the original, Platonis *Opera, ex Recensione* C. E. Ch. Schneiderí; *Civitas, Lib. VI., p.* 104—116. *Parisiis.)*

was a model of a spotless life. His faculties were sublimated by the supernatural. What the *Dialogues* of Plato are to the *Summa Theologica*, that the character of the master of the Academy is to the character of S. Thomas of Aquino. In one there is the perfection of human beauty; in the other, the human is enlarged, elevated, purified by the Divine.* In the one, we have guesses at truth, the forebodings of genius with its contradictions; in the other, the steady full-orbed revelation of Jesus Christ, in all its symmetry, concord, and scientific harmony. In one, we possess a test of how little, as well as how much, the human mind is capable of; in the other, a sample of how large a store of freedom, stability, and light, the Almighty can bestow on man. The former has pleased and amused the educated few; the latter has formed the minds of succeeding generations. Plato, compared with the other Greek philosophers, is beautiful to look upon; Plato by the side of the Angelical turns to earth, and almost falls to clay.† Man, though placed below,

* The enlightened Ozanam has the highest opinion of the Christian tendency of Plato's teaching :—"Entre toutes les conjectures par lesquelles les philosophes grecs tentèrent de s'élever jusqu' à la connaissance de la Divinité, aucunes ne s'étaient rencontrées plus heureusement que celles de Platon, si incomplètes qu'elles fussent, avec les révélations du christianisme : elles avaient obtenu le suffrage de ses plus graves apologistes ; Dante n'avait par le droit d'être plus sévère. Le Dieu que le disciple de Socrate adore est demontré non-seulement par les forces mécaniques de la nature, mais par l'ordre général qui y domine." (*Œuvres Complètes, Tome Sixième, Deuxième Edition, Partie III., Chap. II., p.* 269.) The whole chapter would well repay perusing.

† Diogenes Laertius speaks of his doctrines thus :—"Miscuit Heracliteorum, Pythagoreorumque ac Socraticorum doctrinas. Atque in his quidem, quæ sensibus subjacent, Heracliti partes tuebatur. Porro in

is made for heaven; his human gifts should be purified by a higher influence, and "clothed upon" by the grace of God.*

Plato died the very day on which he completed his eighty-first birthday.† Some say he expired during a marriage-feast; others, in the very act of writing. Temperate in his habits, assiduous in his mental labours, he passed his life, says Cicero, "in quietness, and purity, and elegance;" and remains to this day the most favourable specimen of what human culture and natural gifts can do, unassisted by the vigorous realities of a Christian life.

His method was eminently Socratic. He did

his, quæ ad intelligentiam pertinent Pythagoræ adquiescebat. In rebus autem civilibus Socratem suum maxime amplectebatur. Aiunt quidam, ex quibus Satyrus est, Dioni illum scripsisse in Siciliam, uti tres libros Pythagoricos sibi emeret, a Philolao centum minis. Erat enim satis opulentus, acceptis a Dionysio plusquam octoginta talentis. Sicut etiam Onetor scribit in libro, cujus est titulus: An pecuniosum oporteat esse sapientem." *(Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 10, 11, *p.* 290—291.)

* What a splendid mystic, in the highest Catholic sense, Plato would have been had he been a Christian! The *Phædrus* is sufficient proof of this. Of course, his treatment of the "Divine mania" is pagan; but through its paganism his soaring spirit can be seen, and his capability of seizing the highest emotions of the soul comes out with lucid evidence.

† Diogenes Laertius gives his Will:—"Hæc reliquit Plato atque legavit: Hephæstiadeum fundum, cui ab aquilone vicina via est, quæ ducit a templo Cephisiadum: ab austro Heracleum Hephæstiadum; ab ortu solis Archestratus Phrearius; ab occasu Philippus Cholidensis. Hunc autem nemini licitum sit aut vendere, aut alienare, sed sit Adimanti filii, quantum fieri potest. Eneresiadumque fundum, quem emi a Callimacho, cui ab aquilone vicinus est Eurymedon Myrrhinusius; ab austro Demostratus Xypeteron; ab ortu Eurymedon Myrrhinusius; ab occasu Cephissus. Argenti minas tres, argenteam phialam pendentem drachmas CLXV. Cymbium ponderis drachmarum XLV. Annulum aureum, et inaurem auream, ambo drachmas quatuor et tres obolos pendentia. Euclides lapicida mihi debet minas tres. Dianam dimitto liberam. Famulos relinquo, Tychonem, Bictam, Apolloniadem, et Dionysium. Supellectilem et vasa scripta, quorum habet exemplar Demetrius. Nulli autem quidquam debeo. Curatores erunt Sosthenes, Speusippus, Demetrius, Hegias, Eurymedon, Callimachus atque Thrasippus. Hoc testamenti ipsius exemplar." *(Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 30, *p.* 321—323.)

not take for granted, like the Sophist, and build a towering system on a postulate. He was a winnower and a sifter. He grasped a question firmly, and investigated and discussed it. In keeping with the genius of the Greek people, who loved to cross-question each other in the agora, gymnasia, and bright palæstra, he threw his philosophy into the form of brilliant dialogue and dialectic.* His whole tone is thoroughly in harmony with the Grecian mind. Grave and gay, flowing and figurative, now steeped in deepest thought, now bursting into play, sparkling with polished irony, at times overflowing with fancy, melody, and tenderest emotion, vivid and dramatic, cultivated and refined, so exquisite an art-work as to conceal art altogether,—the *Dialogues* of Plato, in spite of Plutarch, Cicero, and Xenophon, stand unrivalled as master-pieces of the most perfect culture of the Grecian mind.†

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* Diogenes Laertius gives several epitaphs, or epigrams, of the great philosopher. Here is the inscription on his tomb :—

"Justitia cunctis præstans, vitaque modesta,
Hoc situs in tumulo divus Aristoclees.
Si quenquam ad magnos sapientia vexit honores,
Hunc citra invidiam vexit et ipsa virum."

(Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 30, p. 323.)

† Professor Jowett's *Plato* gives the best possible idea of Plato's style. The smooth flow of the sentences, the inimitable simplicity, the fullness and the force are well preserved. Indeed most men, save the most finished scholars, would learn more of Plato in this translation, were they willing to admit it, than in their own reading of the text itself. What indeed does the best of scholars know of the Greek pronunciation, accent, or tone ? And what, after all, can he who reads the Greek itself do, more than translate it as he goes along ? To pretend to taste the exquisiteness of language which is too fine to be thrown into the vernacular, is to understand an unknown tongue. It is only in as far as we can translate a classic that we can understand its grosser meaning ; is there a different law for the more volatile and refined ?

It is true that just as the *Dialogues* cannot be thrown into order, so there is no realization in the Platonic philosophy of any definite theory. Plato's method is mainly negative. He unravels a skein, and when he has finished, and the reader expects some grand result, he generally finds that the work is at an end. If he has not absolutely seized truth, at least he has not been deceived by falsehood; though this is by no means always the case. For instance, the *Hippias Major* is essentially dialectical, whilst the *Timæus* is a simple exposition of an important truth.

Though Plato has a strong philosophical bias, his principal aim was to liberate the mind from the trammels of ignorance, and to open before its eyes a higher, more noble, and purer range of thought.* He not only looked to the beauty of abstract truth, but also to the requirements of the Greeks amongst whom he lived. The reaction created by the Sophists, the genius of Socrates, the political and moral corruption of the rulers, and the anarchical, fickle, and profligate characteristics of the people, drove the sensitive mind

* The fact of his contradicting himself in his cardinal theory shows that it must have sat lightly upon him. "If there is a doctrine which is the guide of his [Plato's] deepest speculations," says Mr. Mill, "which he invests with all the plausibility that his wonderful power of illustration can give . . . it is the theory of self-existent ideas,—the essential groundwork of some of his grandest dialogues, especially the *Phaedrus*, the *Phaedon*, and an important portion of the *Republic*. Yet there is in his writings no specimen of logical confutation more remarkable than that by which Parmenides, in the dialogue so called, overthrows this very doctrine, put into the mouth of the youthful Socrates." (*Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. III., p.* 333.) He is not consistent even in his criterion of true opinion, knowledge, or virtue. In fact, he is a classic prose-poet.

of Plato to seek out a method of philosophizing, which should produce that steadiness, refinement, and stability, without which society quickly falls away.

Though he undoubtedly contradicts himself in his various dialogues, not in minor questions only, but even in his master-principle of the ideal world, still on the whole it must be admitted that he set in motion a principle of unity, and invented a scientific stand-point to which the world, man, and thought, could be referred. The whole tendency of his mind was to live and believe in the Unseen World, and to account for what reality there was in material things by referring them to it.* Considering the moral and political condition of Athens, to live in Plato's atmosphere was like raising the head out of some dank and fetid marsh, and breathing the balmy atmosphere of heaven.

It was this expanding theory, which took root in Alexandria, which earned for it its world-wide

* Diogenes Laertius gives a very interesting account of Plato's works. Plato was not the first to write in the form of dialogue :— "Dialogos itaque primum Zenonem Eleatem scripsisse ferunt. Aristoteles in primo de poetis, Alexamenum Styreum sive Teium, sicut et Phavorinus in Commentariis tradit. Ceterum Plato meo quidem judicio id genus expolivit, ut non solum ornatæ et expolitæ orationis, verum et ipsius inventionis dignissime sibi primatum vendicet. Est autem Dialogus ex interrogatione et responsione compositus, de ea re, quæ vel philosophiam vel reipublicæ partes attingat, cum decenti et congrua expressione personarum, quæ adsumuntur, accurataque compositione verborum. Dialectica est disputandi ars, per quam aliquid aut probamus aut improbamus, ex interrogatione itidem, et responsione disserentium. Enimvero Platonicæ orationis geminus stylus est, uterque summus. Alter ex his, qui instituit atque imbuit ; alter, qui in inquirendo versatur, &c." *(Vol. II., Lib. III., n. 32, p. 327—328.)*

reputation; and which alone seemed, for the time, capable of making a stand against the teachings of the Church.

To give a brief account of it, will be to indicate the principal influence which the Platonic mind exerted over the Angelical.*

Plato's whole thought is vividly illustrated by a passage from the *Republic*, which is often referred to, but very seldom quoted :—

"Imagine a number of men living in an underground cavernous chamber, with an entrance open to the light, extending along the entire length of the cavern, in which they have been confined, from their childhood, with their legs and necks so shackled, that they are obliged to sit still and look straight forwards, because their chains render it impossible for them to turn their heads round: and imagine a bright fire burning some way off, above and behind them, and an elevated roadway passing between the fire and the prisoners, with a low wall built along it, like the screens which conjurors put up in front of their audience, and above which they exhibit their wonders.

I have it, he replied.

Also figure to yourself a number of persons walking behind this wall, and carrying with them statues of men, and images of other animals, wrought in wood and stone and all kinds of materials, together with various other articles, which

* Diogenes Laertius gives Plato's works thus :—"Sunt ex his quidam, qui ad Physicam pertinent, ut Timæus : ad Logicen, ut Politicus, Cratylus, Parmenides et Sophista. Sunt qui ad moralem, ut Apologia, Criton, Phædon, Phædrus, Symposium, Menexenus, Clitophon, Epistolæ, Philebus, Hipparchus et Anterastæ. Ad civilem vero disciplinam pertinent Respublica, Leges, Minos, Epinomis, et Atlanticus. Ad institutionem pertinent Alcibiades duo, Theages, Lysis, Laches. In tentando versantur Euthyphron, Menon, Ion, Charmides, Theætetus. In accusando, Protagoras. In evertendo Euthydemus, Hippiæ duo, Gorgias." (*Vol. II., Lib. III., n.* 32, *p.* 329—330.)

overtop the wall; and, as you might expect, let some of the passers-by be talking, and others silent.

You are describing a strange scene, and strange prisoners.

They resemble us, I replied. For let me ask you, in the first place, whether persons so confined could have seen anything of themselves or of each other, beyond the shadows thrown by the fire upon the part of the cavern facing them?

Certainly not, if you suppose them to have been compelled all their lifetime to keep their heads unmoved.

And is not their knowledge of the things carried past them equally limited?

Unquestionably it is.

And if they were able to converse with one another, do you not think that they would be in the habit of giving names to the objects which they saw before them?

Doubtless they would.

Again: if their prison-house returned an echo from the part facing them, whenever one of the passers-by opened his lips, to what, let me ask you, could they refer the voice, if not to the shadow which was passing?

Unquestionably they would refer it to that.

Then surely such persons would hold the shadows of those manufactured articles to be the only realities?

Without a doubt they would.

Now consider what would happen if the course of nature brought them a release from their fetters, and a remedy for their foolishness, in the following manner. Let us suppose that one of them has been released, and compelled suddenly to stand up, and turn his neck round and walk with open eyes towards the light; and let us suppose that he goes through all these actions with pain, and that the dazzling splendour renders him incapable of discerning those objects of which he used formerly to see the shadows. What answer should you expect him to make, if some one were to tell him that in those days he was watching foolish phantoms, but

that now he is somewhat nearer to reality, and is turned towards things more real, and sees more correctly ; above all, if he were to point out to him the several objects that are passing by, and question him, and compel him to answer what they are ? Should you not expect him to be puzzled, and to regard his old visions as truer than the objects now forced upon his notice ?

Yes, much truer.

And if he were further compelled to gaze at the light itself, would not his eyes, think you, be distressed, and would he not shrink and turn away to the things which he could see distinctly, and consider them to be really clearer than the things pointed out to him ?

Just so.

And if some one were to drag him violently up the rough and steep ascent from the cavern, and refuse to let him go till he had drawn him out into the light of the sun, would he not, think you, be vexed and indignant at such treatment, and on reaching the light, would he not find his eyes so dazzled by the glare as to be incapable of making out so much as one of the objects that are now called true ?

Yes, he would find it so at first.

Hence I suppose, habit will be necessary to enable him to perceive objects in that upper world. At first he will be most successful in distinguishing shadows ; then he will discern the reflections of men and other things in water, and afterwards the realities ; and after this he will raise his eyes to encounter the light of the moon and stars, finding it less difficult to study the heavenly bodies and the heaven itself by night, than the sun and the sun's light by day.

Doubtless.

Last of all, I imagine, he will be able to observe and contemplate the nature of the sun, not as it *appears* in water or on alien ground, but as it *is* in itself in its own territory.

Of course.

His next step will be to draw the conclusion, that the

sun is the author of the seasons and the years, and the guardian of all things in the visible world, and in a manner the cause of all those things which he and his companions used to see.

Obviously, this will be his next step.

What then? When he recalls to mind his first habitation, and the wisdom of the place, and his old fellow-prisoners, do you not think he will congratulate himself on the change, and pity them?

Assuredly he will.

And if it was their practice in those days to receive honour and commendations one from another, and to give prizes to him who had the keenest eye for a passing object, and who remembered best all that used to precede and follow and accompany it, and from these data divined most ably what was going to come next, do you fancy that he will covet these prizes, and envy those who receive honour and exercise authority among them? Do you not rather imagine that he will feel what Homer describes, and wish extremely

> 'To drudge on the lands of a master,
> Under a portionless wight,'

and be ready to go through anything, rather than entertain those opinions, and live in that fashion?

For my own part, he replied, I am quite of that opinion, I believe he would consent to go through anything rather than live in that way.

And now consider what would happen if such a man were to descend again and seat himself on his old seat? Coming so suddenly out of the sun, would he not find his eyes blinded with the gloom of the place?

Certainly, he would.

And if he were forced to deliver his opinion again, touching the shadows aforesaid, and to enter the lists against those who had already been prisoners, while his sight continued dim, and his eyes unsteady,—and if this process of

initiation lasted a considerable time,—would he not be made a laughingstock, and would it not be said of him, that he had gone up only to come back again with his eyesight destroyed, and that it was not worth while even to attempt the ascent? And if any one endeavoured to set them free and carry them to the light, would they not go so far as to put him to death, if they could only manage to get him into their power?

Yes, that they would.

Now this imaginary case, my dear Glaucon, you must apply in all its parts to our former statements, by comparing the region which the eye reveals, to the prison-house, and the light of the fire therein to the power of the sun: and if, by the upward ascent, and the contemplation of the upper world, you understand the mounting of the soul into the intellectual region, you will hit the tendency of my own surmises, since you desire to be told what they are; though, indeed, God only knows whether they are correct. But, be that as it may, the view which I take of the subject is to the following effect. In the world of knowledge, the essential Form of Good is the limit of our inquiries, and can barely be perceived; but, when perceived, we cannot help concluding that it is in every case the source of all that is bright and beautiful,—in the visible world giving birth to light and its master, and in the intellectual world dispensing, immediately and with full authority, truth and reason;—and that whosoever would act wisely, either in private or in public, must set this Form of Good before his eyes." *

Such was Plato's sublime vocation, to break men's bonds, to drag them out of the gloomy cave, and to accustom their eyes to the wholesome rays of the living sun. His system comes out clearly

* Davies and Vaughan, *Republic of Plato, Book VII., p.* 235—238. (See the original, Platonis *Opera, ex Recensione* C. E. Ch. Schneideri, *Vol. II., Lib. VII., p.* 123—125.)

when he speaks of the "essential Form of Good;" of its being the "source of all that is bright and beautiful;" and that all who would act wisely must set it "before their eyes." *

Here, unlike the narrow philosophy of other teachers, "man is *not* the measure of all things." There is a spiritual form or "idea" above him. To rid himself of shadows, phantoms, and unrealities, to measure the true nature and worth of things, he must grasp the Eternal and Immutable Forms of which individuals are but as the echoes or reflections. To know the seen, he must be conversant with the Unseen, for the testimony of the senses possesses no validity. According to the Platonic dialectic, there are two realms to be considered, the world of ideas or forms which depend upon one highest species or ultimate idea—the last analysis of all man's efforts after Truth,—and the concrete sensible universe. † The natural world, and all upon it, exist through

* See how the Angelical uses Plato :—"Respondeo dicendum quod necesse est ponere in mente Divina ideas. Ιδέα enim græcè, latinè *forma* dicitur. Unde per ideas intelliguntur formæ aliquarum rerum præter ipsas res existentes. Forma autem alicujus rei præter ipsam existens, ad duo esse potest; vel ut sit exemplar ejus cujus dicitur forma, vel ut sit principium cognitionis ipsius, secundum quod formæ cognoscibilium dicuntur esse in cognoscente." *(Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæstio XV., Articulus I., p. 70, Vol. I. Ed. Parm.)*

† The Angelical quotes S. Augustine to this effect :—"Sed contra est quod dicit Augustinus *(In Lib. LXXXIII., Quæst. XLVI., a med.)*: 'Ideæ sunt principales quædam formæ, vel rationes rerum stabiles atque incommutabiles, quia ipsæ formatæ non sunt; ac per hoc æternæ, ac semper eodem modo se habentes; quæ divina intelligentia continentur. Sed cum ipsæ neque oriantur, neque intereant, secundum eas tamen formari dicitur omne quod oriri et interire potest, et omne quod oritur et interit.'" *(Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæstio XV., Art. II., p. 71.)*

"participation" in the eternal and never-changing forms or exemplars of which they are the shadows, echoes, or reflections. These ideas, or "eternal gods," are the objects of God's thoughts; yet not external to Him, but in Him, the all-embracing Archetype of everything that is. To investigate the nature of the Supreme Idea is a difficult task; the only knowledge worthy of a man is that of Eternal, Immutable, and Self-existent Forms. All else is transitory and fluctuating; science alone is of universals.

The great object of dialectic is, by means of analysis and induction, by a negative process, to cast on one side all irrelevant matter, and to grasp the true idea.* The mind of man is full of these patterns, forms, or παράδειγματα; dialectic calls them before the consciousness; man does not learn, but he *remembers* them; they were ever in his mind; they cannot be traced to a beginning; and hence the mind in which they dwell must have existed before it was incarcerated in the flesh.

The "Good," or the "Final Cause," or the "Sovereign Mind," is the author of the world. It energizes according to the pattern of its own per-

* This is how the Angelical sees and oversets Plato's error:—"Ad primum sic proceditur. 1. Videtur quod ideæ non sint. Dicit enim Dionysius *(De Div. Nom., Cap. VII.)* quod Deus non cognoscit res secundum ideam. Sed ideæ non ponuntur ad aliud nisi ut per eas cognoscantur res. Ergo ideæ non sunt . . . Ad *primum* dicendum, quod Deus non intelligit res secundum ideam extra se existentem; et sic etiam Aristoteles *(lib. 3, Metph., a text. 10 usque ab fin. lib.)* improbat opinionem Platonis de ideis, secundum quod ponebat eas per se existentes, non in intellectu." *(Loc. Cit., Art. I., p. 70.)*

fections. "The Sovereign Good," and not man, is "the measure of all things;" and all its acts are to be looked upon as "best." He who would detect the operations of the Sovereign Mind in the world of sense, must search after the best in everything.*

Again: man's soul is formed after the exemplars of the Good and True. To these man naturally tends. Thus, no man is willingly evil; and every man has the power in him to reform his moral character.

Plato's system of ethics is founded on these principles. In fact, he never made any distinction between religion, ethics, and philosophy; all is subsumed in one ultimate Idea: for he who loves the true by that same act loves the Good also; both being identified through a higher synthesis in the primeval Exemplar of all things.‡

* To perceive how far more *theologically* Christian Plato is than Aristotle, the following points of comparison are worth considering, which, in the main, are correct enough :—

Plato multis in locis astruit, Deum esse unum. Aristoteles autem unum primum motorem, sed et 56 alios deos orbium cœlestium motores statuit. Ulterius ait, supra extimum cœlum multa esse ordinata, a quibus pendeat aliorum esse et vivere, et quæ beatissimam degunt vitam. Igitur Aristotelis philosophia exoterica nulla est mundi monarchia, sed vel polyarchia vel anarchia, quas D. Gregorius Naz. magnopere impugnavit.

Plato tres nominat reges, tria scil. rerum principia, nimirum Deum Trinum et Unum. Aristoteles in sua vel anarchia vel polyarchia persistit.

Plato summum Deum Patrem appellat. Aristoteles nullum agnoscit Deum Patrem." (See Launoy, *Var. Arist. Fort., Opp., Tom. IV., Pars I., p.* 216.)

† "Plato Deum simplicissimum esse affirmat. Aristoteles Ζῶον= animal ipsum facit.

Plato Deum summum esse bonum inquit; Aristoteles ut bonum orbe primo expeti.

Platonis Deus est summa Sapientia. Aristotelis Deus est Intellectus, sed ignorat particularia.

Love of wisdom, and the purification of body and spirit, draw man towards a participation with the Divinity.*

It was the largeness and spirituality of the whole bias of Plato's mind, more than any specific doctrines, which have acted with such dynamic force upon the most powerful and cultivated intellects of every age, and which were not without their influence on the Angel of the Schools.

If he had done nothing else than teach that *man* is not the centre of existence, and the measure of the universe, Plato would have accomplished a work for which posterity would have had every reason to be grateful.† But he did more than this: he is said to have—

Plato: Deus est omnipotens. Arist.: Nihil potest, præterquam quod cœlum moveat.

Plato: Deus incorporea omnia fecit. Arist.: Deus nihil fecit neque facit; sedet solum in culmine cœli.

Plato: Deus mundum corporeum fabrefecit. Arist.: Deus non fecit mundum qui æternus est.

Plato: Deus fecit mundum ex nihilo, quia ex nulla materia præcedente, quam et ipse creavit. Arist.: Ex nihilo nihil fit.

Plato: Deus mundum fecit ante tempus. Arist.: Mundus et tempus semper fuere.

Plato: Mundus, quia corpus, finitam habet potentiam. Arist.: Mundus et cœlum infinitam habent potentiam sese movendi.

Plato: Mundus et cœlum, quia corpora sunt finita, finitam habent motus actionem. Arist.: Cœlum est quidem corpus, sed actio ejus motus infinitus est.

Plato: Quia cœlum et mundus corpora finita sunt, et potentiam et actiones finitas habent sui natura, sunt corruptibilia. Arist.: Neque cœlum neque mundus est corruptibile." (Launoy, *Var. Arist. Fort.*, *Tom. IV., Pars I., p.* 217.)

* For fuller information, see Lewes' *History of Philosophy, Vol. I., p.* 334.

† And is there not something elevating, even at the present day, in reading such passages as that in which Aristophanes describes the origin of man in the *Symposium*, or the ideas of Socrates regarding music in a perfect state? Are not the very faults of Plato in philosophy such as impress the mind with his nobleness and elevation? Does not the materialism of the present day require a corrective? Not that Plato's system should be adopted as it stands, but that Plato's bias towards the Unseen should lead to a truly Christian *Sursum corda!*

"Penetrated through and over and beyond the superficially 'god-like' of older philosophers, even to the knowledge of the 'Kingly Spirit and living Creator of the world,' and inserted immortality and a future retribution as the innermost core of his teaching."*

To say that he taught gross errors is simply to say that he was a pagan. Like the purest forms of pagan philosophy, his teachings bear more the character of ideal creations than of tough and potent instruments for purifying the heart of man. He displayed before the mind a new world, which, if dim and indistinct, was rich with noble thoughts and lofty principles.† But neither beauty, nor culture, nor refinement, nor ἦθος, can quench the passions, or staunch the wound of man's original nature. ‡

This fact comes out clearly in portions of Plato's theoretic teaching. For example: matter, such as he makes it, is eternal. He taught the existence of a world-soul. Whatever perceives ideas is

* See Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew, Vol. I., Book V.*, § 1, *p.* 308. The doctrine of the soul's immortality was a cardinal point in the teaching of Plato. His three most brilliant pieces—the *Phædo*, the *Symposium*, and the *Phædrus*, are occupied in drawing out this doctrine from various points of view.

† His greatest gift, perhaps, was that of imagination. His most philosophical dialogues teem with the exuberant fruit of his rich fancy. "We see thrones set in heaven," says a graceful writer, "and spirits coming up for judgment; or ghosts of the dead travelling on through unknown regions, or meeting after long ages in some spacious mead of heaven; we watch the chariot of the soul as its eager horses thunder along the circles of the sky: no flight of fancy is too bold, no limits of time or space confine it; and yet all is chastened and deliberate; there is that definiteness of description which we admire in Dante, and that careful symbolism which is found in the *Pilgrim's Progress*."

‡ Plato's views, although so lofty, are coloured not only by his own emotions, but also by the influence of age upon his passions. The *Phædrus* and the *Symposium* are full of youthful fire compared with the more stoical temper of the *Philebus* and the *Leges*.

everlasting and divine; hence all intelligence belongs to the Divine Substance. The stars are gods, and are to be worshipped by the people in preference to the demons and the *genii*. Plato's god was a metaphysical one, who need only be known to the governing few. He was a stranger to the Supremely Free, Sovereignly Personal, Living God of the Revealed Law.* The nature of guilt was strange to him. In his ideal polity the women were to be in common, abortion was to be practised, unpromising children were to be put to death, and the odious sin of the Greeks was permitted. These are but specimens of the aberrations into which the most refined and noble intellect of antiquity was led, through the influence of education, and the imbecility of man's unassisted sense.†

Plato, whilst he proves how splendid a gift human reason is, brings vividly before the mind how impotent are the highest efforts of fallen man

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* Since Plato was certainly the noblest of the pagans, and the purest of their thinkers—and since it is not probable that any pagan will ever rise to surpass him,—it would be worth while to test the amount of serious consistency there is in his teaching. It is pretty clear that if he had applied the same drastic method of cross-examination to his own *à priori* theories which he loved so much to apply to others, he would have found some difficulty in making a reply. And possibly that is why he never did apply it. Mr. Grote says:—"On the whole—to use a comparison of Plato himself—the Platonic sum total somewhat resembles those fanciful combinations of animals imagined in the Hellenic mythology—an aggregate of distinct and desperate individuals, which look like one because they are packed in the same external wrapper." *(Vol. I., p.* 214—215.) Paganism itself is a monstrosity: therefore its highest conceptions when combined become monsters.

† Eusebius gives a full treatment of these stains in the teaching of Plato. (See Eusebii Pamphili, *Opera Omnia, Tom. III., Præparatio Evangelica, Lib. XIII., p.* 1058—1180; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXI.)*

when unsustained by the light of Revelation.* How can philosophy dare to be ungrateful to religion !

And just as we saw the graceful and melancholy Plato hanging on the lips of Socrates, so too we can now imagine another youth, with a strange mixture of reverence and pride, drinking in the flowing sentences of the "old man eloquent," as he, with his own mystic power, introduces his hearers to the glowing world he has created for them.

Unlike the youth who attended Socrates, the most distinguished disciple of Plato was nearly as ugly as Plato's master.† He was but a boy when he first entered the Academy. He had been in Athens three years, waiting for the great philosopher's return from his Sicilian expedition. Deeply he had devoted himself, during this time of expectation, to the study of philosophy. He

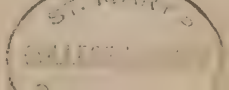
* In fact, "religion" amongst the civilized pagans did not undertake to teach "faith and morals." "In the civilized states of antiquity, religion was pursued only as a matter of public policy," says Dr. Hampden, "and not as a rule of life to the individual. Whatever was the established creed of the state it was the recognized duty of the good citizen to support as established. Not involving any question of truth or falsehood in the particular creed adopted, it readily admitted of any additions of superstition not repugnant to the laws and manners of the state ; but imperiously rejected all questioning of the fundamental assumption of the importance of that which was established." (*The Fathers of Greek Philosophy, p.* 47.)

† "Aristoteles Nichomachi Phæstiadisque filius, Stagirites, fuit. Porro Nichomachus a Nichomacho Machaonis filio, Æsculapiique nepote, originem duxit, ut Hermippus in eo libro, quem de Aristotele scripsit, tradit. Convixit autem Amyntæ Macedonum Regi, medicinæ et amicitiæ gratia. Hic inter omnes Platonis discipulos maxime excelluit : voceque gracili, ut Timotheus Atheniensis in libro de Vitis refert, et exilibus cruribus parvisque oculis fuit, veste insigni, et anulis, ac tonsura utens." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. I., n.* 1, 2, *p.* 460—461.)

was preparing to profit to the full by the teachings of Plato the divine. He was a youth warmed with ambition, loving fame, courting applause; he had come to Athens to learn wisdom indeed, but also to make a name. Of small slender person, with lisping voice, a dandy in appearance, a smart, fluent, sneering talker, and yet, for Athens, half a barbarian, Aristotle looked as little like a man who was to rule the world of thought as well could be imagined. Never has vanity and conceit hidden so much hard logic, or concealed such deep sagacity.* Seldom has a lover of approbation applied with such straining energy, with such dogged perseverance, to the study of universal wisdom. Plato's life and labours are full of poetry; Aristotle's are strictly prose. Plato was half a monk; Aristotle was a thorough man of the world. Aristotle was wealthy, and looked sharply after the main chance; Plato was comparatively poor, and never coveted to be rich. The latter was never married, fixing his heart on wisdom as a spouse; the former had one wife, perhaps two, possibly two at a time, and certainly a concubine as well.† Though on account of his extraordinary intellectual gifts the learned have dealt tenderly with Aristotle, still there is a stain upon his

* William Pitt is another and a modern instance of greatness of mind accompanied by affectation and love of foppery. (See Macaulay's *Essays*, *Vol. II.*, *p.* 148. *London*, 1843.)

† "Natus est autem illi et filius Nichomachus ex Herpylide concubine, ut Timotheus ait." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II.*, *Lib. V.*, *n.* 3, *p.* 461.)



character which cannot altogether be expunged.* When young it is alleged that he was a spend-thrift, then a military adventurer, and finally a seller of drugs. "He has been stigmatized," says Dr. Hampden, "as a parasite, as gluttonous, effeminate, sordid, ungrateful, impious. Amongst his faults, too, have been mentioned a sneering cast of countenance, and an impertinent loquacity."† He is said so to have worried Plato, who was eighty years of age at the time, with his insolent logic-chopping, that the poor old man was forced to abandon his walks in the Academy, and retire out of the way into his private grounds.‡

* Eusebius quotes Aristocles thus:—"Qui tandem fieri potuit, inquit ille, ut quod epistola de vitæ institutis Epicurus scribit, Aristoteles, juvenis adhuc cum esset, patrimonium exhauserit, indeque compulsus ad militiam fuerit? ubi quod res ei minus commode cederet, egerit deinceps pharmacopolam; donec tandem cum pateret omnibus Platonis ambulatio, eam sibi ultro deposceret? Quis Timæum Tauromenitanum audiat, dum suis in historiis illum ait, affecta jam ætate, neglectis obscuri cujusdam medici officinæ claudendis foribus præfuisse? Quis de illo propterea secus existimet, quod Aristoxenus musicus in Platonis vita referat, dum peregrinaretur, abesseteque longius, quem vocant Peripatum, adversus eum peregrinos homines excitasse." (See Eusebii Cæsariensis *Opera, Pars II., Apologetica, Præparatio Evangelica, Lib. XV., Cap. II., p.* 1298; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXI.)*

† *The Fathers of Greek Philosophy, p.* 13.

‡ Eubulides says that "morienti Platoni, ejusque libros depravasse . . . Cephisodorus, Isocratis discipulus . . . voluptarium ipsum et catillonem, similibusque nominibus adpellavit." Lycon the Pythagorean "scribit . . . Aristotelem idem sacrificii genus quod Cereri ab Atheniensibus fiebat, demortuæ uxori facere solitum, atque illud ipsum oleum postea vendere, in quo calido jam ante lavisset." . . . Two things seem pretty clear:—"Quod Pythiadem Hermiæ natura sororem, filiam adoptione, uxorem duxerit, hominis gratiam . . . Exstat quidem illud Theocriti Chii epigramma:

> 'Eunuchi Hermiæ, Euboli qui servus, inanem
> Hunc tumulum posuit vanus Aristoteles:—
> Quem pro Academia, voluit qua Borborus undas,
> Dirus amor ventris jussit habere larem:'"

and "quod ingratus in Platonem fuerit." (Eusebii Cæsariensis, *Opera, Pars II., Apologetica, Præparatio Evangelica, Lib. XV., Cap. II., p.* 1299—1302; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXI.)*

How far these accusations are absolutely true it is impossible to say; that they are absolutely false it is difficult to believe.* There is no doubt that Aristotle was a lover of good things, and of people in high places. His life was spent either as pedagogue at court, or teaching in the Athenian Lyceum. Though his health was delicate, his energy was unwearied, his curiosity and sagacity were almost morbid, his love of reading was an absolute passion, and his keenness of mind, especially in experiment and analysis, was supreme. He stands pre-eminent amongst all the ancients for the clearness of his head, the simplicity of his thought, and for his power of appreciating facts. If he was not endowed with Plato's creative gift, he knew how to verify phenomena; if he were wanting in Plato's admirable dramatic, poetic, and literary talent, he was a master in terseness of expression, in scientific method, and in his searching cross-examination of the phenomena of matter and of mind. Poetical, vague, imaginative, ideal, standing on the earth simply to look up to heaven,

* Ritter says:—"Eine gewisse Erzählung spricht von einer unordentliche verlebten Jugend des Aristoteles; er habe sein väterliches Vermögen verprasst, sei dann in den Krieg gezogen, und als es ihm auch hierin nicht glücken wollte, habe er zu Krämerei mit Arzneien seine Zuflucht genommen." To these words he appends the following note: "Ælian. v. h. V. 9. Die Erzählung hat den Epikur zum Gewährsmann, zwar einen ziemlich alten, aber schwerlich einen unparteiischen Zeugen. Athen. VIII., 50. p. 354. Wir werden nicht alle die Vorwürfe, welche man dem sittlichen Wandel des Aristoteles gemacht hat, hier aufzählen, sondern erwähnen nur, dass er von seinem Schüler Aristoxenos, vom Epikuros, Timäos, vom Verfasser der Schrift περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς, vom Megariker Alexinos und Andern (S. Euseb. præp, ev. XV., 2.) verleumdet worden sein soll." (*Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit, Dritter Theil, Zweite verbesserte Auflage: Hamburg*, 1837: *Erstes Capitel, p.* 4.)

spurning sensible nature, embracing with a large love, without questioning, the whole world of abstract thought, and peopling it with bright and beautiful existences; in a word, synthetical beyond all comparison with other men, and intensely monastic in his companionship with wisdom—Plato was the very antithesis of the Stagyrite.* Could it be that two imperial spirits met, and by consent divided the world of thought between them; or was it the natural reaction of an accurate and cautious intellect against the aërial systems of an opulent but unscientific mind? Perhaps the early influence of his father, court physician to the king of Macedon, confirmed Aristotle in his distaste for the mystic creations of the Academy?† However it may be, the Academy and the Lyceum are complements of each other. Synthesis and analysis are continually wanted in philosophy,

* "The student in passing from the works of Plato to those of Aristotle," says Maurice, "is struck first of all with the entire absence of that dramatic form and that dramatic feeling with which he has become familiar. The living human beings with whom he has conversed have passed away. Prodicus, Protagoras, and Hippias are no longer lounging on their couches amidst groups of admiring pupils; we have no walks along the walls of the city, no readings beside the Ilissus, no lively *symposia* giving occasion to high discourses about love, no Critias, recalling the stories he had heard in the days of his youth, before he came a tyrant, of ancient and glorious republics; above all, no Socrates forming a centre to those various groups." (*Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, *I.*, *p.* 162.)

† "Sein Vater Nikomachos war Arzt und Freund des Königs von Makedonien Amyntas und durch ihn stammte Aristoteles aus einer Familie, welche ihren Ursprung auf den Asklepios zurückführte. Ich erwähne dies, weil es von Einfluss auf die wissenschaftliche Richtung des Aristoteles gewesen zu sein scheint. Es bezeichnet seine Familie als eine solche, in welcher von altersher medicinische und naturwissenschaftliche Kenntnisse sich fortgepflanzt hatten; auch soll sein Vater Schriften über Arzneikunde und Naturlehre hinterlassen haben." (Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit*, *Dritter Theil*, *Zweite verbesserte Auflage*, *Erstes Capitel*, *p.* 3.)

and here they are to be found. Plato's expansive intellect, and the logical exactness of the Stagyrite, represent that breadth and accuracy which are combined in their largest proportions by the Angel of the Schools.*

The history of Aristotle's life is soon told. He was born at Stagyra, in the north of Greece, a town looking out over the sea on the one side, and embedded on the other in groves of oranges and lemons.† His father's name was Nichomachus, physician to Amyntas II., king of Macedon, a man of considerable ability and a votary of natural science. That the Stagyrite himself had a turn for medicine is evident from some portions of his writings.‡

He possessed an intense craving after knowledge, and on the first opportunity he hurried off to Athens, the metropolis of philosophy and letters, to place himself under the celebrated founder of the Academy. Here he collected a valuable library, and ardently applied himself to the

* This fact I have several times insisted on. Had not the Angelical possessed the double gift of grasping and dividing, and that in a very high degree, the *Summa Theologica* would have been impossible.

† "Stagira—which Bœckh says, should correctly be written Stageiros—was a town in northern Greece, on the western coast of the Strymonic gulf (now called the Gulf of Contezza), just where the coast begins to take a southerly bend . . . Stagira is said to resemble Sorrento, not only in the general disposition of its coast lines, but also in the terraced windings of its multitudinous orange and lemon groves." (Lewes' *Aristotle, a chapter from the History of Science, Chap. I.*, § 3, *p.* 6.)

‡ Who could imagine Plato writing a *History of Animals?* It is said that under Aristotle's superintendence some thousands of people were employed in making enquiries on the subject of this work throughout Asia and in Greece. (See Hampden's *Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, *p.* 6—7.)

writings of the ancients.* On Plato's return from his expedition, the Stagyrite became his disciple, and soon surpassed all his companions in his keenness, wit, and logic, in his caustic sarcasm, and in the general power of his intelligence. These great mental endowments, accompanied with an excessively ardent nature, and an indefatigable love of study, soon earned for Aristotle that fame after which he so much yearned. Plato was so charmed with his new disciple that he called him "the reader," and "the intellect of the school," and compared him to a young colt, so full was he of spirit and vivacity.

Aristotle remained seventeen years as a pupil and friend of Plato; a long companionship, during which he had every opportunity of learning the methods of his master.† To dwell

* Bacon seems to think that the Stagyrite aimed at sinking all the ancients, and standing himself in their place. He holds Aristotle to be possessed by an overweening ambition:—"Qua in re Aristotelis confidentiam proinde subit mirari; qui impetu quodam percitus contradictionis, et bellum universæ antiquitati indicens, non solum nova artium vocabula pro libitu cudendi licentiam usurpavit; sed etiam priscam omnem sapientiam extinguere et delere annisus est. Adeo ut neque nominet uspiam auctores antiquos [!], neque dogmatum eorum mentionem ullam faciat [!], nisi quo aut homines perstringeret, aut placita redargueret. Sane si famam nomini suo, ac sequacium turbam affectaverit, hoc rationibus suis imprimis accommodatum." (See *The Works of Francis Bacon, De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum, Vol. III., Lib. II., Cap. IV., p.* 63. *London, MDCCLIII. Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand.)*

† "Beim Platon blieb er zwanzig Jahre, welche er jedoch gewiss nicht bloss dem Platonischen Unterrichte widmete, welche vielmehr als die wahre Zeit der Vorbereitung zu dem grossen Werke seines Lebens anzusehn sind. Wie eifrig er damals strebte, nicht nur die Schätze der ältern Philosophie, sondern der ganzen griechischen Literatur zu erschöpfen, möchte man daraus abnehmen, dass ihn Platon den Leser nannte, und ihn mit dem Xenokrates vergleichend sagte, dieser bedürfe des Spornes, jener des Zügels." (Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit, Dritter Theil, Zweite verbesserte Auflage, Erstes Capitel, p.* 4—5.)

under the eye of Plato, and to breathe the pure atmosphere of the Academy, must have been an education and an elevation in itself. There is little doubt that the sublime portions of the ethical teaching of the Stagyrite are drawn from a Platonic source.*

Before the death of Plato Aristotle had already formed a circle of admirers, and had commenced to lecture.† On Plato's death (348), disgusted at not being appointed his successor in the Academy, he quitted Athens on a visit to his school-fellow, the eunuch Hermias, who had made himself tyrant of Atarneus in the face of the king of Persia.‡ Here Aristotle remained three years, but on the death of his host, who was made away with by the Persians, he fled to Mitylene. He took with him Pythias, the adopted daughter of Hermias, and married her, some are kind enough to say, out of compassion for her helplessness.

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* It seems probable that he never practised medicine himself. (See Franciscus Patritius, *Discussiones Peripateticarum*, *Tom. IV.*, *p.* 3. *Bâle*, 1581).

† "Recessit a Platone, dum adhuc superviveret. Unde dixisse illum tradunt, *Aristoteles in nos recalcitravit, non secus atque in matrem pulli geniti.* Refert Hermippus in Vitis, cum Atheniensium legatus ad Philippum profectus esset Aristoteles, Academiæ scholæ præfectum fuisse Xenocratem. Cum vero reversus esset, scholamque sub alio vidisset, eligisse in Lyceo Deambulationis locum, illicque usque ad certum temporis spatium deambulando cum discipulis philosophari solitum, atque inde Peripateticum adpellatum esse. Alii idcirco sic vocatum adserunt, quod ex ægritudine convalescenti, ac deambulanti Alexandro absistens quædam dissere soleret. Ubi vero jam plures esse cœperant, sedens docebat dicens: 'Silere turpe me, et Xenocratem loqui.'

Ad propositam quæstionem discipulos una exercebat, simul et oratoriam docens." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II.*, *Lib. V.*, *Cap. II.*, *p.* 461—463.)

‡ Ritter argues the question regarding the relations of Plato and Aristotle on the whole in favour of the latter. (*Geschichte der Philosophie, Alter Zeit, Dritter Theil, Erstes Capitel, p.* 9.)

From Mitylene he went to Macedon, and was appointed by Philip, whom he had known as a boy, tutor of his youthful son Alexander, who at this time was fourteen years of age. The king built a gymnasium in a shady grove, where Aristotle delivered his lectures to his royal charge. This lasted four years, when Alexander, being only eighteen years of age, was appointed Regent. Aristotle remained three years more in Macedon.*

How highly Alexander prized his master is evident from this noble saying of his, that he honoured Aristotle no less then his own father; for, whilst the one gave him life, the other gave him that which made life worth having. Alexander succeeded to the crown at the age of twenty; and on his setting out for Asia, Aristotle left Macedon, and after an absence of twelve years returned once more to Athens (335).†

* The high idea Aristotle entertained of education is evident from the following apophthegm:—Being asked "In what the educated differed from the uneducated," he said, "As much as the living from the dead." Several good sayings are recorded of him. "What grows old soon?" he answered, "Gratitude." "What is hope?" "The dream of one awakened." A man boasted that he was from a great city. "Not this," he replied, "should one look to, but who was worthy of a great country." "Some men lived so parsimoniously as if they were to live for ever, whilst others spent, as if they were to die immediately." Being blamed for relieving an unworthy object, he said—"It is not to the man I gave, but to mankind." (*Cf.* Hampden's *Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, *p.* 12.)

† And Diogenes Laertius shall give the reason:—"Ubi vero Alexandro instituendo satis visus est navasse operam, commendato illi cognato Callisthene Olynthio, Athenas concessit. Eum audacius quam par erat, alloquentem regem, et minime illi obsequentem, ab ipso increpitum adserunt versu,

'Qualia mi loqueris, vereor sis nate superstes,'

quod et factum est. Namque Hermolao in Alexandrum insidiarum socius fuisse deprehensus, cavea ferrea circumduci, pædore atque squalore oblitus, leoni postremo objectus est, sicque excessit e vita." (*Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. I., n. 6, p.* 464—465.)

Here he soon collected a large gathering of disciples. He taught at the Lyceum, in the most splendid gymnasium of the city. Here were the groves, avenues, and gardens; the porticos, theatres, and courts; the *stadium*, arena, and promenades, which, by their magnificence, lent a charm to the learning of the master, and enhanced the value of his esoteric and exoteric teaching.* The morning was passed in the company of his more intimate disciples: the evening in instilling into the ears of thronging crowds, by means of more popular disquisitions, those principles of knowledge which he had been the first to throw into something like a scientific form.

Here he remained thirteen years. It was during this period that he wrote the greater portion of his voluminous works, and built up his lasting fame.†

But the Athenians would not leave him alone. Alexander died (323). His enemies took the lead at Athens. These men looked upon Aristotle, who had been the instructor of the Conqueror, with unmixed aversion. There had never been much

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* Lewes gives an animated sketch of the school of Aristotle at the Lyceum. (See his *Aristotle*, § 14, *p.* 15.)

† "Enimvero Aristoteles Athenas profectus, cum illic tredecim annis docuisset, clam in Chalcidem concessit, quod ab Eurymedonte sacrorum antistite impietatis accusatus esset, sive, ut Phavorinus ait in Omnimoda Historia, a Demophilo, quod hymnum in eum, quem prædiximus, Hermiam scripserit, quodque hoc epigramma statuæ, quæ in Delphis est, incidi curaverit:

'Impius hunc quondam Persarum morte tyrannus
Mulctavit, violans jusque nefasque virum.
Nam neque collato oppressit certamine, verum
Insidiose hominis usus amicitia.'"

(Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. I., n.* 7, *p.* 465—466.)

difficulty at Athens in getting rid of a philosopher. Besides, Aristotle was a foreigner, and had been an intimate friend of two, if not three, Macedonian kings. A direct charge was made against him before the Areopagus of having paid divine honours to Hermias and Pythias. Aristotle had heard too much of the fate of Socrates to trust to the justice of a trial. He fled to Chalcis, saying to his friends that "he did not wish to give the Athenians a second opportunity of committing a crime against philosophy."

The Stagyrite never lifted up his head again. Intense brain work,* and a weak constitution, added to the grief occasioned by the ill-usage of his enemies, brought him with sorrow to the grave. He was stripped of all his honours; even the privilege of being a citizen of Athens was taken from him. Sentence of death was pronounced against him. Some say he died of vexation because he was foiled in an experiment; others, that he committed suicide by drinking aconite. However it may have been, he departed in the sixty-third year of his age (B.C. 322).†

* How indomitable his energy was for work is clear from the following:—"Quidam utrem calentis olei stomacho illum imponere consuevisse tradunt, et cum se ad quiescendum componeret, æream sphæram tenere in manu, pelvi subjecta, eo consilio, ut cum e dormientis manu sphæra ærea in subditum vas incidisset, sono illius expergisceretur." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. I., n.* 10, *p.* 476.)

† "Hic vero, ut ait Eumelus in quinto Historiarum, aconitum bibens, mortuus est septuagesimo ætatis anno. Idem vero refert ipsum Platoni trigenarium se in disciplinam dedisse; sed profecto fallitur. Vixit enim tres et sexaginta annos: septimo deci.no autem ætatis anno Platonem audire cœpit." (Diogenes Laertius, *Vol. II., Lib. V., Cap. I., n.* 7, *p.* 466.)

Such is the history of the great Father of the Peripatetic school; as great a contrast to Plato in his life, as he was in his bias in philosophy. Whilst the mind is borne towards Plato with spontaneous sympathy, there is something in the very appearance of Aristotle, in his sneering loquacity and want of reverence, in his impurity and (if the word may be pardoned for its aptness) in his snobbishness, which, in spite of his transcendent intellectual gifts, leaves an unpleasing impression on the mind.* Plato was great as a man; Aristotle was great as an intelligence. The more we know of Plato the more we love him; the more we know of Aristotle the less we love him: the more intimate our acquaintance with Plato's works, the less scientific they appear; the more we study Aristotle's, the more profoundly we are impressed with their accuracy and depth. It was the moral elevation of Plato, and the spirituality of his temper, which gained him so immense a sway; it was the intellectual sagacity and logical force of Aristotle which have earned for him a lasting reputation. Plato was patristic, Aristotle scholastic.

* Here are some more points of contrast between Plato and the Stagyrite :—

"Plato: Quia mundus sui natura est corruptibilis, corrumperetur aliquando, nisi Deus eum servaret. Arist.: Mundus non corrumperetur; neque Deus eum servat, sed cœli motus.

Plato: Deus est supra omne ens et supra omnem essentiam. Arist.: Deus est substantia.

Plato: Deus est supra omnem Intellectum. Arist.: Deus est Intellectus.

Plato: Deus nec movetur, nec movet. Arist.: Deus quidem non movetur, sed primum cœlum movet." (Launoy, *De Var. Arist. Fort.*, *Tom. IV., Pars I., p.* 217.)

The combination of the two—excluding errors and making good defects, through the parallel light of Revelation—is to be found pre-eminently in the Angel of the Schools. His "Angelic" bias was Platonic; his school gifts were Aristotelic.* The keen intellect of the Stagyrite, and the moral loftiness of Plato, corrected and purified by Christianity, and perfected by monastic life, made the Angelical the synthetic and analytic colossus that he was.

The broad difference between Plato and Aristotle lies in this, that Plato held the world of "forms" to be the only real world, whilst Aristotle held the world of sense to be at the foundation of all knowledge. Whilst Plato, by means of reminiscence and the association of ideas, could recall before the mind the whole existing world of thought, Aristotle required a brute sensation, a

* "Plato: Deus omne corpus supereminet. Arist.: Deus in cœli culmine sedet.

Plato: Deus est ab omni corpore liber. Arist.: Deus primo orbi est alligatus.

Plato: Deus universi providentiam habet. Arist.: Deus a cœlo tantum expetitur.

Plato: Deus omnia novit. Arist.: Non cognoscit particularia.

Plato: Deus mundum regit universum et partes ejus. Arist.: Non Deus, sed natura, casus et fortuna regunt mundum.

Plato: Deus in regimine mundi utitur ministris, minoribus Diis. Arist.: Deus neque regit mundum, neque ministros habet.

Plato: In mundo sunt dæmones. Arist. Nullibi hos agnoscit dæmones.

Plato: Deus animam universi produxit. Arist.: Deus non produxit animam ullam universi, sed cœlum tantum est animatum et astra.

Plato: Deus produxit animam humanam. Arist.: Anima est actus corporis h. e. ex materia educta.

Plato: Anima humana divina est quædam forma. Arist.: Anima est forma corporis.

Plato: Anima humana est immortalis. Arist.: Ut forma corporis anima est mortalis." (Launoy, *De Var. Arist. Fort., Tom. IV., Pars I., p.* 217.)

phantasm, and an abstraction, in order to reach anything like a mental process. He looks upon the really-existing archetypes of Plato as so much poetry or metaphor.* What his master considered as possessing an objective being of its own, he taught was the result of mental action, and the appreciated relations between one thing and another. Both held in common that science was of universals, but Plato's universals were of a different texture from those of Aristotle. Whilst Plato had only to open the eye of the mind and look on them, as it were, spread out ready-made before him, the Stagyrite arrived at them

* "Plato: Animæ connatus est intellectus. Arist.: Intellectus de foris venit.

Plato: Anima a corpore separatur. Arist.: Anima a corpore non separatur, quia est ejus forma.

Plato: Anima divino afflatur spiritu et futura prænuntiat. Arist.: Anima humore melancholico prædicit.

Plato: Hominis felicitas est, quando Deo fit similis. Arist.: Homo bonis fortunis fit beatus.

Plato: Hominis felicitas a Deo venit. Arist.: Homo ex suis bonis actionibus et suo arbitrio fit felix.

Plato: Deus est precandus, ut nos beatos efficiat. Arist.: Deus particularia non intelligit, ergo non precandus.

Plato: Veniet homo qui nos Deum precari doceat. Hic Christum innuit. Arist.: Preces omnes frustraneæ, quia Deus non intelligit particularia.

Plato: Bonus vir Deo semper charus. Arist.: Particularia Deus non intelligit, nec preces audit, nec hominem ullum amat.

Plato: Vir bonus post mortem Deo fruetur. Arist.: Post mortem nulla voluptas.

Plato: Animæ post mortem purgantur. Arist.: Animæ in corpore pereunt.

Plato: Animæ malorum post mortem pœnas dabunt. Arist.: Animæ in corpore pereunt.

Plato: Homines mortui resurgent. Arist.: A privatione ad habitum non fit regressus.

Plato: Bonæ animæ beatum locum possidebunt. Arist.: Nullus est talis locus.

Plato: Et corpus et animæ malorum in inferno cruciabuntur. Arist.: Nil tale novit." (Launoy, *De Var. Arist. Fort., Tom. IV., Pars I., p.* 218.)

through the activity of the thinking principle itself. Sensations give the particulars or individuals; memory can summon many individuals before the mind; and the action of the inductive process upon these, results in general notions or ideas; one thing can now be predicated of many individuals.*

Such was the antagonistic difference between these two philosophers. Plato treats the Stagyrite's ground-principle, the apprehensions of sense, as a deception; and the Stagyrite looks upon his master's fundamental axiom as no better than a philosophical romance. Natural science was the Stagyrite's delight; experiments on the animal creation had a special charm for him.† He loved investigation. Analysis was his strongest point. He savoured more of the modern man of science than any other writer of antiquity. For an ancient he was cautious, accurate, and excessively objective. He saw the value of phenomena and facts, almost as clearly as Bacon did. His philosophy found

* Ritter gives an eloquent summary of Aristotle's teaching in his *Geschichte (Dritter Theil, Fünftes Kapitel, p.* 390—405):—"Er meint zwar," he says, "der Mensch sei ein gar geringes und dürftiges Wesen, aber er findet sein Leben noch immer lebenswerth und dahin ist sein Streben gerichtet, dass er es wahrhaft lebe, nicht nach eiteln Idealen vergebens sich abmühend, sondern die Wirklichkeit mit regster Thätigkeit ergreifend." *(Loc. Cit., p.* 393.)

† Though freely correcting him, Bacon, in his *Novum Organum*, quotes the Stagyrite with approbation respecting his view regarding the principal cause of generation and corruption. Generally Bacon is very harsh with this philosopher, though not so severe as he is with Plato. (See *The Works of Francis Bacon, Novum Organum, Lib. II.*, § 35, *p.* 247. *London, MDCCLIII. Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand.)* He calls Plato "Cavillator urbanus, tumidus poëta, Theologus mente captus." *(Op. Citat. Impetus Philosophici, Cap. II., p.* 512.)

more pleasure in discussing *things*, than the abstract notions which represented them; and though at times he may have forgotten, as he assuredly did forget, that creations and combinations of the mind's activity are not necessarily accurate expressions of objective truth, still he, more than any other thinker of the Pagan schools, saw the marked difference between the world of notions and the tangible facts of life.*

As long as Aristotle confined himself to secular philosophy, he excelled the master of the Academy; but where any religious bias is concerned, Plato far surpasses him. Though Plato's theory of ideas is wrong, still it points in a more theological direction than almost any of the speculations of the Stagyrite. If the philosophy of Aristotle has been a blessing to the Church, the theologic tendency of Plato has been of no less service to her.† If the Peripatetic logic, form,

* "Während Platon die Erfahrungen besonders über die Natur, das Nothwendige und Besondere in den Erscheinungen vernachlässigt, sie nur nebenbei und wie eine nicht ungebildete Erholung betreibt, dagegen in die Ideale des Guten und des Schönen sich vertieft, ist Aristoteles ganz darauf bedacht, eine jede Erkenntniss der übersinnlichen Form aus der besondersten Erfahrung herauszuschöpfen. Denn ihm ist die Vernunft für den Menschen nicht etwas Ursprüngliches, sondern sie bildet sich erst aus dem Nothwendigen, aus dem natürlichen Werden heraus, bleibt auch immer mit diesem in Verbindung, so dass in der wirklichen Thätigkeit, in der Energie des vernünftigen Lebens die Vollendung und der wahre Gegenstand der Wissenschaft zu suchen ist. Diese Einsicht bildet den wesentlichen Fortschritt, welchen die Philosophie des Aristoteles bezeichnet." (Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie alter Zeit, Dritter Theil, Zweite verbesserte Auflage, Fünftes Kapitel, p.* 403.)

† I need simply refer the reader to Eusebius' important work, the *Præparatio Evangelica*, to show how strangely the teachings of the great philosopher and those of the people of God harmonized. See for example the Eleventh Book *(p.* 842—948; *Patrolog. Græc., Vol. XXI.)*. Such chapters as *(l.)* Platonis philosophiam, in iis, quæ omnium maxime

and nomenclature brought about a revolution in the method of theologic teaching, the soaring tendencies of Plato have scarcely been less useful in pointing out a method of grasping the *scibile* as a whole, and of looking on it in its integrity. If the Angelical was indebted to Aristotle for suggestions in analysis, he was equally beholden to Plato for synthetical suggestions. It is quite possible that the conception of the *entire plan* of the *Summa Theologica* was partly the result of Platonic influence, whilst the mechanical framework in which each part is fixed manifests unmistakable signs of the Socratic and Aristotelic mind. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle—each in his measure continues still to act upon the world of thought.* The intellectual honesty of the first, the creative and speculative gifts of the second,

necessaria sunt, cum illa Hebræorum convenire, *p.* 846 ; *(IX.)* De Ente, ex Mosis Platonisque doctrina, *p.* 867 ; *(XIV.)* De secundo Hebræorum Platonisque principio, *p.* 883 ; *(XXIII.)* De Platonicis ideis, *p.* 907 ; *(XXVI.)* De adversariis naturis, Hebræorum Platonisque doctrina, *p.* 915 ; *(XXVII.)* De animæ immortalitate, ex Hebræorum Platonisque doctrina, *p.* 918 ; *(XXXVIII.)* De judicio, quod mortem excipiat, Platonem Hebræis affinia sensisse, *p.* 943. See also the twelfth Book (*p.* 948—1058.). See the fifty-two chapters of this book, all bearing in the same direction, showing how curiously Plato's teachings, in many points, harmonize with the doctrines of the chosen people.

* Though the great revival in favour of Plato in Italy (1438) was carried to excess, it cannot be denied that many great truths were elicited with respect to the harmony of many Platonic doctrines with the teachings of Christianity. See for a good exposition of this Cardinal Bessarion's work, intitled "*Bessarionis Cardinalis Nicaeni et Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani in Calumniatorem Platonis Libri Quatuor : Venetiis*, 1503." Then comes Marsilius Ficinus (whom Leibnitz calls 'Bessarionis in affectu erga Platonem hæres'), who wrote a *Theologia Platonica, de Immortalitate videlicet Animorum ac Æterna Felicitate, Libri XVIII.* See Buhle's *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie, Bd. II., p.* 171—322. *Göttingen*, 1800. (*Cf.* Werner's *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Dritter Band, Zweites Buch, p.* 496.)

and the critical endowments of the third, have left a mark which can never be expunged.

Take two cardinal points which have an immediate bearing on religion, and upon which both Plato and his disciple have boldly spoken out, and it will be seen at once which possessed the sounder theologic instinct: I refer to their teachings on God and on the soul.

"Plato's god is an intelligent power, who knows the world, and is at work in it, forming, ordering, and sustaining it." *

Aristotle's god

"Cannot descend to particular beings, is unable to change the object of his conceptions, or think anything discursively, without falling into the hands of change, and without changing from better to worse. He also really influences the world unconsciously, as the magnet does the iron; and his action on it is no voluntary action. If God were to know the world, he would also know the evil in it, and therewith contract a contaminating knowledge that would debase the knower." †

Regarding the soul, Plato held the doctrine of

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* "Plato held the Supreme Good, or God, to be unfathomable in his real nature. 'It is hard,' he said, 'to investigate and find the Framer and Father of the Universe; and if one did find him, it were impossible to express him in terms comprehensible by all.' (*Tim.*, *p.* 28.) For even though man is capable of a perfect comprehension of all other Ideas, still God remains above these, and higher yet above the world and all that is created" . . . "Notwithstanding this polytheistic mode of expression [calling the ideas 'eternal gods'], these Ideas are not to be conceived as beside and external to God. They are founded in God, and God is the all-comprehensive Idea, embracing all partial archetypes in an unity; and therefore too the visible world, which is formed after this all-comprehensive Idea, and contains in itself in copy all single and partial Ideas is one only." (Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew*, *Book V.*, § 1, *p.* 308—309.)

† Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew*, *Book V.*, § 1, *p.* 335.

immortality, and proved it, in his own way, in the *Phædrus*, the *Symposium*, and the *Phædo*.

"According to Plato, the present life is at the same time not only the fruit of an earlier, but also the germ of a later life; and as the present fate of man is decided by his foregone life, so also is his future lot cast by his conduct now." *

According to the Stagyrite, the soul is composed of two parts, the understanding and the reason. The former is a part of matter, and perishes with the individual.

"The really human in the soul, that which has come into being, must also pass away, the understanding even; only the divine reason is immortal; but, as the memory belongs to the sensitive soul, and individual thought depends on the understanding or passive *nous* only, all self-consciousness must cease with death." †

With an eternal world, a perishable soul, and a God who knows absolutely nothing of mankind, Aristotle, with all his natural sagacity, in spite of his being so advanced in "science," makes more egregious failures in his theological attempts, and is more completely pagan, than the creative Plato, who taught some kind of future bliss, who admitted a world-maker, and a Providence; and who, though he believed in an eternal "*hyle*," still approached much nearer the Christian doctrine of creation out of nothing, than did his stricter and

* Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew, Book V.*, § 1, *p.* 319.

† Döllinger's *Gentile and Jew, Book V.*, § 1, *p.* 339.

more scientific disciple.* After all, the mystic intuition of the monk did more here than the scientific analysis and method of the sensual man of the world.

Now, what is the position of the Angelical when compared with such giants as Plato and the Stagyrite?

What was their common object? Truth. In none of them are truths of the intellectual, the divine, and moral world sharply separated. Aristotle was the first to attempt such a division, but he by no means adheres to it in every case. So the *Summa Theologica* treats, without strict discrimination, of truths in the natural, the moral, and the divine order. †

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* "Aristotle has not troubled himself with questions on God's goodness, justice, freedom, and relation to good and evil in the world, for the most part they have no significance for him. His God is not a really personal one, or is only an imperfect personality. He never comes out of himself, out of his eternal repose, to energize. He is but the term and end of the world's aspiration; not the active cause of the world; on the contrary, complete repose is necessary for God, as well for his dignity's sake as for his blissfulness; for every action upon the world would be a toil to him, even though he held it in his hand." (Döllinger, *Gentile and Jew, Vol. I., Book V.*, § 1, *p.* 336.) But see how the Angelical explains the Stagyrite in an orthodox sense:—"Considerandum est autem quod Philosophus intendit ostendere, quod Deus non intelligit aliud, sed seipsum, inquantum intellectum est perfectio intelligentis, et ejus, quod est intelligere. Manifestum est autem quod nihil aliud sic potest intelligi a Deo, quod sit perfectio intellectus ejus. Nec tamen sequitur quod omnia alia a sè sint ei ignota: nam intelligendo se, intelligit omnia alia." *(Comment. in XII. Libros Metaphysicorum, Lib. XII., Lect. XI., p.* 649, *Vol. XX. Ed. Parm.)*

† Of course in such a work as the present it is impossible to do much more than point out the leading features of the *Summa Theologica*. To enter minutely into particulars, and analyze the entire work, would take almost as much space as the work itself; for the *Summa* is written with that rigid conciseness that hardly anything could be left out. Like cut stones in a carefully-built temple, the one lies upon and fits into the other so nicely, that were one omitted, the rest would be thrown out of place. If the form repeats itself, the principles which are thrown into the form

Did S. Thomas outshine Plato in his synthetical endowments? Compare the *Summa*, as a conception, with the *Dialogues.** Did Aristotle exceed the Angelical in his analytic gifts? Compare the *Topics* with the Saint's teaching *De Veritate*, or with his treatment on the nature and attributes of God, and it will be difficult to maintain that the Stagyrite surpassed him. How is it then that the Angelical grasps the whole form of truth, whilst the other two have simply seized fragments mixed with error? Because he who scrutinizes the heavens with a glass sees further and more clearly than another equal to him in natural sight, but unassisted by an instrument;†

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are not identical, though most strictly related to each other. No work has ever been written containing in so short a space such richness of principle, such variety of argument and objection, or such a compact accumulation of philosophical and religious truth.

* As has been said, no contrast could be greater than the style of the *Summa* and of the *Dialogues*. They seem to point out two men as different in cast of mind as possibly could be. But such, after all, is not the case. The style of the works indeed offers a great contrast, but the Angelical was not writing *himself*, he was writing in the rigid forms of scholastic science. A man who can write a book on algebra or geometry, and is strictly scientific, may, for all that, be gifted with an overflow of the richest imagination, may be a creature of the deepest emotions, a genius of the highest type, and possessed of all those qualities of mind which go to make a great prose-poet. So with the Angelical. His commentary on Job shows his dramatic power; his poems speak of a fund of deepest sympathy; his ecstatic tendency towards contemplation, which was his real life, shows, not the *scholastic*, but what we are now dealing with, the *man*, and that man was essentially Platonic.

† "Est autem in his, quæ de Deo confitemur, duplex veritatis modus. Quædam namque vera sunt de Deo, quæ omnem facultatem humanæ rationis excedunt, ut Deum esse trinum et unum. Quædam vero sunt, ad quæ etiam ratio naturalis pertingere potest, sicut est Deum esse, Deum esse unum, et alia hujusmodi; quæ etiam philosophi demonstrative de Deo probaverunt, ducti naturalis lumine rationis. Quod autem sint aliqua intelligibilium divinorum, quæ humanæ rationis penitus excedant ingenium, evidentissime apparet." *(Contra Gentiles, Lib. I., Cap. III., p. 2, Vol. V.)*

whilst the former silently contemplates the object which displays itself steadily before him, the other may be searching about for it in vain. It was in this that the Angelical had a sovereign advantage over the fathers of Grecian thought: he was master of the Divine revelation and tradition of the Church.* He firmly grasped that Truth which Plato was sweeping the heavens to find, and which the Stagyrite analyzed the world of sense to meet: a truth, indeed, or body of doctrine, which they in their wildest moments did not "dream of in their philosophy," so utterly did it escape their keenest observation. †

Revelation and tradition, whilst they have to do directly with faith, morality, and the salvation of man's soul, indirectly throw a broad and steady ray upon many fundamental positions of human philosophy. They not only illuminate the heavens, but they also cast their beams upon the earth. Many truths, even of the Old Covenant revelation, were as shining light, if not guiding immediately to philosophic truth, at all events warning from

* How badly off those were who did not possess the Revelation is shown by analogy :—"Idem manifeste apparet ex defectu, quem in rebus cognoscendis quotidie experimur. Rerum enim sensibilium plurimas proprietates ignoramus, earumque proprietatum, quas sensu apprehendimus, rationem perfecte in pluribus invenire non possumus. Multo igitur amplius illius excellentissimæ substantiæ, transcendentis, omnia intelligibilia humana ratio investigare non sufficit. Huic etiam consonat dictum Philosophi, qui asserit, quod *intellectus noster sic se habet ad prima entium, quæ sunt manifestissima in natura, sicut oculus vespertilionis ad solem. (Metaphys., 2. text. comm. 1.)*" *(Contra Gentiles, Lib. I., Cap. III., p. 3, Vol. V.)*

† *Contra Gentiles, Lib. I., Cap. V., p. 4, Vol. V.*

philosophic error.* The coming of Christ, and the giving of the New Law, multiplied the brightness. Our Lord not merely redeemed man, and became his Model, but He threw the light of His humanity on deep problems of natural truth. He rescued man, not alone from hell, but from annihilation through false philosophy: He, in a way, saved the very earth itself, and defended the doctrine of substantial being. How was this accomplished? By the Word becoming *man*. Immediately Christ took flesh, humanity fell under the protection of the infallible exponent of revelation. Heretics attacked the flesh, the will, the intellect, the real existence of the Christ, and the unerring authority had to define these human attributes. He lives in the Sacrament of the Altar, and is assailed again; the Voice clear and unwavering speaks once more, and such words as "substance," "accidents," "taste," "space," and "form," receive an illumination, and philosophy

* Then the intimate connection between right-doing and right-knowing points in the same direction. Surely revelation from without, and grace working within the mind, cannot but impress it in such a way as to make it steadier, stronger, and clearer, even in the investigation of truth which comes within the range of the natural reason. If the mind is comforted in its weakness, and instructed in its ignorance, the result must affect its entire action beneficially. Suarez speaks very clearly of the help of grace for action:—"Hæc necessitas (gratiæ) non provenit ex physica et absoluta liberi arbitrii impotentia, se dex morali, quæ est debilitas intellectus et voluntatis ad constanter operandum immediate orta ex voluntatis infirmitate, intellectus ignorantia, quia appetitus vehementer propendet ad sensibilia, quæ sensibus propinqua et proportionata fortius illum movent, et quia intellectus tarde, remisse et vix assequitur rationes superiores." (*Disputat. Theolog., Tom. I., Tract. II., Lib. II., Cap. XV., sqq.*)

receives a help.* In fact, the scheme of man's salvation is so mixed up with man and with the world, that philosophy cannot go far wrong when she does not contradict the Church's teaching. In so far forth as a man admits a revelation, to that extent he accords to S. Thomas an advantage over the philosophers of pagan times.

Bacon says that if we would grasp and understand any particular science, we should not "stand on the level with it, but climb up, as it were, into the watch-tower of some other science," and thus place ourselves in a position to take in all its parts.† The difficulty is to find a tower. The Angelical possessed a high and mighty one—the great science of theology, built upon the infallible Word of God, and established by a Voice of faultless truth. ‡ Besides this, he had the benefit

* Without going to the *Summa*, it is sufficient to recall some few of the chapters in the *Contra Gentiles* to be convinced how great an illumination, even in the natural order, the Incarnation of Christ brought about. For instance, *Cap. XXVIII.*, De errore Photini circa Incarnationem ; *Cap. XXIX.*, De errore Manichæorum circa Incarnationem ; *Cap. XXX.*, De errore Valentini circa Incarnationem ; *Cap. XXXI.*, De errore Apollinaris circa corpus Christi ; *Cap. XXXII.*, De errore Arii et Apollinaris circa animam Christi ; *Cap. XXXIII.*, De errore Apollinaris dicentis animam rationalem non fuisse in Christo, et de errore Origenis dicentis animam Christi ante mundum fuisse creatam ; *Cap. XXXV.*, Contra errorem Eutychetis ; *Cap. XXXVII.*, Contra eos qui dixerunt ex anima et corpore non esse aliquid unum constitutum in Christo ; *Cap. XXXVIII.*, Contra eos qui ponunt duos hypostases vel duo supposita in una persona Christi. (See *Contra Gentiles, Lib. IV., De Incarnatione Dei, p.* 324—336, *Vol. V.*)

† Bacon, *De Aug. Scient., Works Vol. I., p.* 460. *Ed.* 1857.

‡ It is a curious study in human nature to watch rationalistic philosophers, and those who follow *Comte*, whilst they tirade against the influence of dogma and show themselves under the influence of it more or less at every step. It is remarkable that men who ought to be able to appreciate the bearings of certain cardinal truths (such as creation, the nature of evil, of sin, of the human soul, and of conscience) on the true happiness of man, and on man's most important actions, should prove themselves so strangely ungrateful to that bright and steady light, which if it does not in the first instance discover them, certainly lends to them a most serviceable illumination.

of the discoveries of his predecessors, and the multifarious experiences of the middle age. The Church and the Fathers, as well as the philosophers, had taught, preached, and explored, in their own place, the various elements of divine and human knowledge,* and of these he could and did take full advantage. Plato and Aristotle were the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water" of the Angelical. He simply made use of them. He took their truth, and dropped their error. As revelation corrects the vagaries of sense, and permits all sciences to serve her, but will suffer none to cross her path—so with the Angelical. He followed Plato and Aristotle where they did not clash with the Church, and so far forth as they were useful servants to the higher science; but he parts company with them without remorse when they swerve from the right line of supernatural revelation. He was never puzzled by them, or at a loss; he saw his way clearly. He possessed a guide and an illumination which made him independent of them, whilst he enlisted all the good

* There is nothing more remarkable about the mind of the Angelical than its wide and varied information on all matters which had to do with theology and philosophic thought. His knowledge of the pre-Socratic era is very remarkable. His mastery of the systems of Aristotle and Plato is clearly seen in his fourteenth *Opusculum*, "*De Substantiis Separatis*," where, with great clearness of perception, he draws out their respective tenets, compares them, shows where they agree, and where they are at fault. His knowledge of the Fathers is most marvellous; yet not more so than his complete grasp of Aristotle's logic and metaphysics, and his extraordinary memory for Holy Scripture. He, if any man, had grasped the *scibile* which went before him; he, if any man, had gathered it into one, and thrown into scientific shape the combined teachings of the highest natural and supernatural wisdom.

which they had taught into his own special service.* Not that Plato, and specially the Stagyrite, failed to teach the great scholastic many things he would not otherwise have learnt. It might be said that whilst he knew a whole *cosmos* of which they were ignorant, he also possessed a *tessera veritatis* by which to test those things which they appeared to know better than himself. He may have been deceived by them in some things, as certainly he was in many matters physical, but never in those cardinal truths which are connected with God, and with the happiness, progress, and perfectibility of man.

Space does not permit me to cite many examples of the Angelical's superiority, nor are many necessary.† The following, which treats on the

* There is no doubt that the gift of wisdom which the Angelical possessed gave him a light to see the world by, which the pagans did not dream of. All his biographers, and the Popes as well, speak of his illumination through the grace of God. For the wisdom given by the Spirit is practical as well as speculative; he himself explains it thus:—"Respondeo dicendum, quod, sicut Augustinus dicit in 12 de Trinitate, cap. 14, superior pars rationis sapientiæ deputatur, inferior autem scientiæ. Superior autem ratio, ut ipse in eodem lib. (Cap. VII. in fine), dicit, *intendit rationibus supernis*, scilicet divinis, *et conspiciendis, et consulendis;* conspiciendis quidem, secundum quod divina in seipsis contemplatur; consulendis autem, secundum quod per divina judicat de humanis actibus, per divinas regulas dirigens actus humanos." *(Summa Theologica, Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. XLV., Art. III., p. 174, Vol. III.)*

† It need not be said that to deal fully, or even adequately, with one branch of the Angelical's teaching, a large volume would be required. For instance, his relations with the Jews would make one goodly book; his treatment and correction of the Stagyrite, another; his action on the Greeks, a third; his interpretation of the Fathers, a fourth; his scriptural method of exposition, a fifth, and so on. And were the influence which his teaching has exerted upon those who succeeded him to be fully followed out and explained, it would be difficult to confine the subject-matter within the space of a single volume. Werner's *Dritter Band* of his *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Geschichte des Thomismus, p.* 1—876, conveys some kind of idea of the vastness of such a subject.

theory of ideas, will bring several points of interest clearly before the mind.

The Saint asks, in the *Summa Theologica*, "Whether God has the ideas of everything which He knows?"

"1. With regard to the third Article, this is the way of proceeding. It appears that God has not in Himself the ideas of everything He knows. For the idea of evil is not in God, else it would follow that evil is in God: but evils are known by God; therefore the ideas of everything which God knows are not in God." *

"2. Moreover, God knows things which neither are, nor have been, nor shall be; but there are no ideas of these things, because Dionysius says in the fifth chapter, "*De Divinis Nominibus*," that exemplars [ideas] are the divine volitions by which beings are individualized and produced: therefore the ideas of everything which God knows do not exist in Him."

"3. Moreover, God knows *materia prima* which cannot have its idea, since it has no form: therefore the same conclusion follows." †

"4. Moreover, it is a fact that God not only knows species but also genera, and singulars, and accidents; but there are no ideas of these according to the position taken up by Plato, who, as S. Augustine says, was the first to bring

* Utrum omnium quæ cognoscit Deus, sint ideæ. Ad tertium sic proceditur. I. Videtur quod non omnium quæ cognoscit Deus, sint ideæ in ipso. Mali enim idea non est in Deo: quia sequeretur malum esse in Deo. Sed mala cognoscuntur a Deo. Ergo non omnium quæ cognoscuntur a Deo, sunt ideæ." *(Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæst. XV., Art. III., p. 71, Vol. I.)*

† "Præterea, Deus cognoscit ea quæ nec sunt, nec erunt, nec fuerunt, ut supra dictum est, art. 9, præc. quæst. Sed horum non sunt ideæ; quia dicit Dionysius (Cap. 4 de div. Nom., non multum remote ante finem), quod *exemplaria sunt divinæ voluntates determinativæ et effectivæ rerum.* Ergo non omnium quæ a Deo cognoscuntur, sunt ideæ in ipso.

Præterea, Deus cognoscit materiam primam, quæ non potest habere ideam, cum nullam habeat formam. Ergo idem quod prius." *(Loc. Cit., p. 71—72.)*

forward a theory of ideas; therefore God has not the idea of everything which He knows."

"But on the contrary. Ideas are ratios existing in the divine mind, as is evident from Augustine; but God possesses the proper ratios of everything He knows; therefore He possesses the idea of everything He knows." *

"I reply, it must be said that as according to Plato ideas are the principles of the knowledge and of the generation of things, an idea in so far forth as it is in the divine mind, possesses such a two-fold relation. And in so far forth as it is the principle of the making of things, it can be called an exemplar, and belongs to practical knowledge. But, inasmuch as it is the principle of knowledge, it is properly called a ratio, and can also belong to speculative science. Therefore, in so far forth as it is an exemplar it is related to all that God has created within a determinate time. But inasmuch as it is the principle of knowledge, it is related to all things which God knows—though they may never be brought into existence—and to all things which God knows according to their own ratio, and according as they are known by Him in a speculative manner." †

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* "Præterea, constat quod Deus scit non solum species, sed etiam genera, et singularia, et accidentia. Sed horum non sunt ideæ, secundum positionem Platonis qui primus ideas introduxit, ut dicit Augustinus (lib. 83, Quæst., quæst. 46.) Non ergo omnium cognitorum a Deo sunt ideæ in ipso."

"Sed contra ideæ sunt rationes in mente divina existentes, ut per Augustinum patet (in cit. quæst. 46, post med.) Sed omnium quæ cognoscit Deus, habet proprias rationes. Ergo omnium quæ cognoscit, habet ideam." *(Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæst. XV., Art. III., p. 72, Vol. I.)*

† "Respondeo dicendum, quod cum ideæ a Platone ponerentur principia cognitionis rerum et generationis ipsarum, ad utrumque se habet idea, prout in mente divina ponitur. Et secundum quod est principium factionis rerum, exemplar dici potest, et ad practicam cognitionem pertinet: secundum autem quod principium cognoscitivum est, proprie dicitur ratio, et potest etiam ad scientiam speculativam pertinere. Secundum ergo quod exemplar est, secundum hoc se habet ad omnia quæ a Deo fiunt secundum aliquod tempus: secundum vero quod principium cognoscitivum est, se habet ad omnia quæ cognoscuntur a Deo, etiamsi nullo tempore fiant; et ad omnia quæ a Deo cognoscuntur secundum propriam rationem, et secundum quod cognoscuntur ab ipso per modum speculationis. *(Loc. Cit., p. 72.)*

"To the first, therefore, it is to be said that evil is known by God not by its own ratio but through the ratio of good. And therefore there is no "idea" of evil in God, neither inasmuch as the idea is an exemplar, nor inasmuch as it is a ratio." *

"To the second it is to be said that God has not a practical, but only a virtual knowledge of those things which neither are, were, nor shall be. Hence with regard to them, there is no idea in God, in so far forth as an idea signifies an exemplar, but only in so far forth as it signifies a ratio. †

"To the third it is to be said, that, according to some, Plato held that matter was not created, and therefore he did not teach that there is an idea of matter, but that there is a joint-cause of matter. But because we hold that God created matter, though not without a form, matter has its idea in God, but not otherwise than as the idea of something composite. For matter in itself has no being, neither is it knowable." ‡

"To the fourth it is to be said, that genera cannot have an idea different from that of species, in so far forth as the idea signifies the exemplar: for no genus exists except in some species. It is the same with accidents, which inseparably accompany a subject, since they are made together with the subject. But the accidents which are superadded to a subject

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* "Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod malum cognoscitur a Deo non per propriam rationem, sed per rationem boni; et ideo malum non habet in Deo ideam, neque secundum quod idea est exemplar, neque secundum quod est ratio." *(Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæst. XV., Art. III., p. 72, Vol. I.)*

† "Ad secundum dicendum, quod eorum quæ neque sunt, neque erunt, neque fuerunt, Deus non habet practicam cognitionem, nisi virtute tantum. Unde respectu eorum non est idea in Deo secundum quod idea significat exemplar, sed solum secundum quod significat rationem." *(Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæst. XV., Art. III., p. 72, Vol. I.)*

‡ "Ad tertium dicendum, quod Plato, secundum quosdam, posuit materiam non creatam; et ideo non posuit ideam esse materiæ, sed materiæ concausam. Sed quia nos ponimus materiam creatam a Deo, non tamen sine forma, habet quidem materia ideam in Deo, non tamen aliam ab idea compositi; nam materia secundum se neque esse habet, neque cognoscibilis est." *(Ibidem.)*

have a special idea. Thus an artizan, in the 'form' of a house, includes all the accidents which from the beginning belong to a house. But those which are superadded after the house has been built, like pictures or anything else, he makes according to some other form.* But individuals, according to Plato, had no idea belonging to them except the idea of the species: both because singulars are individuated by matter, which he held was uncreated, as some say, and joint-cause of the idea, and because nature is only concerned with species, and only produces particular things, that in them the species may be preserved. But divine providence extends itself not only to the species but also to singulars, as shall be proved below." †

In this Article of the *Summa Theologica* the specialty of the Angelical can be clearly pointed out.‡ It would be difficult for any question to be

* "Ad quartum dicendum, quod genera non possunt habere ideam aliam ab idea speciei, secundum quod idea significat exemplar; quia numquam genus fit nisi in aliqua specie. Similiter etiam est de accidentibus quæ inseparabiliter concomitantur subjectum, quia hæc simul fiunt cum subjecto, accidentia autem quæ superveniunt subjecto, specialem ideam habent. Artifex enim per formam domus facit omnia accidentia quæ a principio concomitantur domum; sed ea quæ superveniunt domui jam factæ, ut picturæ, vel aliquid aliud, facit per aliquam aliam formam."

† "Individua vero, secundum Platonem, non habebant aliam ideam quam ideam speciei; tum quia singularia individuantur per materiam, quam ponebat esse increatam, ut quidam dicunt, et concausam ideæ; tum quia intentio naturæ consistit in speciebus, nec particularia producit, nisi ut in eis species salventur. Sed providentia divina non solum se extendit ad species, sed ad singularia, ut infra dicetur, quæst. 22, art. 3." *(Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quæst. XV., Art. III., p. 72, Vol. I.)*

‡ For full information on Aristotle's view of Plato's teaching on ideas, and on the way in which the Angelical commented on him, see *Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis in Aristotelis Stagiritæ Commentaria, Metaphysicorum Lib. I., Lect. XIV., p.* 278—281, *Vol. III.*; also *Lect. XV., p.* 281—290; *Lect. XVI., p.* 290—293; *Lect. XVII., p.* 293--296, *Vol. XX.* The knowledge of the Saint on the philosophical theories of the ancients comes out with great clearness in his Commentaries on the various works of the Stagyrite. Leucippus, Pythagoras, Parmenides, Anaxagoras, and Plato, are to be met with in the First Book of *Metaphysics (Opp. S. Thomæ, Vol. XX., p.* 246—293.); and the keen appreciation the Angelical had of their various systems and merits shows the balance, clearness, and judicial calmness of his mind. He appears to have had a divine gift of threading his way without any difficulty through any labyrinth, and of finding the interpretation of the most obscure enunciation. This can only be fully appreciated by studying his works.

more abstruse than that which treats of the operations of the Divine Mind; and on this account his gifts stand all the more prominently forward. The whole subject is handled with a steadiness and security very unlike the tentative efforts of men groping blindly about for truth. The Angelical does not so much propound a theory as state a fact. His position is sufficiently elevated, and his instrument sufficiently powerful, to give him perfect confidence; and Plato, as well as Aristotle, Algazel, and Averroës, are utilized, modified, and corrected, on behalf of philosophic truth in its bearing on religion.

The form of these Articles—for they are but repetitions as far as frame-work goes—is as near perfection as possible. In it the influence of Socrates is observable. Clear, concise, logical, simple, to the point, there is no room for the rhetoric of the Sophists. The great reform which Socrates introduced into Athens was, by means of language of exquisite precision, to cleanse the mind of vague notions, and in their place to introduce the accuracy of germane knowledge, and by the help of error to elicit truth.* What are the four first

* In his Prologue to the *Summa Theologica*, the Angelical says that he is aiming at something much the same :—"Consideravimus namque hujus doctrinæ novitios in iis quæ a diversis scripta sunt plurimum impediri; partim quidem propter multiplicationem inutilium quæstionum, articulorum et argumentorum; partim etiam quia ea quæ sunt necessaria talibus ad sciendum non traduntur secundum ordinem disciplinæ, sed secundum quod requirebat librorum expositio, vel secundum quod se præbebat occasio disputandi; partim quidem quia eorumdem frequens repetitio et fastidium et confusionem generabat in animis auditorum. Hæc igitur et alia hujusmodi evitare studentes, tentabimus cum confidentia divini auxilii ea quæ ad sacram doctrinam pertinent breviter ac dilucide prosequi, secundum quod materia patietur." *(Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Prologus, p.* 1, *Vol. I.)*

arguments in this Article but the misty, inaccurate, or false views of obtuse or sophistical enquirers? What are they but such wares as the rhetoricians supplied to the youth of Athens when they would teach them how to make "the worse look like the better part?" And what is the luminous statement of the true position which follows them, together with those four terse, incisive answers, but the genuine result of a truly Socratic mind? I do not say that the form is wholly Socratic, but that the influence of the Socratic mind, in its precision, in its way of dispelling ignorance, in its use of definition, in its getting at the core of truth, is strongly marked in every article of the *Summa Theologica.*

The next point of remark is the generous freedom of the Angelical—evincing his thorough mastery of truth—in adopting not only the terms, but the views of pagan writers; and the exquisite skill by which he knows how to mend, and turn to full account, the theories and teachings of antiquity.* If Plato can serve his purpose he uses

* One of the distinguishing marks of the Angelical was, that he did not so much set himself to search out error as to discover truth: when he did pull down, it was simply because without doing so he was unable to build, and even then he pulled down as little as possible. He would prefer to adapt rather than destroy. He had nothing about him of those small minds which experience delight in finding fault, and setting themselves off at the expense of others. He was ever bent on one thing—serving the cause of wisdom, by seeking with a simple eye and a direct aim for truth. Had his tendency been to destroy rather than to create, the *Summa* would never have been written, and the labours of Aristotle, possibly, would never have been so thoroughly brought over to the service of the Church. If modern philosophers made but one tithe of the preparation for teaching mankind which was made by the Angelical, they would effect far more good in their generation than they do at present.

Plato: where Aristotle conforms more nearly to the truth, he quotes the great "Philosopher." In the present instance not only the terminology of S. Augustine, but the words of the Academy, are treated with marked respect, and are adopted. Is not a whole system contained in the terms "*participatio*," "*rationes*," "*exemplaria*," "*ideæ*," *&c.* ?

The Angelical, through his unbiassed calmness, and divine self-possession, was never warped for one moment by party feeling. He belongs to but one school, the school of Wisdom. He is not a Platonist, nor is he an Aristotelian; he could be neither, yet he is both.* He was as transcendent in his power of adaptation, in knowing what to select and what to reject, in perceiving with the accuracy and readiness of instinct what harmonized with revelation and what did not, as he was in his gift of contemplation and of theological construction. He was quite as clever in choosing the materials as he was in designing and building up the house.

What are his guiding points in the Article in

* See how firmly he sat in his position. Speaking of controversy he says:—"Quædam enim disputatio ordinatur ad removendum dubitationem an ita sit; et in tali disputatione theologica maxime utendum est auctoritatibus, quas recipiunt illi cum quibus disputatur; puta, si cum Judæis disputatur, oportet inducere auctoritates veteris Testamenti; si cum Manichæis, qui vetus testamentum respuunt, oportet uti solum auctoritatibus novi Testamenti; si autem cum schismaticis, qui recipiunt vetus et novum Testamentum, non autem doctrinam Sanctorum nostrorum, sicut sunt Græci, oportet cum eis disputare ex auctoritatibus novi vel veteris Testamenti, et illorum doctorum quos ipsi recipiunt. Si autem nullam auctoritatem recipiunt, oportet ad eos convincendos ad rationes naturales confugere." (*Quodlibet. IV., Art. XVIII., p.* 517, *Vol. IX.*)

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question? The doctrine of "creation," of which the ancients had no proper notion, and of the nature of "evil" and of "matter;" then the infallible traditionary teaching of the Church concerning the Personality of the Deity, the watchfulness of Providence, the character of the Divine attributes, and the relation of the Creator to the universe. Plato and the pagans were measured by these standards, and were only permitted to assist in building up the temple when their views harmonized with the general design. If Christianity is true, what greater benefit could philosophy desire than to have its crooked ways straightened by the power of revelation? No man but an infidel would affirm that the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato is nearer truth than that of the Angelical.* Where he touches their teaching he does not mar, but mend, for he was guided by a stronger and steadier light than the greatest sage amongst them. A vivid perception of the supernatural

* What could be more constructive than the way in which the Angelical saw his way to harmonize Plato and Aristotle, and make them both serve in proof of the existence of Almighty God. The passage is the following. To realize the fineness [*finezza*] of the Angelical's mind, and its keenness, the reader must study the passage with Plato's *Laws* open before him, and Aristotle's *Physics*. "Sciendum autem quod Plato, qui posuit omne movens moveri, communius accepit nomen *motus* quam Aristoteles. Aristoteles enim proprie accipit motum, secundum quod est actus existentis in potentia secundum quod hujusmodi, qualiter non est nisi divisibilium et corporum. Secundum Platonem autem, movens seipsum non est corpus. Accipiebat enim motum pro qualibet operatione, ita quod intelligere et operari sit quoddam moveri; quem etiam modum loquendi Aristoteles tangit. Secundum hoc ergo dicebat Plato primum movens seipsum movere quod intelligit se et vult vel amat se; quod in aliquo non repugnat rationibus Aristotelis. Nihil enim differt devenire ad aliquod primum quod moveat se secundum Platonem, et devenire ad primum quod omnino sit immobile, secundum Aristotelem." (*Contra Gentiles, Lib. I., Cap. XIII., p.* 9, *Vol. V.*)

system, and a life passed in the Unseen World, gave to the Angelical a vantage-ground and a vision unknown in all antiquity.

Even in this brief Article he steadily confronts the errors of Plato and Aristotle, of Algazel, Averroës, and the Arabian commentators.

The "eternal gods" of Plato become the "*exemplaria*" and "*rationes*," which are one in essence with the Divine Substance, and according to which things are known by God and are created.*

The "eternal matter" or "*hyle*" of the Academy is done away with altogether, for "matter in itself has no being, neither is it knowable."

The god of Aristotle, who would be "contaminated" by knowing evil, and therefore cannot know the world, and who is a perfect *Cretin*, becomes a Lord and Master who does know evil, and yet receives no stain, knowing it indirectly through His idea of good; whilst the helpless divinity who "cannot descend to particular beings," is an omniscient Creator who watches over His creatures by a special Providence, and has a knowledge of every created thing.

* It is, after all, very doubtful whether Plato really held in his own mind the doctrine attributed to him of the independent and separate existence of "ideas." Aristotle, there is no doubt, takes for granted that such was his view, and combats it as such with great vigour in his *Metaphysics*. But the Stagyrite can hardly be trusted as a fair exponent of his master's teaching. It is true that Plato did call the ideas "eternal gods," but then he appears to have been speaking rhetorically, and in other places he subsumes them under "the Good." Anyhow, this can be said with truth, that Plato, by the vagueness of his expressions, and by his poetical style, has opened himself to the charge of having taught the doctrine vulgarly put down to him.

Regarding the Arabians, Avicenna's eternal world is proved away.* Avempace's "separate forms" are repudiated;† whilst the whole *rationale* of the *Summa* strikes straight against the method of Averroës, who prefers philosophy to the *dicta* of faith, teaches the "eternity of matter," denies the Providence of God, and His divine knowledge of individual existences.‡

This was one of the master-works of the Angelical, to remove the Greek and Arabian confusion regarding the relations of God and man, by establishing the creative act, by treating with scientific precision of the nature, attributes, and operations of the Creator, and of the conditions of human existence and human knowledge. How murky and misty are not the theology and philosophy of the most cultured of the Greeks compared with the splendid and luminous creation of the *Summa Theologica!*

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* See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., p.* 286.
† See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., p.* 287.
‡ See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., p.* 292—301.

CHAPTER VIII.

S. THOMAS AND REASON.

HAD not the Angelical thoroughly mastered the teachings of the Stagyrite, he never could have displayed so great a command in dealing with Greek philosophy. He was profoundly convinced that no lasting work could be effected without taking complete possession of the most sagacious and scientific thinker of antiquity.* He was well aware of the poisonous influences which had been brought into the Paris University through Eastern commentaries and paraphrases of the works of Aristotle. Albertus Magnus had done much, but he had not done everything. The Oriental mind, with its pantheistic tendencies, with

* The following *Opuscula*, which have been attributed to the Angelical, and which most probably are compilations from his larger works, are well worth consulting:—*Opusc. XLIV.*—De Totius Logicæ Aristotelis Summa, seu de Prædicabilibus, de Prædicamentis, de Enuntiatione, de Syllogismis et de Demonstratione, p. 50—118; *Opusc. XXXVIII.*—De Natura Accidentis, p. 5—7; *Opusc. XXXIX.*—De Natura Generis, p. 8—26, Vol. XVII.; *Opusc. XXXIII.*—De Quatuor Oppositis, p. 367—374; *Opusc. XXXVI.*—De Propositionibus Modalibus, p. 388—389, Vol. XVI.; *Opusc. XLIII.*—p. 50—53; *Opusc. XLVI.*—De Inventione Medii, p. 119—121, Vol. XVII.; *Opusc. XXXIV.*—De Demonstratione, p. 375—376; *Opusc. XXIV.*—De Fato, p. 321—327; Vol. XVI. The authenticity of all the above *Opuscula* is doubtful, except *Opusc.*

its sceptical or rationalistic bearing, with its mystic dreamings and dangerous asceticism, could not thoroughly be confronted without striking at the very root from which its errors chiefly sprang. As long as perilous tenets were brought forward on the authority of the "Philosopher," it was excessively difficult to meet them.* No writer could be cited on the other side who was equally revered; indeed, the very name of the master of Grecian thought was almost enough to secure respect for any doctrine, independent of its intrinsic conformity to the principles of sound

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XXXIII., and *Opusc. XXXVI.* Then, besides the Commentaries of the Angelical on Aristotle's philosophy, we have many independent studies, some held to be authentic, others of doubtful origin. The authentic ones are:—*Opusc. XXVII.*—De Principiis Naturæ, ad Fra. Sylvestrum, p. 338—342; *Opusc. XXV.*—De Principio Individuationis, p. 328—329; *Opusc. XXIX.*—De Mixtione Elementorum, ad Magistrum Philippum, p. 353—354; *Opusc. XXX.*—De Occultis Operibus Naturæ, p. 355—357; *Opusc. XXXI.*—De Motu Cordis, ad Magistrum Philippum, p. 358—360; *Opusc. XXXII.*—De Instantibus, p. 361—366; *Opusc. XXIII.*—De Æternitate Mundi (contra murmurantes), p. 318—320; *Opusc. XXXV.*—De Fallaciis (ad quosdam nobiles Artistas), p. 377—387; *Opusc. XXII.*—De Astrorum Judiciis, ad Fra. Reginaldum, p. 317, Vol. XVI.

These are doubtful, or spurious:—*Opusc. XXVIII.*—De Natura Materiæ et Dimensionibus Interminatis, p. 343—352; *Opusc. XL.*—De Potentiis Animæ, p. 27—34, Vol. XVI.; *Opusc. XLI.*—De Tempore, p. 35—40; *Opusc. XLII.*—De Pluralitate Formarum, p. 41—49; *Opusc. XLV.*—De Sensu Respectu Singularium, et Intellectu Respectu Universalium, p. 118; *Opusc. XLVII.*—De Natura Luminis, p. 120—121; *Opusc. XLVIII.*—De Natura Loci, p. 122—125; Vol. XVII.

* After speaking of the various evils produced by Pagan philosophy, Touron contiuues:—"C'est à tous ces maux que l'Ange de l'Ecole chercha un nouveau remède: il crut (et il avoit raison de le croire) qu'il rendroit un service important à toute l'Eglise, si par son travail il ôtoit à ses ennemis les armes, dont ils s'étoient longtems servis, et dont ils se servoient encore pour la combattre. Le dessein étoit digne d'un Docteur Catholique: mais le zèle, et les lumières de saint Thomas le conduisirent encore plus loin. Peu satisfait de désarmer l'ennemi; il tourna contre lui ses propres armes: il entreprit de faire servir à la défense, ou à la preuve-meme de la vérité, ce qui n'avoit été employé jusqu'alors par plusieurs, qu'à obscurcir toutes les vérités, et à faire regner à leur place le mensonge, et l'erreur." (*Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. IV., Chap. VI., p.* 395.)

reason. The Angelical, with his keen intelligence, perceived at once that the authority of the Stagyrite was a power in itself—that with a certain alloy of error, there was a fund of truth in his philosophy, that many of his writings had been tampered with dishonestly, and that not a few of the heresies attributed to him were in reality fathered upon him through the unfairness, misconceptions, or prejudice of Jewish or Oriental commentators. He saw distinctly that in more cases than can be mentioned, the points of difference between the Stagyrite and the tradition of the Scriptures could, without much difficulty, if treated in a conciliatory spirit, be harmonized; and that if the tendency of the commentator was to bring Greek philosophy into unison with Catholic teaching, and not to widen the breach as far as possible, then, instead of the Stagyrite being found to be an enemy to the doctrines of the Church, in many instances he would show himself their invaluable champion.*

* One of the most dangerous and fundamental errors which the Angelical combated, was contained in the proposition, that what was theologically true might be philosophically false, and what was philosophically false might be theologically true. "Wer die Schriften der Scholastiker liest, der wird gar häufig der Formel begegnen: 'es sei etwas wahr oder könne hingehen in der Philosophie und Theologie [Alb. Mag. *Summ. Theolog.*, *p.* 2, *tr.* 12, *qu.* 72, *m.* 4, *art.* 3. 'Procedunt secundum fidem catholicam et secundum philosophiam]; oder: 'es verstosse ein Satz sowohl gegen die Principien der Philosophie, als auch gegenden Glaubensinhalt [*S. Thom. De unit. intell. contr. Averroistas*, *p.* 471. (im Anhange zur Ausg. der Summa contr. gent. Nemausi 1853.) 'Intendimus autem probare, positionem prædictam (de unitate intellectus) non minus contra philosophiæ principia esse, quam contra fidei documenta]'; oder: 'es sei etwas irrthümlich nach der Philosophie, und häretisch nach dem Glauben.'" (Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, *Zweiter Band*, *Erster Abt.*, § 3, *p.* 11.)

Thus in all his writings the Angelical speaks with the profoundest reverence of the "Philosopher;" whenever an opportunity offers, he explains difficult passages of his writings in a Christian sense, whilst he uncompromisingly condemns them when he finds that they directly jar with the traditionary teaching of the Church.

There is something giant in all the Angelical's undertakings.* His wide, various, and accurate acquaintance with the great Latin and Greek classic fathers has been alluded to already; his incomparable mastery over the Sacred text, and his minute and detailed knowledge of the inspired writers, must already have deeply struck the reader's mind—his preparation, in one word, in the study of tradition and Scripture, for his crowning work, could hardly have been more full or more complete. His third great study of reason, or philosophy, is in keeping in its thoroughness with his labours on the elements of theologic truth. In his prison at S. Giovanni the Saint not only read the Scriptures and the Lombard, but he also earnestly applied himself to certain writings of the Stagyrite. His vast and profound Commentary on Aristotle's principal works is but

* "Les ouvrages philosophiques de Saint Thomas se sont trouvés, pendant cinq siècles, entre les mains de tous les régents de l'école, et ils ont été tant de fois imprimés pour leur usage, qu'on nous épargnera le soin de dresser la liste des éditions séparées qui en ont été faites : il nous suffira d'indiquer ici les quatre éditions des Œuvres complètes, publiées, la première, à Rome, en 1570, en 18 volumes in-folio ; la seconde, a Venise, en 1594 ; la troisième, à Anvers, en 1612 ; la quatrième, à Paris, en 1660." (Hauréau, *De la Philosophie Scholastique, Tom. II., Chap. XX., p.* 107.)

the full flower of that bud which germinated then. Perhaps, in the whole range of the writings of the Angelical, these labours on the Greek philosopher exhibit more brain power, more force of logic, more piercing vision, more indefatigable industry, and more devotedness to the one object of his life, than all the others put together. There is no mental fatigue equal to that of grasping and then expanding, of correcting and then harmonizing, the metaphysical or moral teachings of a really master-intellect.* Bright must have been the light of truth in the Angelic's mind, to have led him safe through the labyrinths and mazes of the Peripatetic teaching.

The Saint felt it would be useless to undertake the labour of a new Commentary, if he were obliged to content himself with the vitiated text which satisfied his less systematic predecessors.†

* How highly the Angelical's philosophical works were prized by the Doctors of the Paris University, is evident from the anxiety manifested at his death to secure even such portions as were imperfect. "Supplicamus," they say, "ut cum quædam ad Philosophiam spectantia, Parisiis inchoata ab eo, relicta sint imperfecta, et ipsum credamus, ubi translatus fuerat, complevisse, nobis benevolentia vestra cito communicari procuretis." (Vid. Touron, *Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. IV., Chap. VII., p.* 398.)

† "Unter den neuren Gelehrten hat zuerst Jourdain Thomas' Commentare, über welche Buhle (in dem ersten einleitenden Bande der Bipontiner Ausgabe des Aristoteles s. 346) ziemlich oberflächlich urtheilt, genauer durchsturdirt, und eine Anzal von Stellen namhaft gemacht, aus welchen hervorgeht, dass Thomas in jedem seiner Commentare neue griechische-lateinische Uebersetzungen zu Rathe zog. Wir lassen diese Stellen, um die eine oder andere nachträglich vermehrt, hier folgen. In dem Commentare über das Werk *De Interpretatione* macht er gleich zu den Anfangsworten: 'Primum oportet constituere, etc.' die Bemerkung: 'In Græco habetur: Primum oportet poni.' In Lect. 5 zu den Worten: 'Quare si hic quidem dicat futurum aliquid,' die Glosse: Im griechischen heisse es 'si itaque hic quidem.' Im Buch II., Lect. 2: 'Dico autem, quoniam,' etc. Hiezu die Glosse: 'Alia litera habetur: Dico autem, quoniam est, aut homini aut non homini adjacebit.' Alle diese Lescarten

Albertus Magnus had introduced him to the full value of Aristotle's writings, but even Albert, when commenting on the *Physics*, "*De Proprietatibus Elementorum*," "*De Cœlo et Mundo*," and "*De Meteoris*," had satisfied himself with a miserable translation of a translation—with a faulty Latin version of the Arabic, which had already been rendered from a still more faulty version of the Greek.* This did not satisfy the accurate intellect of a man who was bent on achieving a work of lasting value. A good translation directly from the Greek would simplify many difficulties, would sweep away many errors, and would have a chance of reproducing the author's mind; a version was consequently made for the Angelical's special use. How keenly he appreciated the minutest variation of expression, comes out again and again in his Expositions. He is never wearied of

gehören zu der Uebersetzung, welche den Commentar des Ammonius begleitet (*Manusc. Lat., Sorbonne*, 1775.) Im Commentar zu *Anal. Post.* kommen im Texte I., lect. 6 folgende Worte vor: 'Non potest autem credere magis quæ scit quæ non contingunt,' Thomas bemerkt: 'In Græco planius habetur sic: Non est autem possibile, credere magis his, quæ novit, qui non existit, nec sciens neque melius dispositus, quam si contigerit, sciens.' Im Commentar über die Physik gegen Ende des fünften Buches sagt Thomas: 'Ponit quædam ad manifestationem præmissorum, quæ tamen in exemplaribus græcis dicuntur non haberi, et Commentator (Averroës) etiam dicit, quod in quibusdam exemplaribus arabicis non habentur: unde magis videntur esse assumpta de dictis Theophrasti vel alicujus alterius expositoris Aristotelis . . . Secundum est, quod alia litera invenitur in hoc loco, quæ sic dicit: Quod quærat aliquis, utrum motui extra naturam contrarietur aliqua quies non secundum naturam; non quod quies, quæ est contra naturam, opponitur motui, qui est contra naturam proprie.' Diese letztere Leseart—bemerkt Jourdain a. a. O. S. 359—ist nicht die der arabisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung, und muss aus einer griechisch-lateinischen entnommen sein." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 407.)

* See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. VII., p.* 125—126.

collating one rendering with another, and of comparing the ordinary text from the Hebrew with what he finds in the various "*exemplaria*" from the Greek. It is clearly evident that whilst writing his Commentary on the *Metaphysics*, he must have had several different Greek copies lying open on his table. What greater work could genius undertake, than to grasp, purify, and Catholicize the most sagacious and masterly mind of the most gifted people of the world!

No philosophical training could have been more perfect, or more complete, than that of the Angelical.* He wrote many valuable *Opuscula*

* His keenness regarding the Greek translation, &c., is still more evident here :—"Im Buch VI., lect. 3, bemerkt er zu den in der lateinischen Uebersetzung erhaltenen griechischen Ausdrücken 'sphatesis' und 'cercisis' : 'Sphatesis est pulsio et cercisis est attractio. Spati enim in græco dicitur esse ensis vel spata ; unde sphatesis idem est quod spathatio i. e. percussio, quæ fit pellendo. Et ideo alia litera, quæ habet speculatio, videtur esse vitio scriptoris corrupta, quia pro spathatione posuit speculationem . . . Est autem cercis in Græco quoddam instrumentum, quo utuntur textores, quod ad se trahunt texendo, quod latine dicitur radius : unde alia litera habet radiatio.' Hinsichtlich des Werkes 'de cœlo et mundo' bemerkt Thomas, der Erste unter allen Erklärern : 'Apud Græcos intitulatur de mundo.' Diess konnte er nur aus einem griechischen Texte wissen ; von der Kentniss eines solchen zeugt seine Erklärung der griechischen Ausdrücke 'ethein, enchyridia, syntagmatica, acroamatica, philosophismata, dicothoma amphitrios' ; eben so sind die Ausdrücke 'myrias, astragalos jacere' aus der griechische-lateinischen Uebersetzung entnommen. Im B. II., l. 21 wird sorgfältig erörtert, ob in der Stelle : 'Quidam autem et positam in centro dicunt ipsam (terram) moveri' das Wort 'moveri' dem griechischen 'illecto' (eigentlich *εἱλεῖθαι*) entspreche ; es könnte, je nach verschiedenen Lesearten, auch 'alligari' oder 'prohiberi' gelesen werden müssen. Im B. II., l. 16 wird einer griechisch-lateinischen Uebersetzung der 'Syntaxis' des Ptolomäus gedacht, und demzufolge auch Hipparch, welchen Albert, Roger Baco u. A. nur unter dem nach arabischen Uebersetzungen gangbaren Namen Abraxis kennen, bei seinem rechten Namen genannt. In den Commentaren über die Bücher 'de Meteoris' finden sich statt der von Albertus aufgenommenen arabischen Ausdrücke nur griechische, als : 'phantasma, syngenea, dali, eges, bothin, cauma, pogonias, sphoraticæ stellæ, rheumatum' u. s. w. Des Hippokrates Schüler Æschylus und Pontus erscheinen unter ihren wahren Namen. Dass Thomas bei Erklärung der Bücher 'de anima' eine griechisch-lateinische Version vor sich hatte, ist aus seiner Glosse über einen von Aristoteles der Odyssee

on matters relating to logic, physics, and various branches of philosophy; but his master-pieces are his *Commentaria* on the principal metaphysical and physical labours of the Stagyrite. They fill four volumes of the Parma edition, occupy about two thousand four hundred pages, and in reality contain the subject-matter of the greater portion of his smaller *Opuscula* and brochures.

In these four volumes the Angel of the Schools cuts the ground from under the Eastern and Jewish commentators, and hands over Aristotle to the uses of the schools, purified of paganism, divested of Oriental colouring, Christianized from end to end, and conveying the true meaning of their author. Such was the philosophical apprenticeship which our Saint went through, of his own accord, as a preparation for writing the great *Summa Theologica*. A brief detailed account of his principal Commentaries will not be unacceptable.

The Exposition on the "*De Interpretatione*," or the "*Perihermenias*," does not extend beyond a hundred pages. The text is broken up into a certain number of divisions, and each of them is

entnommenen Vers: 'Talis est mens' . . . zu ersehen. Er sagt nämlich: 'Sciendum est autem, quod hunc versum Homeri Aristoteles non totum posuit, sed solum principium. Unde nec in Græco, nec in Arabico plus habetur, quam hic.' Weiters wird noch erwähnt, dass Boëthius den ganzen Vers in seine Uebersetzung aufgenommen habe. Der Commentar über die Metaphysik enthält sehr viele Varianten aus griechisch-lateinischen Uebersetzungen, deren Thomas stellenweise drei, häufig wenigstens zwei vor sich hatte, z. B. B. I, l. 4. 5. 6. 7; II, l. 11; III, l, 8, 11; IV, l. 7. 8. 9. 12; V, l. 22; VII, 17. Nach dem siebenten Buche findet sich keine Spur von Benutzung zweier Uebersetzungen." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 408.)

expounded in turn by the Angelical. His main scope is to make the sense of the author clear by means of analysis, illustration, and development. Boethius is often quoted, whilst Andronicus, Alexander, and Porphyry are referred to, either to elucidate the meaning, to give it an authority, or as vouchers to a certain method of interpretation. The object of the treatise is to show the logical value of words and of propositions.*

The same gift of seeing likenesses which the Angelical displays in his treatment of Scripture is manifested also in his Commentaries on the Stagyrite. He appears to possess quite as great a mastery over the voluminous writings of Aristotle as over the teachings of antiquity and the Sacred text, and is continually explaining one portion of the philosopher's disquisitions by more explicit statements drawn from his various works. Even in the short *Opusculum* before us

* The Angelical explains it somewhat in this way. The Philosopher says in his third book on the soul, that the operations of the intellect are two-fold ; by one of which the essence of a thing in itself is apprehended ; by the other the intellect brings together, or separates, those things which it has before it. And there is a third operation, to wit, reasoning : and by this the reason advances from known things to the discovery of the unknown. These three are related to each other. There can be no comparing together or separating without simple apprehensions ; and in the second place, the intellect proceeds from that to which it gives its consent, toward acquiring certainty about things of which it is ignorant. But since logic is a rational science it has to do with the above three operations of reason. Regarding the first, those things that are simply apprehended, Aristotle treats in his book of *Predicaments*. With respect to the second, namely, the affirmative and negative enunciation, he treats of that in his *Perihermenias*. The third operation is discussed in the *Liber Priorum*, and in those succeeding it, in which the syllogism and the various species of argumentation are treated of. The book of *Predicaments* leads to *De Interpretatione*, and this to the *Liber Priorum* and to those that follow it. (*Opp. S. Thomæ Aquinatis in Aristotelis Stagiritæ Commentaria, De Interpretatione, Lect. I., p.* 1, *Vol. XVIII.*)

he displays a familiar acquaintance with Andronicus, Theophrastus,* Ammonius,† Diodorus,‡ John the Grammarian,§ Algazel,‖ and Alexander.

Throughout his Commentaries the Saint proves himself to be a steady supporter of the doctrines of the Stagyrite, in opposition to the less substantial teachings of the Academy. ¶

Aristotle has hardly written a work of greater importance than the *Posterior Analytics*, if we regard his influence on the opinions of the middle ages. It forms one of those great fountains of learning from which Christian philosophers so freely drew, and which acted with such powerful effect upon the whole method of their philosophical speculations.

What object had the Stagyrite in view when writing this work? Nothing less than a treatise on demonstration, on the first principles of knowledge, and on that frame-work upon which science ought to rest. It is on this fundamental question that Aristotle parts company with Plato. Whilst the latter confuses demonstration with

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* See S. Thomæ Aquinatis *in Aristotelis Stagiritæ Libros Commentaria, De Interpretatione, Lib. II., Lect. II., p.* 41.

† *Ibidem.*

‡ *Loc. Cit., Lib. II., Lect. XIV., p.* 34.

§ *Loc. Cit., Lib. I., Lect. VI., p.* 13.

‖ *Loc. Cit., Lib. I., Lect. VIII., p.* 18.

¶ See S. Thomæ Aquinatis *in Aristotelis Stagiritæ Libros Commentaria, Posteriorum Analyticorum Lib. I., Lect. II., p.* 4; *Lib. I., Lect. VI., p.* 14; *Lib. I., Lect. X., p.* 23; *Lib. I., Lect. XIX., p.* 118; *Lib. I., Lect. XXX., p.* 141; *Lib. I., Lect. XXXII., p.* 149; *Lib. II., Lect. III., p.* 187; *De Physico Auditu, Lib. II., Lect. III., p.* 266; *Lib. III., Lect. XI., p.* 319; *Lib. IV., Lect. III., p.* 328; *Lib. VII., Lect. VI., p.* 460; *Lib. VII., Lect. VIII., p.* 467.

order in the realm of fact, the former draws a sharp line between proofs of fact and proofs of speculation. The Platonic doctrine of reminiscence melts into air when brought into contact with the theory of the Stagyrite. Aristotle shows how all demonstration implies certain principles, which are elicited from generalizations which are the product of careful observation.

The *Posterior Analytics*, with the Thomistic Commentary, consist of two books;* the first

* The Angelical, as is usual with him, at once hits on the logical sequence in the writings of Aristotle. He says that the parts of logic are divided according to the different acts of the reason. Reason has three acts, of which the two first are of the reason in its intellectual capacity; for one act of the intellect consists in the intelligence of indivisible or simple things, according to which it conceives what a thing is. This operation is called by some information of the intellect, or of the imagination by means of the intellect. The teaching of Aristotle in the book of *Predicaments* has reference to this operation. The second operation of the intellect is the composition or division of the subject in which truth or falsity lies; and with regard to this act of the reason Aristotle wrote his work "*Perihermenias.*" The third act of the reason is that which specially belongs to the reason itself, namely, the proceeding from one thing to another, so that through that which is known the mind may come to a knowledge of what is unknown; and the rest of the books upon logic treat upon this subject.

Now, there are three acts of the reason. There is a certain process of the reason producing necessity, in which truth cannot possibly be deficient, and by this process the certainty of science is acquired: there is another process of the reason which elicits truth from many things, but not necessarily: and there is a third process, in which reason deflects from the truth on account of the deficiency of some principle which ought to have been observed in the process itself.

That part of logic which has to do with the first is called the *judicative* portion, because the judgment possesses the certainty of science. And because there can be no certain judgment elicited without resolving the subject-matter into its first principles, this part is called *analytical*, or *resolutory*. Now the certainty of judgment which is got at by analysis proceeds either from the form itself of the syllogism—and to this end the *Prior Analytics* were written, which treat of the syllogism simply,—or from the subject-matter as well, when the propositions are taken *per se*, and are necessary; and to this end the *Posterior Analytics* were written, which explain the *demonstrative* syllogism. The second process of reason is treated of in that portion of logic which is called *inventive*—for discovery is not always accompanied by certainty. *Topics* or *Dialectics* have to do with that position of the reason which holds one out of many

divided into forty-four *Lectiones*, the second into twenty. They treat upon the essence of demonstration, its conditions, kinds, and upon the most apt and useful figure into which it can be thrown; then on the various forms of ignorance, on the terms of demonstrative propositions, on the different sorts of demonstration with their relations to one another, on the relation of science to certainty, sense, and opinion, and on the fundamental principles of syllogistic reasoning.

Take, as a specimen of the Angelical's treatment,

contradictory propositions, but with fear of the opposite, for the *dialectical* syllogism has to do with probabilities, and Aristotle treats of this in his book of *Topics*. When the mind is merely possessed by a suspicion, and neither inclines altogether to one side or the other, though its tendency is more towards one than the other, then *Rhetoric* comes in its place. When the mind is moved on one side by some representation, as a man would be turned with disgust from food, for example, if it were presented to him in some abominable shape, then *Poetics* find place. To the third process of reason belongs that part of Logic called *Sophistry*, which Aristotle treats of in his *Liber Elenchorum*. Having explained the bearing of the logical works of Aristotle upon each other—and thus manifesting the pains he had taken to master them,—the Angelical, with his usual lucidity, shows the object of these *demonstrative* syllogisms; and since what he says on this point lets a great light into the general bearing of the work in hand, no apology will be necessary for bringing it before the reader. The end of the *demonstrative* syllogism, he says, is the acquisition of science. Plato taught that the syllogism does not cause science in us, but maintained that it is produced by the impression of ideal forms in our souls; and that from these, natural forms flow into natural things, which he held to be certain participations of forms separated from matter, and that therefore natural agents do not produce forms in inferior things, but do no more than prepare matter for participating in separate forms. And in like manner he maintained that science is not caused in us by study and exercise, but simply that impediments are removed, and that man is, as it were, brought back to the remembrance of those things which he naturally knows, through the impression of separate forms. But Aristotle holds a different opinion on both points. He shows that natural forms are reduced to act by the forms which are in matter, that is to say, by the forms of natural agents; and in like manner he maintains that knowledge is produced in us in act by the agency of a certain knowledge pre-existing in us, and this is the way in which knowledge is produced in us by means of syllogism or of any kind of argument. *(Post. Anal., Lib. I., Lect. I., p. 85, Vol. XVIII.)*

the question of reminiscence, which was one of the favourite doctrines of the Platonists :—

In demonstrations, says Aristotle, principles bear the same relation to their conclusions, as active causes in the natural order bear to their effects. Hence, in the second book of *Physics*, the propositions of a syllogism come under the denomination of efficient cause. Before an effect is produced in act, it exists in the active causes virtually, but not actually ; and in the same way, before a conclusion is deduced from demonstrative principles it is virtually, not actually, known in the principles themselves.

Thus a certain doubt is solved which Plato introduced into his *Mennon*. Plato there gives the example of a man altogether ignorant of the art of geometry.* This man is asked questions, beginning from principles that are self-evident, and from which geometrical conclusions follow. To all these questions this man, ignorant of geometry, gives the right answer, from the first principles down to the last conclusion. From this Plato would have it follow, that those who appear ignorant of certain arts, in reality possess a knowledge of them even before they have been instructed in them. With regard to this argument, says the Angelical, Aristotle makes four remarks. First, that the above doubt cannot be solved without admitting that the conclusion arrived at by demonstration or induction was foreknown, not absolutely, but virtually, in those principles to which the man was capable of answering. According to Plato, the conclusion was absolutely *(simpliciter)* foreknown ; so that the man learnt nothing new at all, but simply remembered something old. Anaxagoras taught a similar doctrine regarding natural forms, namely, that they absolutely existed in matter before generation ; but Aristotle held that they pre-existed *in potentia*, and not

* This pre-existing knowledge of which Aristotle and the Angelical speak is treated of in a very interesting manner in the third *lectio*. *(Post. Anal., Lect. III., p.* 88—89, *Vol. XVIII.)*

absolutely. Secondly, Aristotle replies to those who maintain that a conclusion can in no way be known anterior to the demonstration of it. Then he proves their position to be false; and finally offers the true solution. He says there is nothing to prevent a person in one sense foreknowing, and in another not foreknowing something which he at present learns. There is nothing strange in a man foreknowing, in a certain sense, that which he afterwards learns: but this would be strange, for him to foreknow a thing in the same sense in which he afterwards acquires a knowledge of it. Strictly speaking, to learn, means for science to be generated in a man; but that which is generated was not altogether being before generation, but only in a certain sense being, and in a certain sense not being—being, that is, *in potentia*, but not being, *in act.* Now, to generate, is to realize *potentia* in act. Hence what a man learns was not altogether known beforehand, as Plato maintained, nor yet altogether unknown; but it was known *in potentia*, or virtually, in the foreknown universal principles, but unknown actually in the proper sense of the word. To learn, therefore, is this: to reduce potential, or virtual, or universal knowledge, to specific and actua knowledge.*

What is the subject-matter of demonstration?

Since demonstration and definition have to do with eternal things, and not with corruptible things, Plato was forced to maintain the doctrine of ideas. Since sensible things are corruptible, it seemed that they could neither be demonstrated nor defined; and so it appeared necessary to affirm the existence of certain incorruptible substances which could be demonstrated and defined, and these eternal substances he calls species or ideas. This view occurred to Aristotle when he said that corruptible things cannot be demonstrated except *per accidens.* For although sensible

* Vid. *Comment. in Post. Anal., Lect. III., p.* 89, *Vol. XVIII.*

things are corruptible in particular, still they possess a certain eternity in the universal. So since sensible things are demonstrated universally, and not in particular, it follows that corruptible things are demonstrated only *per accidens*, and eternal things *per se.* *

But how is this science acquired ?

There is a two-fold method of acquiring science: one by means of demonstration, and another by means of induction. But there is a difference between these: for demonstration proceeds from universals, whilst induction proceeds from particulars. If the universals from which demonstration proceeds can be known without induction, it follows that man can have knowledge independent of the senses. But without induction it is impossible to get at universals; and this is still more manifest in sensible things, for through our particular experience of them we arrive at universal knowledge, as is manifest in the first book of *Metaphysics*. Then the Angelical proceeds to show that abstract knowledge depends upon induction. Those things which are spoken of in the abstract sense are also known by induction, for in all abstraction there are some particulars which are inseparable from sensible matter. Although a line in the abstract is called a line in common, still the line, which is in sensible matter, in so far forth as it is individualized, cannot be abstracted, for its individualization depends on this particular matter. The principles of abstract things are only manifested to us by means of certain individuals which we perceive with our senses; for instance, from seeing some individual sensible entity we are led to know what a whole is, and what a part; and we know that every whole is greater than its part, by considering the fact in many instances. And thus the universals from which demonstration proceeds are only known to us

* Vid. *Comment. in Post. Anal., Lib. I., Lect. XVI., p.* 113, *Vol. XVIII.*

through induction. No demonstration can be made from universals without induction ; nor can anything be known by induction without the senses, which are concerned with the individuals from which induction proceeds. Thus two things are excluded. The position of Plato, who affirmed that we have knowledge of things by means of species or ideas ; for if this were true we should know universals apart from induction, and thus we could acquire knowledge independent of the senses. Hence Aristotle uses this argument against Plato at the end of the first book of *Metaphysics*. The second position maintains that we can know separate substances in this life from understanding their *quiddities*, a knowledge which cannot be acquired in any way by sensible experiences. If the essences of objects could thus be apprehended, it would follow that some objects could be known without induction and sensation, which the philosopher here denies even of abstract things.*

But what does demonstration add to the syllogism ?

Demonstration adds science to the syllogism. Intellection is compared to science as the indivisible to multitude, for science is a process from principles to conclusions, while intellection is an absolute and simple acceptation of principles known in themselves. Hence intellection corresponds to the immediate proposition, and science to the conclusion, which is the mediate proposition. †

How do we know the common and first principles of demonstration ?

The habits of principles do not exist in us, says the Angelical on the Stagyrite, in a determinate and complete manner, nor are they created anew by certain better known pre-existing habits—as the habit of science is generated

* Vid. *Comment. in Post. Anal., Lib. I., Lect. XXX., p.* 140—141.
† *Ibidem, XXXVI., p.* 157.

in us by the foreknowledge of principles, but the habits of principles are in us *a sensu præexistente.* Aristotle gives as an example of his meaning the case of an army put to flight returning to the charge. When one soldier begins to stand another joins him, and then another, until a sufficient number is collected to begin the contest anew. So with sense and memory—one thing is added to another, till at length that point is arrived at when art or science begins. Some might think that sense or memory of individual things alone suffices to cause an intelligible knowledge of principles—as some of the ancients held,—not distinguishing between sense and intellect. To exclude this view the Philosopher added that, together with sense, such a soul must be supposed as is susceptible of universal knowledge through the instrumentality of the passive intellect, and so, that this knowledge be created by the operation of the active intellect, which realizes intelligible things by abstracting universals from particulars.*

The Commentary on "*De Physico Auditu*" is another important work.† It occupies eight books.‡

* *Lib. II., Lect. XX., p.* 224—225.

† *De Physico Auditu seu Physicorum, Lib. VIII., p.* 216—538, *Vol. XVIII.*

‡ The Angelical gives, in his usual way, the bearing of the various books of Aristotle upon each other in their treatment of motion. *Mathematics*, he says, treats of those things which depend on sensible matter *secundum esse*, but not *secundum rationem*. *Physics* treats of those things which depend on matter not only *secundum esse*, but *secundum rationem* also. And because everything that partakes of matter is moveable, it follows that moveable being is the subject of *Natural Philosophy;* for natural philosophy treats of natural things. Natural things are those whose principle is nature, but nature is the principle of motion and rest in the thing in which it is. Natural science, then, treats of those things which contain within themselves the principle of motion. To avoid repetition, those things which have to do with moveable being in common are treated of in a book of *Natural Science*, just as *Philosophia prima*, which treats of things which are common to being, as being, precedes the treatment of sciences in particular; and this is the book of *Physics*, which is also called, "*Of Physics or of Natural Hearing*," because the information in it was conveyed to the hearers by way of instruction. Its subject-matter is moveable being *simpliciter*. I do not say moveable *body*, because this book proves that every moveable is a body. Other books on natural science follow this one, in which the different kinds of motion are treated of. For instance, in the book "*De Cœlo*," moveable things are discussed in respect to local motion, which is the first species of motion. In the

The first is replete with interest, dwelling on the opinions of the ancients, giving rules for method, criticising "Being," and entering into the theory of matter, form, and privation, accounting for the last on the principle of contraries, and showing the difference between matter and privation.* The systems of Parmenides, Melissus, and Anaxagoras are refuted. In the second book the nature of physical creation is treated of, the meaning of the term is defined, and is proved to be the principle

book on *Generation*, motion is treated of in relation to form, and the first elements of motion are discussed, with regard to transmutations in general. Their special transmutations are treated of in the Book of *Meteors*. The book of *Minerals* treats of mixed inanimate movements, and their consequences. To this book the Philosopher attaches a preface, in which he shows the order of procedure in natural science. *(De Physico Auditu, Lib. I., Lect. I., p.* 227, *Vol. XVIII.)*

* What about the great scholastic's theory of matter, form, and privation ?

Whatever is made, is, and is made of subject and form ; therefore subject and form are *per se* the causes and the principles of all that is made according to nature. That those things which are made according to nature are made of subject and form he [Aristotle] proves in this fashion. Those elements into which the definition of a thing is resolved are the components of that thing, because everything is resolved into those things of whch it is composed. But the constituents *(ratio)* of that which is made according to nature are resolved into subject and form, for the constituents of a musician are resolved into that of man, and that of musician. He who would define a musician must give the definition of man and of musician, therefore that which is made according to nature is made according to subject and form. So form and subject are principles *per se* of that which is made according to nature, but privation or *contrarium* is the principle *per accidens*, inasmuch as it is accidental to the subject ; as we say that the builder is the active cause of the house, *per se*, but the musician is the active cause of the house, *per accidens*, inasmuch as the builder happens to be a musician. And so man is the cause *per se*, as the subject of the musician, whilst non-musician is its cause and principle *per accidens*. But some one may object that privation does not happen to the subject when it is under a form, and so privation is not the principle of being *per accidens*. Therefore it must be said that matter is never without privation, because when it has one form, it suffers the privation of another form ; so that whilst a thing is becoming that which it is to be, that is to say, as long as it does not possess its form, it suffers a privation, of music, for example, in the case of the musician ; so the principle *per accidens* of a musician *in fieri* is non-musician. But when he receives this form he undergoes the privation of another form, and so the privation of an opposite form is the principle

of rest and motion. The four species of causes which comprise nature are developed, and all things are shown to have their substance, form, motion, and end ; whilst chance, fortune, accidental causes, and their effects, come under consideration. The third book undertakes to explain that one grand influence which runs all through the speculations of scholasticism—the theory of motion. The view of Anaxagoras is upset, the celebrated definition of motion is given, as consisting of passing from potentiality to act ; whilst time, space, and infinity are treated of, as necessary to the elucidation of the Aristotelic theory. The fourth book deals with place, time, and the *vacuum*, according to the opinion of the ancients, and also according to the teaching of Aristotle himself. The four following books are principally occupied with disquisitions upon motion. They dwell on its different species, on its unity and plurality, on the difference between motion and rest. Accidental, partial, and absolute motion are spoken of—phrases which are continually met with in the philosophy of the schools ; the five elements of motion are discussed ; its three categories—place, quantity, and quality—are enlarged upon ;

per accidens of his being what he is. Hence it is clear, according to the teaching of Aristotle, that privation, which is a principle of nature *per accidens*, does not consist in a certain aptitude for receiving a form, nor is it the beginning of a form, or any imperfect active principle, but it is the absence itself of form, or the contrary of that form which happens at the time being to possess the subject. *(Physic. Lib. II., Lect. XIV., p.* 253, *Vol. XVIII.)*

the four kinds of motion in space, proceeding from some external agency, are given ; and motion is divided into two grand divisions of natural and unnatural. The first class of motion is either in a right line, or in a circle, or mixed. Of these the circular is the perfect form, it alone is continuous, and is that of the prime-mover, who is indivisible and without magnitude. The first *Lectio* of the seventh book is instructive, as evincing how carefully the Angelical deals with the opinions of learned commentators and with their various forms of mental error. He shows how Galen was deceived by an equivocation into opposing Aristotle's doctrine on motion. He states the doctrines of Avicenna and of Averroës, and displays a profound acquaintance with their writings. The third *Lectio* proves that there must be a first mover, and a first thing moved. In the eighth book an inquiry, full of interest, is made into the "*primum mobile*," the first mover, and the first movement, and the Saint defends the Stagyrite against the false interpretations of his works by Averroës, which, if followed, would throw his writings into great confusion.*

The Angelical did not complete his Commentary

* See *Lib. VIII., Lect. I., p.* 472, *and Lib. VIII., Lect. XXI., p.* 531, where he proves Averroës to have spoken *contra Aristotelis intentionem et contra veritatem.* See his relations to Avicenna, *Lib. II., Lect. I., p.* 262 ; *Lib. VII., Lect. I., p.* 447 : to Averroës, *Lib. V., Lect. VII., p.* 338 ; *Lib. V., Lect. XII., p.* 351 : to Themistius, *Lib. VI., Lect, V., p.* 420 : to Galen, Avicenna, Averroës, *Lib. VII., Lect. I., p.* 447, *Vol. XVIII.*

"*De Cœlo et Mundo.*" * In point of fact this work is a continuation of the one on Physics, and has very little to do with Astronomy. † What is the Angelical's general view of the order of sciences? He draws it out clearly in his *Prooemium*.

The philosopher says, in his First Book of *Physics*, that we are said to know a thing when we are acquainted with its first causes, its first principles, and its elements; and by this he clearly shows that there is an orderly progression in sciences, advancing from first causes and principles to proximate ones; and this is according to reason, for the progress of sciences is the work of reason, whose specialty it is to reduce things

* *De Cœlo et Mundo, Lib. IV., p.* 1—207, *Vol. XIX.*

The Parma edition gives a full Commentary on the three first books, and three chapters of the fourth. Werner says that S. Thomas only commented on the two first fully; and only got as far as Chapter IV. of the eighth *Lectio* in the third. This probably proceeds from his having used the *Weise* edition. (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 443.)

† Speaking of the *De Cœlo*, the Angelical says, in this work certain things are treated of which have to do with the whole universe, as is evident from the first book; certain things which have to do with the heavenly body, as is seen in the second; and things regarding other simple bodies, as is evident in the third and fourth. And so this work is reasonably placed first, after the book on *Physics;* and on this account, in the beginning of the same, body is treated of, to which all that has been said in the book of *Physics* concerning motion has to be applied; and because different things are dwelt on in this treatise, a doubt arose amongst the ancient expositors of Aristotle as to its subject-matter. Alexander thought that the principal scope was the universe itself; others said, on the contrary, the principal object of the work was the heavenly body, which gyrates in a circle, and on this account it was called *De Cœlo.* And other bodies are treated of in it also, inasmuch as they are contained by the heavens, and are subject to their influence, as Jamblicus affirms; or they are touched upon by accident, inasmuch as a knowledge of other bodies is assumed, to elucidate what is said of the heavens, as Sirianus held. But this does not seem probable: because, after the philosopher had treated of the heavens in the second book, he goes on to treat of other simple bodies in the third and fourth, as if intending them to form the principal subject-matter. For the philosopher was not in the habit of considering those things as the principal part of a science, which are assumed *per accidens.* And so it seemed to others, as Simplicius says, that the intention of the philosopher, in this work, was to treat of simple bodies, inasmuch as they can be connoted as such: and because the principal amongst simple bodies are the heavens—upon which the rest depend—this work is called *De Cœlo.* And, as he remarks, there is no difficulty in the fact of things being treated of here which belong to the whole universe, because their conditions have a bearing on the universe,

into order. So in every work of reason a certain rule is observable, according to which a thing advances from one stage to another; and this is seen in the practical order, which relates to things which we make ourselves, as well as in the speculative, which has to do with what is not made by us. Progress in the practical order is fourfold. First of all, in the order of apprehension, as an architect first apprehends the form of a house, and then realizes it in matter. Secondly, in order of intention, according to which he proposes to complete the whole building. Thirdly, in the order of composition, by which he first hews the stones, and then fixes them together into one wall. Fourthly, in the order of sustaining the building, according to which he lays the foundation upon which the different portions of the fabric are to stand.

A fourfold order likewise is found in speculation. First of all, according as progress is made from common things to less common, and this order, in its manner, corresponds to the first—that is, of apprehension; for universals are considered according to their absolute form, and particulars in the

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inasmuch as they belong to the heavenly body; for instance, to be infinite, and sempiternal, and things of that sort. If the principal design of the philosopher was to treat of the universe, or of the world, Aristotle would have to extend his consideration to all parts of the world, as far as plants and animals, as Plato did in his *Timæus*. And in this way we can argue against Simplicius, because if Aristotle principally intended to treat of simple bodies in this work, he would have to treat of everything which has to do with simple bodies in it. But only those things which have to do with the lightness and heaviness of bodies are spoken of: whilst other points are considered in the book on *Generation*. Hence it seems more reasonable to say, with Alexander, that the subject-matter of this treatise is the universe itself, which is called heaven or world: and that simple bodies are treated of, inasmuch as they are constitutive portions of the universe. The corporeal universe is made up of its parts, according to the order of place (*situs*); and therefore only those portions of the universe are treated of in this book, which first, and *per se*, have position in the universe: that is, simple bodies. Hence the four elements, inasmuch as they are hot and cold, and so on, are not mentioned in this work, but only in respect of their weight, and lightness, by which their position in the universe is determined. The position of other parts of the universe, such as stones, plants, and animals, is not determined *secundum se*, but in relation to simple bodies; so they have not to be treated of here at all. And this agrees with what the Latins have been accustomed to say, that this work treats of moveable body, according to position or place, for this motion is common to all parts of the universe.

application of the form to matter. The second order corresponds to the order of intention, inasmuch as the whole is thought of before the parts. The third order proceeds from simple to composite, inasmuch as composites are known by simple things, and corresponds to the order of composition. The fourth order, according to which the principal parts are first considered, *e.g.*, the heart and the liver before the arteries and blood, corresponds to that practical order which first lays the foundations.

And this fourfold order enters into natural science. For first those things which are common to nature are determined in the book of *Physics*, in which moveable body is treated of inasmuch as it is moveable. Hence it remains for other books on natural science to apply these principles to their proper subjects.

The subject of motion is magnitude and body, because nothing is moved except quantity. But three other orders must be regarded in bodies. First, inasmuch as the whole corporeal universe comes into consideration before its parts. Then, inasmuch as simple bodies are considered before mixed ones. Thirdly, inasmuch as—amongst simple bodies—the heavenly ones, by which all the rest are formed, must be taken into account first; and these three things are considered in this book, which is entitled "*De Cælo*" by the Greeks.

The work "*De Cœlo et Mundo*," with its Commentary, occupies over two hundred pages, and is divided into four books; the first, twenty chapters; the second, twenty-eight; the third, twelve; and the fourth, three.

The first book treats of substance, with its three dimensions, and touches upon motion, which is either straight, or in a circle, or a compound of both. Straight motion is either up, going from a centre, or down, tending to a centre. What goes

up is light, and what goes down is heavy. One of the great errors in natural science made by the ancients is here reproduced, namely, that weight and lightness are absolute qualities of bodies ; not *relations*, as we know them to be, between bodies and the centre of the earth.* The second book discusses, with much fulness, the contrarieties in space ; right, left, and so on ; like weight and lightness, these are made out to be not *relative* but positive qualities. It speaks of the perpetuity of heaven, its various parts, its figure and motions ; then of the nature of the stars, their motion, sound, order, position, and figure ; and, finally, of the movement, rest, and figure of the earth. The third book treats of the opinions of the ancients regarding the generation and corruption of natural things, both respecting composite and simple bodies, and reciprocal generation of the elements,

* What does the Angelical say upon the theory of the Stagyrite regarding the incorruptible nature of the heavens?

With regard to this there is a double question, says the Saint ; first regarding Aristotle's position, placing the *corpus cœli* as incapable of being generated, and incorruptible ; and then regarding his reason. With regard to the first, some declared the body of the heaven, of its nature, to be generable and corruptible, as John the Grammarian held, who is called Philoponus ; and to prove his point, in the first place, he uses the authority of Plato, who held that the heaven was generated as well as the whole world. Then he gives his reason. All the power of a finite body is finite, as is proved in the eighth book of *Physics*, but finite power cannot extend to infinite duration ; therefore a thing cannot be moved for an infinite time by a finite power : therefore the heavenly body has not the power to be infinite in duration. Thirdly, he thus objects. In every natural body there is matter and privation, as is evident from the first Book of *Physics*. But wherever there is matter with privation there is capability of corruption ; therefore the heavenly body is corruptible. The Angelical answers these arguments by explaining Plato's meaning ; and brings a proof from Averroës to upset the objections stated, explaining the matter himself in the sense of Aristotle. But he is careful not to follow him in any way that could impinge on faith.

which some maintained, is argued against. As in the other books, the theories of the ancients are discussed, and the teaching of Aristotle defended with great ingenuity. Parmenides, Melissus, Euclid, and the "theological poet" Hesiod, are referred to by the Saint. The fourth book treats of the nature and differences and other qualities of gravity and levity, which are made to be both relative and absolute. But the Angelical only got as far as the end of the fourth chapter, if in reality the Commentary on the third and fourth book, attributed to him by some writers, was made by him at all.

The treatise "*De Generatione et Corruptione*" falls into two books.* The Exposition is thrown into twenty-five and twelve chapters respectively, but since the views here treated of have, for the most part, been touched upon already, there is no call for a prolonged examination of them. The various systems of the ancients regarding alteration, augmentation, touch, action, and passion, and fusion or admixtion, are explained in the first book; in the second the principles, number, and generation of the elements and of mixed things, together with the causes of generation and corruption, come under consideration.

The work "*De Meteorologia*"† is in four books, and is one of the most curious of Aristotle's

* *De Generatione et Corruptione, Lib. II., p.* 208—209, *Vol. XIX.*
† *De Meteorologia, Lib. IV., p.* 300—441, *Vol. XIX.*

treatises on physical nature. Here the Angelical simply follows the philosopher, and dividing each book into a certain number of *Lectiones*, he gives a brief exposition on the teaching of the Stagyrite.

The Commentary on "*De Anima*"* in all occupies over four hundred and forty pages.† The

* *De Anima, Libb. III., p.* 1—144, *Vol. XX.*

† The next portion of our Saint's commentaries upon Aristotle is that which has to do with anthropological science. The plan which appears to be followed in this by the Stagyrite is as follows. In the first place there are three books "*De Anima*," which treat of the soul in general. Then comes the "*Parva Naturalia*," which has to do with the powers and functions of the soul in detail. Now the soul can be looked upon in three lights in its relation to the body, viz., as the vivifying, moving, and sentient principle of the same. With regard to the soul as principle of life, there are the treatises "*De Morte et Vita*," "*De Juventute et Senectute*;" and those two other works which are no longer extant, "*De Sanitate et Aegritudine*," and "*De Nutrimento et Nutribili*." Regarding the soul as the principle of motion, there are "*De Causis Motus Animalium*," and "*De Progressu Animalium*." With respect to the sensitive soul there are "*De Sensu et Sensato*," "*De Memoria et Reminiscentia*," and "*De Somno et Vigilia*." It is natural for those treatises to follow immediately upon the books "*De Anima*," which have to do with operations in which the soul has the larger share; as well as the treatises "*De Sensu et Sensato*," "*De Memoria et Reminiscentia*," together with "*De Somno et Vigilia*"—treatises which are connected with freedom and the operations of the sensitive soul. Upon these S. Thomas made commentaries, as well as upon the treatises "*De Somniis*" and "*De Divinatione per Somnium*," but he has left no elucidations of the other minor works of the Stagyrite. (See Werner, *Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 456.)

The treatise "*De Anima*" has two grand divisions. The first treats of and tests the views of the philosophers laid down before the time of Aristotle. This is done in the first book, which goes into the nature of the vital principle, shows it is only one, touches on the principle of motion, demonstrates that the soul is not moved by external agency, but is self-moved, and discusses the relation of life to the soul, and to the various functions of the creature. In the second grand division (*Books II. and III.*), the essence of the soul in general is treated of (*Book II., Lect. I.—IV.*), then the powers of the soul in general (*Lect. V.—VI.*), and in particular (*Book II., Lect. VII.; Book III., Lect. XVIII.*); finally, the vegetative soul (*Book II., Lect. VII.—X.*), the sensitive soul (*Book II., Lect. X.; Book III., Lect. VI.*), the intellectual (*Book III., Lect. VII.—XIII.*), and the moving or active soul (*Book III., Lect. XIII.—XVI.*); and then (*Book III., Lect. XVII.—XVIII.*) their relations one to another. (See Werner, *Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 456.)

Some of the most important points touched upon are those respecting the difficult question of life—which is defined by Aristotle "the primary reality of an organism,"—the relations of organism and vitality, the meaning of life; and the life of plants, of animals, and

length of the *Lectiones* varies, and the reference to ancient writers is not so frequent as in most of the Saint's other works. Catholic truth and the prevalent errors of the day are never forgotten, and the false teaching of the Arabian commentators is carefully exposed. It was one of the great works of the Angelical to clear Aristotle from the bad character which his writings had acquired, on account of prejudiced minds perceiving not his, but their own doctrines in his writings.

For example, in the seventh *Lectio* of the third book it is shown, that though to understand is, as it were, to feel, still intellect and sense are altogether distinct; that intellect is incorporeal, unmixed, and impassible, and different from sense, and not a separate substance. Upon this the famous opinion started by Averroës regarding the oneness of the intellect is argued against by the Saint. He not merely proves the impossibility of understanding at all, according to the theory of Averroës, but what is perhaps still more to the purpose, shows that the commentator had altogether misunderstood Aristotle, and set him in contradiction with himself.

After stating arguments which have already

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of the human soul. Then there are questions concerning touch, taste, passion, volition, and appetite, the relations of life to the body; nutrition, sensibility, sight, hearing, perception, and so on of the rest; then, intellect, the energy of the soul, the powers of self-motion in the soul, the gifts of inferior animals, the graduated perfection of the organism, and many other deeply interesting subjects which it would take too long to enumerate.

been given against the Averroistic theory, he says :—

There are many more arguments which could be brought against this position, which we have treated with greater care in another place.* But here one fact suffices: that it follows from this position that man is not able in reality to understand at all. It is moreover manifest that this view is contrary to the intention of the philosopher; and, first of all, because he is engaged here in an enquiry concerning a *part* of the human soul. For it is in this way that he begins the treatise: hence it is manifest that the passive intellect is part of the soul, and not a separate substance. The same again follows from this: that he proceeds to enquire if the intellect be separable or not from the other parts of the soul. Hence it is clear that his process stands good, even if the intellect be not actually separable from other parts of the soul. Again, by this: because he says that the intellect is that by which the soul understands. All these things show that Aristotle does not teach that the intellect is separate, as separate substances are. It is wonderful how men could so easily have been led into error on account of his saying that the intellect is separate, since the true meaning is clear when his words are taken literally. He calls the intellect separate because it has no organ, as the senses have; and it so happens on this account because the human soul by reason of its nobility transcends the faculty of a material body, and cannot be wholly included in it. Hence a certain action remains to it with which corporeal matter has nothing to do; and on this account its power with regard to this action possesses no corporeal organ, and thus it is a separate intellect. †

Again: he defends truth and the doctrine of

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* *In Opusc. XV., De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroistas, p.* 208–224, *Vol. XVI.*

† *Comment. De Anima, Lib. III., Lect. VII., p.* 117, *Vol. XX.*

Aristotle against Avicenna. Having stated the teaching of the Stagyrite on the action of the passive intellect, he says :—

> It is manifest from what is said here that the opinion held by Avicenna against Aristotle concerning the intelligible species is false. Avicenna maintained that the species are not preserved in the passive intellect, and are only in it when it actually understands. According to him, whenever it actually understands it turns itself to a separate active intellect, from which intelligible species flow into it.*

The Saint then goes on to show Aristotle's real view, proving it to be altogether different from that of Avicenna.†

He does the same in the tenth *Lectio;* carefully distinguishes the true teaching of Aristotle, combats the dangerous theories of those who would separate the soul and its organs of knowledge, and keeps the doctrines of psychology within their proper limits of truth and safety. The Saint deserves all the more praise for this, inasmuch as there is little doubt that the Aristotelic system was not so accurately stated as to leave no plausible grounds for the Arabian interpretations; indeed it is not too much to say that its expressions were sufficiently vague to lead men, whose minds were biassed in a certain direction, to see their own

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* "Contra quod manifeste hic Philosophus dicit, quod intellectus reducitur in actum specierum, per modum, quo sciens actu, adhuc est in potentia intelligens. Cum enim intellectus actu intelligit, species intelligibiles sunt in eo secundum actum perfectum; cum autem habet habitum scientiæ, sunt species in ipso intellectu medio modo inter potentiam puram et actum purum." (*Lib. III., Lect. VIII., p.* 118.)

† *Ibidem, p.* 122.

views in some of its statements, and to argue ingeniously in their defence.

The minor treatises on which the Angelical commented must be hastily referred to. "*De Sensu et Sensato*" * is in one book and nineteen lessons. It treats of the five senses, of their several organs, it gives the various opinions held by the ancients upon these questions, and touches upon the generation, species, and nature of sensations in relation to each of the senses. "*De Memoria et Reminiscentia*" † is shorter still, one book and eight lessons, and dwells on the difference and nature of memory and reminiscence, and how some have better memories than others. "*De Somno et Vigilia*," ‡ one book, six lessons, speaks of sleep and waking, their nature and causes. "*De Somniis*," § one book, five lessons, deals with the nature and seat of dreams, in which in a particular manner the sagacity of the Stagyrite is made manifest; and, finally, "*De Divinatione per Somnium*," ‖ in one book and two lessons, enlarges on the cause and issue of dreams, and on their interpretation. In commenting on these the Angelical follows his usual method, and does not do much else than elucidate the meaning of the text.

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* S. Thomæ Aquinatis *in Aristotelis Stagiritæ Libros Commentaria, Lib. I., p.* 145—196; *Vol. XX.*

† *Ibidem, Lib. I., p.* 197—214, *Vol. XX.*

‡ *Ibidem, Lib. I., p.* 215—228, *Vol. XX.*

§ *Ibidem, Lib. I., p.* 229—238, *Vol. XX.*

‖ *Ibidem, Lib. I., p.* 239—244, *Vol. XX.*

To expound the metaphysical treatises of Aristotle was a formidable undertaking. S. Thomas has given us an Exposition of twelve books, and though he has not left any writings upon them, the other two books, one of which Albert appears never to have seen, were not unknown to him.*

This work occupies over four hundred pages,†

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* See *Metaph. Lib. III., Lect. VIII., p.* 322—325, *Vol. XX.*

† The first book principally touches upon the nature and perfection of the "divine science of wisdom," and states and confutes the opinions of the ancients concerning the first causes and principles of things. He [Aristotle] divides the ancient philosophers into two classes : those who maintained simply a material or efficient cause of things, and those who admitted a formal cause. The old natural philosophers put down either hidden or visible agencies as the first principles of things. Some held several material (Leucippus, Democritus) other several immaterial (Pythagoreans) things as the first principles ; others, like Parmenides, only acknowledged one. In confutation of the old beliefs, he divides the ancient philosophers into natural philosophers *(Lect. II.)*, and those who took a more elevated view. Pythagoras is met in the thirteenth *lectio*, Plato in the fourteenth and fifteenth. The second book treats of the relation of man to the consideration of truth, shows how the knowledge of truth belongs in a special way to the *prima philosophia*, how there is no such thing as an infinite series in causes, and how the object of truth is to be considered. Here, too, Averroës is again aimed at by the Angelical ; speaking of man not being able to understand separate substances, he says :—"It is impossible for the human soul, united to such a body as ours, to apprehend separate substances, knowing them by their intimate *quiddities*. From which it is evident that what Averroës says in his commentary is false, viz., that the philosopher does not demonstrate here that it is impossible for us to understand separate things, just as it is impossible for the bat to look into the sun ; and his reasoning is very laughable *(est valde derisibilis)*, for he adds, if such were the case, nature would have acted in vain in making something naturally intelligible, and yet not to be understood by any one—as if it had made the sun so that it could not be seen. But this reasoning is deficient : first of all in this, that to be known by our intellect is not the end of separate substances, but rather the converse. Hence it does not follow that because we do not know separate substances *therefore* they are in vain. That is in vain which does not realize the end for which it exists. Secondly, because although separate substances are not understood by us according to their *quiddities*, yet they are understood by other intellects ; just as, though the eye of the owl does not see the sun, still the eye of the eagle gazes upon it." *(Metaphysicorum Lib. II., Lect. I., p.* 299, *Vol. XX.)* The third book enters into *Metaphysics*, and starts questions bearing upon the fact of wisdom being the highest principle of all being. Is the only object of this science to know the first principles of substance, or does it belong to it to consider the first principles of demonstration, by which all sciences are proved ? If this science considers substance as first being, is it one science dealing with all substances, or

and each book is divided into a given number of *Lectiones*. Here again is one of the rich quarries out of which the Angel of the Schools drew the materials for his fabric of Christian theology. One of the most curious and interesting portions of this commentary consists in the *Prooemium*, which contains the Angelical's independent view of the great science of *Metaphysics;* a view indeed his

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are there several sciences, having to do with several substances? If there are many sciences regarding many substances, are they cognate, that is, of the same genus, as geometry and arithmetic are of the genus of mathematical science? Are there only such things as sensible substances, or are there also immaterial and intelligible substances? If there are separate substances, are they of one genus, or more? Has this science only to do with substances, or with their effects also? Has it to do with what seem to be the accidents of being or not? *(Ibid., Lib. III., Lect. II., p.* 310, *Vol. XX.)*

Metaphysic is the science of first principles. Are the *genera* the principles and elements of things? And if so, are they the *species specialissimæ*, or the *principia generalissima* of the individuals? Is there any other cause besides the material one? If so, is it separable from matter, as Plato and Pythagoras held? If so, is it only one, as Anaxagoras held, or many, according to Plato, and Aristotle himself? Is the *quiddity* of the individual anything over and above the individual or not? How do principles stand regarding unity and multitude? How in relation to *actus* and *potentia?* Are they determined according to number or species *(Lect. III., p.* 311.)? These are but specimens of the questions which are put. They are all solved and explained in the following books. The *Lectiones* of the third book treat of *Metaphysic* as science *(Lect. IV.—VI.)*, of the qualities *(Lect. VII.)* and the principles of substances *(Lect. VIII.)*. *Metaphysic*, as science of being, has a special relation to the formal cause, and when this cannot be known—as in pure intelligences—to the final cause, and sometimes to the motive cause, but it never has anything to do with the material cause. Then what principles belong to substances *(Lect. VIII., IX.)*? and what is their condition *(Lect. X., &c.)*? These principles cannot be both *genera* and elements of substances; the *species specialissimæ* are more the principles of substances than are the *genera*. Universals can have no subsistent being. The question with regard to the condition of principles treats of their unity and plurality *(Lect. X., XIV.)*, and asks whether they are power or act *(Lect. XV.)*, universal or singular?

The fourth book bears on those things which have to do with the science of *Metaphysic*, that is, of being, of one, of many, of the same and the different, and of the first principles of demonstration. In *Lect. I.* it is shown that this science has to do with the consideration of substances and accidents, though principally of substances; for all being comes under the investigation of the one science which considers being inasmuch as it is being, namely, both as substance and accidents. All being is so called from a relation to the one first being; and this first is here not *finis* or

own, still evidently proceeding from a mind which had been accustomed to breathe freely in an Aristotelic atmosphere.

When many things are ordered towards one end, one amongst them must be the regulator or ruler, and the rest the regulated or ruled. This is exemplified in the union of the body and soul, for the soul naturally commands, whilst the body obeys. It is the same regarding the powers of the soul, the irascible and concupiscible powers, in the natural order, are governed by reason.

And all sciences and arts are ordered towards one end,

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efficiens, but the subject. Others are called beings or *esse*, because they have *esse per se* like substances, which, principally, and in the first instance, are called beings. Others because they are passions or properties of substances, as the *per se* accidents of each substance. Some are called *entia*, because they lead the way to substances, like generation and motion. Others are called substances again because they are the corruptions of substances: for corruption is the way to *non esse*, just as generation tends towards substance. Again: some qualities and accidents are called *entia* because they are active, or generative of substance, also the negations of those things which have the relation of habitude to substances. Hence we say that *non ens* is *non ens*, which would not be said if negation did not belong to *esse* in some way. These modes of being can be reduced to four. For one of them, which is the weakest, is only in the reason *(est tantum in ratione)*, namely, negation and privation. The next weakest is that according to which generation, corruption, and motion, are called beings, for there is in them an admixture of privation and negation. The third has no admixture of not-being, but has a weak being, because it is not *per se*, but in another, as qualities, quantities, and the properties of substance. The fourth is that which is most perfect, which has *esse* in nature without any admixture of privation, and has a firm and solid being, existing, as it were, *per se*, as substances do. (*Lib. III., Lect. I., p.* 343.)

Next an investigation is made into the relation of this science to unity and plurality, to sameness and diversity; and it is ruled that there are as many parts of philosophy as there are substances to be treated of *(Lect. II., III.)*, and their metaphysical significance is manifested upon general grounds *(Lect. IV.)*. The next *Lectio* enters into the proofs of the questions which had been stated in the third. For instance: whatever is in all beings, and is not alone in one genus of beings separate from the rest, comes under the consideration of the philosopher. But the aforesaid principles are such; therefore, they come under the consideration of the philosopher. The minor Aristotle proves thus: those things that all sciences make use of belong to being inasmuch as it is being: but first principles are of this kind, therefore they belong to being inasmuch as it is being. The reason why all sciences make use of them, he states thus: because whatever genus is the subject of any science has being predicated of it. Particular sciences use the aforesaid principles, not in general, as

namely, towards man's perfection, which is his beatitude. Hence it is necessary that one amongst them be the ruler of the rest, and this rightly goes by the name of Wisdom, for it is the office of the wise man to put others in good order. The nature of this science and its office can be elicited by making a diligent investigation into the qualities of a good ruler. Hence the philosopher says, in the afore-mentioned book, that men of powerful minds are naturally the lords and rulers of the rest, while men who are robust in body but deficient in mind are naturally slaves; and so science ought, naturally, to be the regulator of the rest, because it is the most intellectual: for it has to do with those things which are most

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they extend to all being, but inasmuch as is called for by their subject-matter. So natural philosophy makes use of them, in as far as they extend to movable beings, and no further. (*Lib. IV., Lect. V., p.* 351.)

The sixth *Lectio* is of great importance. It shows that it is necessary in this science to treat of the first principle of demonstration, of the nature of such a principle, and of those ancients who have made mistakes regarding it. The commentary runs in this way. He is most replete with knowledge of each genus who has a knowledge of the most certain principles, because the certainty of knowledge depends upon the certainty of the principles. But the philosopher is the most full of knowledge and is most certain with regard to his knowledge, for this is one of the conditions of a wise man—as appeared in the *Prooemium* of this book—namely, that he have a most certain knowledge of causes, therefore a philosopher must consider the most sure and the most firm principles with regard to being, about which he treats, as his proper subject-matter. Aristotle places three conditions of a most certain principle. The first is, that in this matter no one should be able to be deceived or to err; and this is clear, because men are not deceived except with regard to those things of which they are ignorant. Therefore that must be most evident about which a man cannot be deceived. The second condition is, that the principle be not conditional, but known of itself. The third requisite is, that it be not arrived at by demonstration, or by any similar process; and that it be possessed, as it were, naturally, and be not something acquired. For first principles are made known by the natural light of the active intellect, and are not acquired by reasoning, but simply through the fact of their terms being known. It is therefore manifest that a most certain and most firm principle ought to be such that error cannot be committed regarding it, that it be not a supposition, and that it come to the mind naturally. To what principle does this answer? To this: that it is impossible for the same thing to be in a thing and not in a thing at the same time; but it must be added "in the same way."

The next *Lectio* argues against those who dispute the truth of this principle, and is divided into two parts: the first argues against those who maintain that contradictories can both be true, and the next against those who would show that they can both be false. The former is fully gone into (*Lect. VII., XV.*), the latter is treated in the sixteenth and seventeenth *Lectiones*. The adversaries of the former are answered first,

of all intelligible. This can be looked upon three ways. First, according to the order of understanding, for those things appear to be most intelligible by means of which the mind arrives at certainty. Hence since the intellect acquires the certainty of science through causes, the knowledge of causes seems to be the most intellectual. Hence that science which considers first causes appears to be in a particular manner the regulator of the rest.

Secondly, by comparing the intellect with sense. For intellect differs from sense in this, that the former comprehends universals, whilst the latter is confined to the knowledge of particular things. Hence that science is most intellectual which has to do with the most universal principles; and these are being, and what follow from being, as one and many, and power and act. For these things should not be left vague, because without them a complete knowledge of what is proper to any genus and species cannot be attained. Nor should they be treated of in some one particular science; because since each genus of beings, in order to be understood, requires a knowledge of them, they would then have to be

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generally *(Lect. VII., IX.)*, and then it is shown how special classes of opponents are to be dealt with *(Lect. X., XV.)*. Aristotle uses seven arguments to prove that contradictories cannot both be true. He starts by saying that the meaning of terms must be understood. If he who is about to argue does not agree to this, it would be superfluous to dispute with him. The Angelical then goes on to develop the arguments of the Stagyrite, which are full of ingenuity and clear reasoning; but since the conclusion is admitted by all, it will not be worth while following him through his various processes.

Upon this follows *(Lect. XI., XII.)* a treatment of the errors of those ancient philosophers who considered that truth consisted in what appeared, and that things were what they appeared to be. Some indeed lost faith in truth altogether. The followers of Heraclitus believed that everything was in continual motion, and therefore that there was no such thing as determinate truth. Cratilus also was of this opinion, and finally came to such a stage of madness that he imagined he ought not to make use of words to express what he meant, and therefore confined himself to simply moving his finger: and on this account,—because he thought that before he could get the words out, truth had already fled away, and that he could move his finger more quickly than he could talk. This same Cratilus reprehended and blamed Heraclitus. Heraclitus said that a man cannot twice get into the same stream, because before he has got in the second time the first waters have passed away. But Cratilus thought that a man

treated of in like manner in every particular science. Hence it follows that they should be treated of in a common science, which, since it is the most intellectual, is the regulator of the rest.

Thirdly, from the cognition itself of the intellect. For since whatever has intellective power possesses it because it is free from matter, those things must be most intelligible which are the most separated from matter. For the intelligible and the intellect must be proportionate and of the same genus, since the intellect and the intelligible are one in act Now those things are most separated from matter which not only are abstract from the concrete, "as natural forms taken universally, of which natural science treats," but which are altogether apart from sensible matter; and that not only in the order of reason, like mathematics, but also in the order of being, like God and the intelligences. Hence the science which treats of these things appears to be the most intellectual of all, and the prince or mistress of the rest.

But this threefold consideration ought to be attributed not to different sciences, but to the same; for the aforesaid separate substances are the universal and first causes of being. A science of this kind has to consider the proper causes of a genus, as well as genus itself, just as natural science considers the principles of the natural body. Hence it must appertain to the same science to consider separate substances, and being in

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cannot once get into the same stream, because before he has got in once the waters have flowed away and others have come in their place. And thus not only is a man incapable of speaking twice before his disposition has changed, but he is incapable of speaking once. (*Lib. IV., Lect. XII., p.* 368.)

The next subjects of treatment consist in showing that the fact of sensible things being subject to change is no reason why they are not true; and this is done in six arguments (*Lect. XIII.*). Seven reasons follow to the effect that the truth of things does not consist in appearances; those are taken severely to task who maintain, not from reason but from obstinacy, that contradictories can both be true (*Lect. XIV., XV.*): and the book concludes with two *Lectiones, XVI., XVII.*, upon other opinions which militate against the theory of the Stagyrite. And this must suffice for a general idea of the method of Aristotle and the Angelical on these special points.

common, which is the genus, of which the aforesaid substances are the common and universal causes. From this it is evident that although this science treats of the aforesaid three, it does not treat any one of them as its subject, but only being in common. For that thing is the subject in science of which we seek the causes and passions, and not the causes themselves of any particular genus which is in question; for the knowledge of the causes of any genus is the end to which the consideration of a science pertains. And although the subject of this science is being in common, it comprehends all that is separated from matter according to being and to reason; for not only those things which cannot be in matter, like God and intellectual substances, but also those things which can be apart from matter, like being in common, are said to be separated according to being and reason. But this would not be the case if they depended upon matter for their being.

According to the three aforesaid divisions, upon which the perfection of this science depends, three terms are made use of. It is called Divine Science, or Theological, inasmuch as it considers the aforesaid substances; Metaphysics, inasmuch as it considers being, and those things which follow from it. It is called First Philosophy, inasmuch as it treats of the first causes of things; and thus it becomes evident what is the subject of this science, and what its relation is to other sciences.

Again, Aristotle tells us that

There is in all men a natural desire to know. And the reason of this can be threefold. First, because each thing naturally desires its own perfection. Hence matter is said to desire a form as the imperfect desires its own perfection. Since therefore the intellect, by which a man is what he is, considered in itself, is *in potentia* with regard to the knowledge of all things, and is only brought into act by means of science, every one desires science just as matter desires its form. Secondly, because each thing has a natural inclination towards its proper operation—as heat with regard

to warming, and weight with regard to moving downwards. Now the operation proper to man, inasmuch as he is a man, is to understand. In this he differs from all things else. Hence the desire of man is naturally inclined to understand, and consequently to know. Thirdly, because each thing loves to be united with its principle. Now man is not joined to separate substances—which are the principles of human intelligence, and to which the human intellect is related as the imperfect to the perfect—save by means of intellect, and hence the final happiness of man consists in this. Hence man naturally desires science; nor does it signify that some men do not busy themselves about this science, since it frequently happens that they who desire a certain end are prevented from making towards it, either on account of the difficulty of getting on, or because of other occupations.

So that though all men desire science, all do not give themselves to its study, either because they are prevented by other things, or by lust, or by the necessities of the present life, or because through sloth they avoid the labour of learning. Aristotle says this to show that it is not vain to seek science, apart from utility, since a natural desire cannot be in vain.

The Commentary upon the *Ethics* of Aristotle is in ten books, and these are subdivided, according to the usual plan, into a given number of *Lectiones*. These books occupy over three hundred and sixty pages. The first *(Book I.)* treats of the different ends of happiness, and the supreme good of the happy man, of the two-fold part of the soul, and the division of virtue *(p.* 1—42); then *(Book II.)* of virtue in general and its essence; of the mean and the extremes of the relations of vice and virtue, and of the precepts by which man is drawn towards the golden mean *(p.* 42—68);

next *(Book III.)* of involuntary actions, of purpose, bravery, temperance *(p.* 68—113); *(Book IV.)* of liberality, magnificence, ambition, truthfulness, shame, and other qualities *(p.* 113—151); *(Book V.)* of justice and injustice, and equity *(p.* 151—190); *(Book VI.)* of speculation, deliberation, and prudence *(p.* 190—219). Then *(Book VII.)* there comes an important treatment of the degrees of virtue and vice, heroic virtue, continence and its opposites, and of pleasure and pain *(p.* 219—258); *(Book VIII.)* of friendships and many things concerning it *(p.* 258—293); *(Book IX.)* of kindness, selfishness, and self-love, and other relations of friendship *(p.* 293—325); and lastly *(Book X.)* of pleasure in its relation to ethics. The thesis of Eudoxus on pleasure, on a philosophic life, and political philosophy, is discussed *(p.* 325—361).

It will be interesting to give a rapid sketch of the subject-matter of the Angelical's exposition :—

Book I. It is shown that the end of the supreme art or science is more noble than the ends of those that are subordinate, like bridle-making is subordinate to riding, and riding in turn to all other martial service; the means are only sought for the sake of the end (*Lect. I.*).* And since the political

* For want of space the last five books must be touched upon in the notes :—

Book V. Justice is a habit such that those who possess it are disposed to do just acts, and act justly, and desire what is just : so too, in its way, with injustice. The generic and common attribute of all injustice is inequality *(Lect. I.)*. We apply "just" to all acts that tend to produce or preserve for the body politic either happiness as a whole, or any of its

art is the highest, to which all other arts are simply used as instruments, this treatise on ethics may be described as political *(Lect II.)*. But its premisses are uncertain, therefore an outline only can be sketched. No man properly trained looks for greater accuracy than the subject-matter admits. Men young in years and young in character are not fit students of ethical science *(Lect. III.)*. All argue that happiness is the end—the highest good that the activity of man can attain to, but men differ as to *what* it is. For this investigation the student must have been trained in good habits *(Lect. IV.)*. The base love gross enjoyment, the statesman honour, or virtue *(Lect. V.)*. Plato's idea is

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constituents. It is counted as perfect virtue in that it consists in the practice of perfect virtue,

"Nor even-star, nor morning star so fair."

Justice alone among the virtues is held to be "another's good,' in that it alone among the virtues involves a relation to our fellow-man *(Lect. II.)*. Both particular and universal injustice involve a relation to our fellow-man —the former concerns things in detail, the latter the good man *(Lect. III.)*. Now the unjust man being he who aims at inequality, and the unjust being that which is unequal, it is clear that the unequal will imply a mean, and that the mean will be equal; and a just distribution must involve reference to some standard (*Lect. IV.*). That which is just also involves a similarity of ratios. Proportion may be violated either by excess or defect; he who commits the wrong act gains more good than he ought, while he who is wronged obtains less (*Lect. V.*). Distributive justice is always concerned with those particular goods to which all citizens have some claim, and with reference to these employs proportion. That which is correctively just will aim at the mean between loss and gain, and since justice is the impersonation of the mean, that which is just will be in the mean *(Lect. VI.)*. The word "just" is used, because it etymologically signifies "that which is bisected," while a "juror," or "justice," signifies "one who bisects" *(Lect. VII.)*. Retaliation, or reciprocity of proportionate values, is the bond of union of the body politic: for by mutual interchange it is that citizens are held together *(Lect. VIII.)*, and it is necessary to have some kind of common measure for all such things as are interchanged for one another. This was the origin of currency, and this common measure is the bond of union in all contracts *(Lect. IX.)*. Just treatment is a mean between doing wrong and suffering wrong. The sole duty of a ruler is to keep watch over that which is just, and so by implication over that which is equal. If he be just he will by thus ruling gain nothing for himself; his reward will take the shape of honour or dignity *(Lect. XI.)*. Justice political is relative and conventional. The former is in all places equally valid, and ever equally just; the latter that which originally might have been determined either way with equal justice. The justice or injustice of any act is determined by the question whether it be voluntary or not *(Lect. XII.)*. The distinction between

discussed, and Aristotle says, "such a discussion cannot but be repugnant, since the doctrine of transcendental ideas was introduced by those whom we hold dear." *(Lect. VI.)* Then the theories of the Pythagoreans and of Speusippus are touched upon, and the meaning of "good" further discussed *(Lect. VII.)*, whilst the idea of absolute and transcendental good is eliminated. What would the weaver or carpenter gain, or the medical man, by transcendental speculations? *(Lect. VIII.)*

But to return: it is clear that all ends are not final, but the chief good must be absolute and final. That only is absolutely final which is ever to be chosen as an end, and never as a means. Happiness is such an end, for it is com-

a tort and an accident is that in the former the efficient form of injury is the agent, who is responsible; in the latter the efficient cause is extraneous (*Lect. XIII.*). No one can suffer a wrong unless another has intentionally done him wrong, or experience just treatment unless another intentionally treat him unjustly. Since a man who injures himself does so voluntarily, it is impossible for a man to wrong himself, for no man can wish to be wronged (*Lect. XIV.*). He who makes an unjust award, and not he who receives it, does the wrong, for the wrong originates in the volition of him who makes the award. Just acts can have place among those who partake of things that are in the abstract good, and who can have of such things either more or less than their fair share (*Lect. XV.*). The equitable is superior to the just, as being an intensified form of the just: they are each good, but the equitable is the best. The difference is this, that the equitable is just, not because it agrees with positive law, but in that it is a rectification of it. The essence of equity is to correct positive law when it fails from being too abstract (*Lect. XVI.*). That which the law does not bid, it by implication forbids. So civil infamy attaches itself to him who kills himself, because he thereby wrongs the state (*Lect. XVII.*).

Book VI. The mean between excess and defect is as right reason orders. What is right reason? The natural soul may be divided into two parts, the one deals with universal and necessary truths, the other with contingent: they will be called respectively the speculative and deliberative (*Lect. I.*). Each of the rational parts of our soul has for its especial province a specific kind of truth, and hence the highest excellence of each part will be that particular formed state or habit by which each respectively will best arrive at truth (*Lect. II.*). The soul arrives at truth by art or deduction, or prudence, or philosophy or induction. The object-matter of science is necessary, and its truths immutable. Science is inferential. Science, in fine, is a habit of deductive demonstration. Art is a habit of production in conscious accordance with a correct method (*Lect. III.*). The prudent man is he who can analyze ends into their means, and prudence is a conscious habit of correct reasoning on matters of action, and concerned with what is good for man. Prudence is the virtue of that part of the soul whose province is opinion (*Lect. IV.*). Induction is the faculty to which the discovery of premisses must be ascribed. The philosopher must not only be assured of the truth of his conclusions, as deducible from certain principles, but be assured that his

plete in itself, and all-sufficient, and the one end man proposes to himself in all he does *(Lect. IX.)*. And as the carpenter and cobbler has each his own duty and office, just as a good harper plays well on the harp, so man as man has a function which he carries out well according to his own perfection—for the supreme good of man consists in the activity of the soul according to its own excellence *(Lect. X.)*. But too strict proof must not be looked for. It must be remembered that a clear statement of premisses makes many problems self-evident *(Lect. XI.)*. Different philosophers place the end in different objects; but as at the Olympic games it is not the strongest that are crowned, or the most beautiful, but they who run, so they who act rightly amongst the good and noble will obtain life's prize *(Lect. XII.)*. A life of virtuous acts requires no pleasure to deck it like an amulet, for it possesses a pleasure proper to itself. The inscription at Delos says:—

> "Justice is noblest, best of goods is health,
> Sweetest to win the object of desire."

Yet happiness cannot do without some external aids *(Lect. XIII.)*. Happiness is an object most divine, however it comes

principles are absolutely true (*Lect. V.*). Philosophy is the union of deductive with inductive knowledge of objects in their own nature the most noble. Regarding prudence, it is best to know both the universal and the singular; this failing, the particular alone (*Lect. VI.*). Prudence is enlarged upon (*Lect. VII.*). Deliberation is rightness in the process of analysis of an end into its means, implying investigation and calculation. Good deliberation is a correct conception of that which conduces towards a certain end, of which end the true conception is given by prudence (*Lect. VIII.*). Consideration consists in the correct judgment of the equitable man critically exercised. It is in that a man can form a good critical judgment upon those matters with which prudence is concerned that he is said to show appreciation, and consideration or forbearance. Reason apprehends ultimate moral facts. For this, appropriate perception is required; this is practical reason, or moral perception (*Lect. IX.*). There is a certain faculty, which is called "cleverness," by which the clever man can hit upon those means which tend to the end proposed. If the end is good, it is praiseworthy; if bad, it is cunning. A man cannot possibly be prudent, unless he be virtuous *(Lect. X.)*. Virtue is a habit of mind in conscious accordance with prudence. With the simple unity of prudence, the collective totality of the various moral virtues is necessarily co-existent. Our proposal cannot possibly be right without prudence on the one hand, and moral virtue on the other *(Lect. XI.)*.

about. Happiness pre-supposes perfect virtue, and a life in all respects complete (*Lect. XIV.*). Nor need we wait till a man be dead to predicate happiness of him (*Lect. XV.*). Virtuous acts are more lasting than scientific knowledge, for it is a man's own acts that determine his life (*Lect. XVI.*). Though the fortune of men's friends affect the dead, still not so as to make those who are happy miserable, or produce any change of great consequence (*Lect. XVII.*). The reward of happiness is honour; for happiness is the end of human acts, and must be deserving of honour, and something divine (*Lect. XVIII.*). Now, to understand happiness virtue must be understood, and to understand virtue the soul must be studied (*Lect XIX.*). Then the nutritive soul is discussed, then the concupiscent—both parts of the irrational soul. The rational element is two-fold, the one possessing reason in itself, the other subject to reason, as a son to his father. Hence the classification of virtues into intellectual and moral; under the former, philosophy, appreciation, and prudence; under the latter liberality and temperance (*Lect. XX.*).

Book II. Intellectual virtue needs experience; moral is

Book VII. Types to be avoided, vice, incontinence, brutality. The contrary of vice, virtue; incontinence, self-restraint. Self-restraint and endurance are good; incontinence and effeminacy are bad (*Lect. I.*). Several problems are stated (*Lect. II.*). Continence in relation to knowledge. Knowledge of right does not necessarily imply continence. We may suppose that the incontinent talk about duty in much the same manner as an actor performs his part. It is the minor premiss of the moral syllogism upon which our action mainly depends. This minor premiss states an opinion concerning a particular fact; and it is this minor premiss which he who acts incontinently either does not know at all, or as the drunkard may be said to know the verses of Empedocles which he repeats (*Lect. III.*). Simple incontinence is always blamed, not merely as an error but as a definite form of vice (*Lect. IV.*). As there are two kinds of vice, "vice" itself and brutality, so there are two kinds of incontinence, of which one is brutal, while the other is simply called "incontinence," and is co-extensive in its range with ordinary intemperance (*Lect. V.*). Incontinence of anger is less disgraceful than incontinence of desire. Anger to a certain extent may be said to obey reason, but desire cannot. It is possible for a wicked man to do ten thousand times more evil than any beast (*Lect. VI.*). Self-restraint and endurance are touched on (*Lect. VII.*). When a man is absolutely intemperate and debauched, repentance has no place in him; he has made evil his good. The incontinent man is always open to repentance. True principles of morality are

acquired by habit. Habit cannot alter the action of moral law, so the acquirement of moral virtue does not militate against the laws of man's being, and habits are formed by acts of a like nature to themselves *(Lect. I.)*. How are these acts to be formed? By avoiding excess and defect; too much exercise as well as too little destroys strength *(Lect II.)*. Our habits can be tested by the pleasure or pain resulting from them. Plato says that from a man's youth he should be trained to feel pleasure and pain in fitting objects. Man's emotions are the field of moral action: the good, the useful, and the pleasant, determine man in pursuit; the bad, the hurtful, and the painful, act in the contrary way *(Lect. III.)*. Moral acts, to be done with virtue, must fulfil three conditions. 1. A man must know what he is doing. 2. He must act with deliberate purpose, and choose the act for its own sake. 3. He must act from a fixed and unalterable habit of mind. Talking will do no more good than listening attentively to a doctor, and then following none of his prescriptions *(Lect. IV.)*. What is the genus of virtue—emotions, capabilities, or habits? It is proved by an exhaustive argument to be habits *(Lect. V.)*.

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given us by virtue, which is either natural to us or acquired, and leads us to form right conceptions of moral principles (*Lect. VIII.*). The essence of self-restraint and incontinence is, that we should either abide by or abandon a good purpose. Obstinacy, egotism, opinionativeness, stolid ignorance, surly boorishness are spoken of here (*Lect. IX.*). Cleverness differs from prudence in this, that the former involves more intellectual ability, but not the same soundness of moral purpose. Incontinence and self-restraint contrasted (*Lect. X.*). Now of pleasure and pain. The word "blessedness" etymologically signifies "full of pleasure." Various arguments stated regarding the nature of pleasure (*Lect. XI.*). Pleasure is "the spontaneous expression of our natural condition—our unhindered activity." Some pleasures are good absolutely, some good relatively (*Lect. XII.*). The happy man must be so situated, that the activities in which his happiness consists be unimpeded (*Lect. XIII.*). Men become intemperate and depraved, because pain can be driven out by any pleasure whatever of sufficient intensity. When the two elements (of body and soul) are in harmonious equilibrium, then the energies of the mind are indifferent to the body, and affect it neither with pain nor with pleasure (*Lect. XIV.*).

Book VIII. Of friendship. Views of the ancients given (*Lect. I.*). The legitimate object of affection is that which is good, or that which is pleasant, or that which is useful: useful being rather the means, so they are resolved into two. A reciprocity of kindly feeling is commonly held

What is the *differentia* of virtue? Virtue will aim at the mean, for excess is an error, and defect is blamed as a fault (*Lect. VI.*). But it is not every action or emotion that allows of moderation. There are some whose name itself—like adultery, theft, homicide—class them with vices which are absolutely bad. Under whatever circumstances such acts are committed they are wrong (*Lect. VII.*). Examples of excess, defect, and the mean are given, *e.g.*, magnificence is a mean; its excess, bad taste and vulgarity, its defect, pettiness (*Lect. VIII.*). More examples are given; and it is shown that there are also mean conditions of emotions—shame, for instance, which is not a virtue, still he who manifests it receives praise (*Lect. IX.*). So there are three states of mind, excess and defect—vices; and the mean—virtue; and these in a way are opposed to each other. The extremes are opposed to one another as well as to the mean, and the mean is opposed to the extremes, and contraries are "all such things as are furthest removed from each other" (*Lect. X.*). It is no easy thing to hit the mean in every case. To what extreme are we inclined to drift? Pain and pleasure are the tests. Pleasure, and what gives pleasure, must be carefully guarded against (*Lect XI.*).

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to constitute friendship. To constitute friendship men should, for one or other of the reasons given, have a kindly feeling one towards another, a mutual desire for each other's good, and each conscious of this reciprocity of friendship (*Lect. II.*). The young form strong attachments (based on emotion) and quickly break them off, often not knowing their own mind for a day together. All friendship must be ultimately based either upon the good or else upon pleasure, and involves a certain amount of similarity between the friends (*Lect. III.*). The friendships of the bad will be based on pleasure or interest; of the good on mutual affection, their similarity consisting in their virtue (*Lect. IV.*). Nothing is so essential to friendship as that friends should pass their lives in the society of one another. Friendship resembles a fixed habit which has become a part of our character (*Lect. V.*). Different relations of friendship touched upon (*Lect. VI.*). Friendships of inequality. In friendship the primary consideration is quantitative equality, equality according to proportionate value being of secondary importance (*Lect. VII.*). The majority of mankind are led by ambition to prefer to be loved by others, rather than themselves to love others. It is more essential to friendship that we should love our friends than that we should be loved by them (*Lect. VIII.*). The proverb "True friends have all things in common" was well said, for community is the

Book III. What is involuntary action? That which is done through compulsion or ignorance. Some actions are mixed; but when the efficient cause is in ourselves then the action seems to be voluntary (*Lect. I.*). What is a compulsory act? It is an act the efficient cause of which is purely external, and to which he who performs the act contributes nothing. But there are acts which in the abstract are involuntary, but in the concrete are voluntary (*Lect. II.*). Every action done in ignorance is non-voluntary, and strictly involuntary when it is followed by pain and implies regret; and acting in ignorance—like one drunk—is not the same as acting from ignorance, as the wicked do; nor is involuntary applied to the ignorant action of a wicked man who ought to know better (*Lect. III.*). Men's actions are not involuntary on account of being elicited by anger and by desire (*Lect. IV.*). What, now, is purpose? Voluntary, but with a more circumscribed range. It is not desire, nor anger, nor wish. Purpose has for its object the means to an action (*Lect. V.*); nor is it identical with opinion. Is not the object of purpose all such voluntary action as involves a previous deliberation? The

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field of friendship (*Lect. IX.*). Monarchy degenerates into tyranny, for tyranny is the disease of monarchy, and the bad king ultimately passes into the tyrant; and so of different other forms of government (*Lect. X.*). In each form of government is involved a special form of friendship, and this is here enlarged upon (*Lect. XI.*). Friendship's bonds developed (*Lect. XII.*). There are two forms of friendship based on utility: the friendship of confidence, and the friendship of covenant (*Lect. XIII.*). The result of friendship ought to be, that to each of the two friends should be allotted the larger share indeed, but still not the larger share of the same thing (*Lect. XIV.*).

Book IX. That friendship which is founded upon mental esteem of the friends each for the character of the other, is entered upon for its own sake, and independently of any results, and is consequently a permanent thing (*Lect. I.*). One must not give everything one has to the same person. It is a man's duty to pay his father's ransom rather than his own. And the several claims of friendship are treated (*Lect. II.*). Not only is it impossible to feel an affection for a bad man, but one ought not even to try to do so; when his friend has become incurably depraved, his friend must break off from him (*Lect. III.*). When friendship reaches its extreme limit it resembles that affection which a man feels for himself. The bad man cannot feel towards himself as towards a friend, since he has nothing in him worthy of affection (*Lect. IV.*). All that is essential to kindly feeling is that a man should wish another well—it is friendship which has

etymology of the word "purpose" seems to indicate a previous rejection of other alternatives; so it involves reasoning (*Lect. VI.*). What do men deliberate about? About that alone which is in their own individual power, and where general rules only can be laid down, and in which each particular case is uncertain, and with regard to means rather than the end (*Lect. VII.*). The next (*Lect. VIII.*) continues the same subject; and the result is that a purpose is a desire for something which is within our reach, together with an investigation into the means of attaining it (*Lect. IX.*). Regarding the object of wishes; the abstract and true object of wish is that which is really good, while for the individual the object of his wish is that which he holds to be good (*Lect. X.*). From what has been said it follows that it is in our power to be good men or bad: for the causes of our actions are under our own control, and therefore our actions themselves are under our control, and so voluntary (*Lect. XI.*). What if a man be incapable of attention? He himself is responsible. If a man persists in a course of conduct which must make him unjust—and knows this—he will become

not yet borne fruit (*Lect. V.*). Unanimity has to do with friendship, and is concerned with matters of action involving great interests, and equally concerning two persons at least: it is a species of political or public friendship (*Lect. VI.*). A man's work may in a sense said to be his inner self embodied in an external form, and this has to do with explaining the principle of benefaction (*Lect. VII.*). Since the best friend a man has is himself, it follows he ought to love himself the most, and it is explained how this should be understood (*Lect. VIII.*). A good man ought to be a lover of himself, inasmuch as if his acts be noble he will reap good fruit in himself, and will confer great benefit upon others. A good man in all things obeys his reason (*Lect. IX.*). The happy man will stand in need of friends, inasmuch as he will love to contemplate actions which are good in themselves, and akin to his own. Continuity is also essential (*Lect. X.*). A man ought to have a sympathetic consciousness of the existence of his friend (*Lect. XI.*). It is a safe rule to be content with such a number of friends that it becomes possible for us to pass our life in their society (*Lect. XII.*). When we are in prosperity we cannot be too ready to summon our friends to share our good fortune, but we ought to be slow to call upon them to share our misfortunes (*Lect. XIII.*). For friends the most choice-worthy of all things is to pass their time together—since the essence of friendship is community. With the stamp of his own pleasures each man marks his friend, and this is the meaning of the saying--

"Live with the good, and thou shalt learn their ways." (*Lect. XIV.*)

unjust of his own free will. Not only the vices of our souls are voluntary, but in some cases those of our bodies (*Lect. XII.*). Are men masters of their conceptions? A man must be born with what may be called a moral sight, by which he will judge rightly, and will choose that which is really good. How then is virtue voluntary? Because the good man voluntarily uses the right means (*Lect. XIII.*). Of bravery. The brave man is concerned with the greatest of terrible things, and under the noblest conditions: and such is death in war, involving the greatest and noblest of all risks (*Lect. XIV.*). A brave man is never terrified out of his self-possession. He who with the right end in view faces what he ought, and fears it, and does so as he ought, and when he ought, and with confidence, he is brave (*Lect. XV.*). The next (*Lect. XVI.*) enlarges on bravery. The next treats of what kind of men are really brave, and what sort of men they are who are falsely called such (*Lect. XVII.*). Continued (*Lect. XVIII.*). Next to bravery comes temperance, both virtues of the irrational portions of the soul. With what kind of pleasure is this "mean" concerned? Temperance is concerned with some of

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Book X. On pleasure. It, of all things, would seem to be part of the very nature of the human race. In all matters of human feeling and conduct, abstract argument is far less to be relied upon than are facts. So, in this discussion, there is no doubt what is to be done (*Lect. I.*). Pleasure and pain are opposed to each other as perfect and complete contradictories (*Lect. II.*). The discussion of pleasure continued (*Lect. III.*). It is clear that neither is pleasure as a whole identical with good, nor is all pleasure choice-worthy (*Lect. IV.*). Pleasure is, at any moment of its continuance, perfect in kind; hence it is distinct from any kind of process. Pleasure is an absolute whole (*Lect. V.*). There is good reason to believe that all men desire pleasure, since all men crave for the consciousness of active life. Pleasure perfects all our activities; without activity there can be no pleasure, and without pleasure no activity can be perfect (*Lect. VI.*). Pleasure intensifies the act which it accompanies. Its own special pleasure produces upon each act a result exactly contrary to that which is produced by its special pain (*Lect. VII.*). Exactly as our acts can be distinguished from one another, so, too, can our pleasures. When beings are distinct from one another in kind, their pleasures also will be distinct in kind. Those pleasures alone which perfect the acts in which they manifest themselves have any claim to the distinctive title of the pleasure of man (*Lect. VIII.*). Now of happiness, which is the end and consummation of all things human. The life of happiness is a life of virtue, and consequently is an earnest life, consisting in something more than mere amuse-

the bodily pleasures, that is, with touch and taste (*Lect. XIX.*). Excess in the matter of pleasures constitutes intemperance, and calls for blame (*Lect. XX.*). The temperate man judges all pleasures by the standard of right reason (*Lect. XXI.*). As a boy ought to live by his tutor's rule, so desire ought to act by the rule of reason (*Lect. XXII.*).

Book IV. Liberality. It is the mean state which is concerned with property, especially regarding giving, and putting wealth to its best use (*Lect. I.*). The liberal man will have a noble view in distributing his gifts. His distinctive mark is to leave for himself the smaller share (*Lect. II.*). The liberal man will both give and take as he ought (*Lect. III.*). The prodigal man gives to others and abstains from taking, only he does neither of these rightly and properly. The illiberal man does not benefit anybody, not even himself (*Lect. IV.*). Illiberality has two principal characteristics—giving too few presents, and taking too many and too large sums. Illiberality is in itself a greater evil than prodigality, and it leads men into errors both more numerous and more great (*Lect. V.*). Next comes magnificence, with property for its object, and is confined to the expensive; and here it exceeds liberality. Its defect is pettiness, its excess vulgarity. The characteristic

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ment (*Lect. IX.*). As happiness consists in an activity in which virtue is consciously manifested, it follows that virtue thus manifested will constitute the highest excellence of the noblest of our faculties. The activity will consist in the contemplation of abstract truth; for reason is the highest of our faculties, and the objects upon which reason exercises itself are the highest of all objects of thought. Of all our acts, philosophic speculation is the only one which is loved absolutely for itself, and quite independently of its results (*Lect. X.*). We should, as far as in us lies, act as if immortality were our share, by seeking in everything we do to lead a life in conformity with that element in ourselves which is highest and best (*Lect. XI.*). The Divine Life in all its exceeding blessedness will consist in the exercise of contemplation (*Lect. XII.*). Of all human activities, that will be the happiest which is most akin to the Divine. And this must be combined with moderate good fortune (*Lect. XIII.*). Law is necessary, whose commands carry with them a compulsory sanction of their own, being, as it were, the dictates in which abstract prudence and reason are embodied (*Lect. XIV.*). He who desires to improve others, whether many or few, by his own personal supervision, must do his best to make himself master of the general theory of legislation (*Lect. XV.*). How is it to be learnt? From politicians (*Lect. XVI.*).

of the magnificent man is magnitude of scale (*Lect. VI.*). The most magnificent expense is a great expense upon a great object; and this greatness is the measure of the magnificence (*Lect VII.*). High-mindedness comes next, and involves greatness of scale, just as true beauty requires a great body—little men being neat and symmetrical, indeed, but still not beautiful. The virtue of the high-minded man is concerned with honour. High-mindedness is the crown of all the virtues: it is impossible to be high-minded without perfect nobility of character (*Lect. VIII.*). The high-minded does not treat honour as the very greatest of all goods; hence the high-minded are held to be arrogant. Those who have good fortune, and nothing more, end by becoming arrogant and insolent (*Lect. IX.*). The achievements of the high-minded man will be few, but great in themselves, and of great repute. The high-minded man ought to move slowly, and his voice ought to be deep, and his utterance deliberate (*Lect. X.*). The deficiency of this is little-mindedness, and its excess vanity. These two are enlarged upon (*Lect. XI.*). We blame the ambitious man as being one who craves for honour more than he ought, and who seeks it from improper sources; and we blame the unambitious man as one who will not receive honour, even at the price of a noble achievement (*Lect. XII.*). Gentleness is a mean with regard to anger; the excess wrathfulness (*Lect XIII.*). Next comes a description of the man who observes the mean in his social conduct. The obsequious, the flatterer, the surly and contentious, are here described (*Lect. XIV.*). The braggart, the ironical, the "plain blunt man," the truthful man, and the "mock modest" are described (*Lect. XV.*), and the buffoon, the savage and austere, the witty. What is decorous ridicule? To say nothing that does not become a liberally-minded man, though it would seem that no exact rule can be given (*Lect. XVI.*). Shame is "the fear of evil repute," more an emotion than a formed state of character. The young ought to have a proper sense of shame: not so an

old man; for no man of such an age ought to do anything of which he need be ashamed (*Lect. XVII.*).

Such are the principles of Aristotle adopted by the Angelical, which play so large a part in his teachings on morality. The words themselves of the Stagyrite, as far as possible, have been given, since thus the double advantage is gained of possessing the ideas of the author himself, and also the principles propagated by his commentator; for S. Thomas in the *Ethics* follows the Stagyrite without advancing any opinions of his own, except, for instance, when Aristotle speaks of the gods, and then he interprets him to mean the separate substances.*

* In this *résumé*, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, by Robert Williams, B.A., have been followed as nearly as possible.

CHAPTER IX.

S. THOMAS AND FAITH.

PART I.

THERE is a picture of the Angelical in the church of S. Catherine at Pisa, painted (1340) by Traini, which vividly portrays with the pencil what I have been aiming at sketching with the pen. The Saint is in the centre; above him is represented the Almighty in a sea of light surrounded by choirs of angels; below, in the clouds, are Moses, the Evangelists, and S. Paul. From the Eternal Father lines of light strike down upon these men of God; and from them, in a threefold ray, concentrate upon the forehead of the Angelical. On either side of S. Thomas, somewhat lower down, are Plato and Aristotle, the one holding the *Timæus* open before him, the other the *Ethics;* and from each of these a beam ascends and fastens itself on the brow of the Angelical, harmonizing with the Divine illumination which proceeds from the Everlasting Father. The Saint himself is seated; the Sacred Scriptures lie open before him;

whilst he, calm, gentle, and majestic, points to the first words of the "*Summa adversus Gentiles:*" "My mouth shall meditate truth, and my lips shall hate the impious one." * The "impious one" is Averroës, who lies prostrate at his feet with the "Commentary" at his side, struck by one of the flashes which shoot from the pages of the inspired writings unrolled upon the knees of the Angel of the Schools. †

Here then is S. Thomas combating the aberrations of the world, and the special errors of his day, through the power of a double illumination; that which proceeds from above in the supernatural order of revelation, and that which comes from below through the light of human reason: Moses, the Evangelists, and S. Paul on the one hand; Plato and Aristotle on the other. The concentrated

* *Proverbs, Chap. VIII., v.* 7.

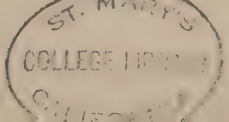
† Gaddi painted a still more complicated picture in the church of S. Maria Novella. The Angelical is in the centre, surrounded with glory, an elaborate Gothic baldachino hangs over him, he holds a book in his hand with the words:—"*Propter hoc optavi et datus est mihi sensus: et invocavi et venit in me spiritus sapientiæ, et præposui illam regnis et sedibus.*" (*Sap., Cap. VII., p.* 7—8.) Above him are angels, on each side the Prophets and Evangelists, five on either hand—Moses, Isaias, Solomon, David, Job, the four Evangelists, and S. Paul: at his feet lie the enemies of Christian truth—Arius, Sabellius, and Averroës with his Turban and his *Commentary*. Then come fourteen allegorical female figures representing the seven sciences and the seven arts, with the representative man of each several science and art at their feet. The sciences are represented by Justinian, Clement V., Denis, the Lombard, Boëthius, the Damascene, and S. Augustine: the arts, by Abraham, Euclid, Atlas, Tubalcain, Zeno, Cicero, and Priscian. (*Cf.* Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel, p.* 873—874; also Klugler's *Handbuch, B.I., p.* 325—330.) Poetry also has not been silent, ; the *Summa* was thrown into verse by Hyacinth Ruggieri (*Rome*, 1652). Werner also speaks of F. Fracassi's *Sol Aquinas illustratus sacra poesi, sive Panegyris epigrammatica hexasticha in vitam D. Thomæ, in tres libros distincta. Romæ* 1681. 4°.

radiance of the supernatural and the natural orders, when brought to bear upon the intellect of a Saint like the Angelical, could not but issue in some great benefit to the Christian world.* So deep a knowledge of the Fathers, so profound an acquaintance with Holy Scripture, so marvellous a mastery of human as well as divine philosophy, joined to a burning zeal for souls, resulted in a series of scientific writings which, leaving out the "*Summa Theologica*" altogether, would immortalize the name of any scholastic.

The character and contents of these works must be briefly indicated, in order to convey some idea of the intellectual activity and theological position of the Angel of the Schools.

Besides his formal lectures in the University, the Saint was in the habit of solving the difficulties and answering the questions of any who thought

* The Angelical was principally raised up to demonstrate the harmony between faith and reason. It was by this that he overset one of the cardinal errors of the Arabians :—"Wer die Schriften der Scholastiker liest, der wird gar häufig der Formel begegnen : 'es sei etwas wahr oder könne hingehen in der Philosophie und Theologie ;' oder : 'es verstosse ein Satz sowohl gegen die Principien der Philosophie, als auch gegen den Glaubensinhalt ;' oder : 'es sei etwas irrthümlich nach der Philosophie, und häretisch nach dem Glauben ;' ja sogar : 'es sei dieses oder jenes häretisch im Glauben und in der Philosophie.' Ueberall legten also die Scholastiker den Arabisten gegenüber ein besonderes Gewicht darauf, nicht blos theoretisch den Grundsatz festzuhalten dass Vernunft und Glaube sich nicht widerstreiten können, sondern dieses auch im Einzelnen und Besondern nachzuweisen, besonders in Bezug auf jene Lehrmeinungen, welche die Arabisten, obgleich sie mit dem Glauben im Widerspruck standen, als philosopisch wahr festhielten. Und gerade daraus erwuchs für die Scholastik der grosse Vortheil, dass solche Fragen auf philosophischem Standpunkte mit aller Gründlichkeit und nach allen Seiten hin erörtert wurden : was vielleicht ohne jenen Gegensatz nicht in dem gleichen Masse geschehen sein würde." (Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Zweiter Band, Erste Abtheilung, Einleitung, p.* 11.)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fit to apply to him.* The collection of these answers and solutions, which are called "*Quæstiones Quodlibetales*," forms a very curious and interesting study. They are very miscellaneous in their subjects, some being profound, others quaint, a few almost absurd, according to the character of him who asked them, but they are specially instructive as evincing the general tendency of theological thought in the thirteenth century. †

The "*Quæstiones*" occupy one hundred and thirty pages of the Parma edition. Each "*Quodlibetum*," and of these there are twelve, contains a given set of questions, each question having under it a certain number of articles. For instance, the first "*Quodlibetum*" contains ten questions, answered by twenty-two articles: the second eight, with sixteen articles; the third fourteen, with thirty articles; and so on. In all, the number of articles under the twelve "*Quodlibeta*" extends to one hundred and sixty, differing in length or impor-

* See *Volume I. of this work, Chap. XVIII., p.* 463—472.

† His treatment of the question of baptising Jewish children against the wish of their parents is interesting (*Quodlib. II., Art. VII., p.* 478, *Vol. IX.*). Does a Crusader who dies before he has set out on his journey gain a plenary indulgence of all his sins? (*Quodlib. II., Art. XVI., p.* 484.) Did Christ truly eat after the Resurrection, and assimilate food? (*Quodlib. III., Art. V., p.* 488.) Are disciples following different opinions of their masters excused from the sin of error? (*Quodlib. III., Art. X., p.* 491.) Can one disembodied spirit know another disembodied spirit? (*Quodlib. III., Art. XXI., p.* 501.) Do the damned rejoice at the sufferings of their enemies? (*Quodlib. III., Art. XXIV., p.* 503.) How far is a man obliged to follow his conscience when in error? (*Quodlib. III., Art. XXVII., p.* 505.) Is the rainbow a sign that there will be no deluge? (*Quodlib. III., Art. XXX., p.* 507.) Should theological conclusions be the work of reason, or of authority? (*Quodlib. IV., Art. XVIII., p.* 517.) Does he sin, who, possessing superfluity, refuses a beggar who asks him for alms? (*Quodlib. VIII., Art. XI., p.* 581.)

tance according to the subject-matter. Points, for instance, which had a peculiar interest at that day, are treated fully, such as questions regarding the corruption of forms;[a] the relation of parochial work to study;[b] the drawing of young men into religion;[c] the relative perfection of religious and parish priests;[d] the reception of children to the habit who have not been practised in the precepts;[e] the relation of precepts to counsels;[f] the precedence of precepts or counsels;[g] whether the Angelic intellect can know individual things;[h] whether manual labour is of precept;[i] and many more which it would be tiring to enumerate.

As examples of quaint questions these might be mentioned:—Whether an angel can pass from point to point without going through the intermediate space;[k] whether it suffices to confess *in scriptis*;[l] whether perjury be a greater sin than homicide;[m] whether a monk sins mortally by eating meat;[n] whether it is a sin to wish to be a bishop;[o] whether the damned rejoice in the

(*a*) *Quodlibetum I., Art. V., p.* 462, *Vol. IX.*
(*b*) *Quodlib. I., Art. XIV., p.* 467.
(*c*) *Quodlib. III., Art. XI., p.* 491; also *Art. XIII., p.* 494—495.
(*d*) *Quodlib. III., Art. VII., p.* 496.
(*e*) *Quodlib. IV., Art. XXIII., p.* 519.
(*f*) *Quodlib. IV., Art. XXIV., p.* 525.
(*g*) *Quodlib. V., Art. XIX., p.* 536.
(*h*) *Quodlib. VII., Art. III., p.* 555.
(*i*) *Quodlib. VII., Art. XVII., p.* 565; also *Art XVIII., p.* 567.
(*k*) *Quodlib. I., Art. V., p.* 461, *Vol. IX.*
(*l*) *Quodlib. I., Art. X., p.* 465.
(*m*) *Quodlib. I., Art. XVIII., p.* 470.
(*n*) *Quodlib. I., Art. XX., p.* 470.
(*o*) *Quodlib. II., Art. XI., p.* 481.

punishment of their enemies;* whether this be false: "God can sin if he wishes;"† whether a crusader who is returning from the Holy Land dies a better death than one who is going thither;‡ whether an angel can be in the convexity of the empyrean heavens;§ whether a person could be naturally or miraculously both a virgin and a father;‖ whether truth be stronger than wine, a king, or a woman;¶ and so on of the rest.

All these subjects evince the play and activity of the scholastic mind at that day, and how patiently the Angelical set himself to answer, for the sake of others, questions which he himself often thought to be frivolous or beside the point.

The "*Quæstiones Disputatæ*" belong to quite another order of thought. They contain the subject-matter of the Angelical's deepest Expositions. He composed them in his responsible office of teacher in the schools. After the Master had finished his "Commentary" on the "Sentences," he then carried the students through a more elevated course, and developed, expanded, or explained special questions of theology. This was the main occupation of S. Thomas from the time he took his Doctor's cap till he was called away to

* *Quodlib. III., Art. XXIV., p.* 503.
† *Quodlib. V., Art. IV., p.* 529.
‡ *Quodlib. V., Art. XIV., p.* 534.
§ *Quodlib. VI., Art. III., p.* 543; *(Cf. Summa Theologica, Pars. I., Quæst. LXVIII., Art. IV., p.* 268, *Vol. I.)*
‖ *Quodlib. VI., Art. XVIII., p.* 551.
¶ *Quodlib. XII., Art. XX., p.* 626.

Italy.* This was with him a period of great intellectual activity. He was steadily preparing and quarrying the stone for his imperial edifice; his labours on the "*Quæstiones Disputatæ*" bear immediately upon it, and are as direct and perfect a preparation as he could have made for the great labour of his life. The advance made by him here upon his earlier works is evident at a glance. The eye is steadier and clearer, hard knots are cut with a quicker and more incisive hand, truth is brought out as with a lens, all outlines are sharp, error is crushed, and the workman shows himself to be not merely an able man but a thorough master.

These "*Quæstiones Disputatæ*" occupy a large space amongst the minor writings of the Saint; they take up one thousand and ninety pages, making sixty-three questions, and over four

* Werner sees the architectonic principle in these elaborate "Questions." He says:—"Es wurde bemerkt, dass Thomas in den *Quæstionibus disputatis* die Kunst der scholastischen Dialektik zu ihrem höchsten Grade auszubilden bemüht war. Es galt der sorgfältigsten Ausarbeitung, Bestimmung und Begränzung jedes einzelnen theologischen Begriffes, um ihn als allseitig passendes Glied dem grossen Bau einfügen zu können, welcher vor seiner Seele stand. Die scholastische Thätigkeit war ihrem ganzen Wesen nach constructiv und architektonisch; auf vollkommenste Durchbildung dieser architektonischen Kunst zweckte denn auch letztlich die Bearbeitung aller Einzelnheiten des Baumateriales ab. Demnach musste denn auch jedes einzelne Object und Problem zur Gesammtheit der übrigen in die vielseitigste Relation gesetst werden und dadurch eine dem Sinne des Ganzen entsprechende Gestalt bekommen, damit es sich dem Ganzen, harmonisch einfügte und den Sinn des Ganzen auf die vielseitigste Weise spiegelte, dem geschliffenen Krystalle ähnlich, der in seinen vielen Flächen das eine und selbe Bild vielfach wiedergibt. Für solche kunstreiche gearbeitete, und das in sie geleitete Licht einer tiefsinigen Weisheit in hundertfältigem, vielfarbigem Reflexe wiederstrahlende krystallinische Gebilde sind die einzelnen *articuli* der *quæstiones disputatæ* zu nehmen." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 361—362.)

hundred articles.* The great treatise, it may be called, "*De Veritate*," which would have given a name to any theologian or philosopher, had he never written anything else, fills some four hundred and fifty pages, and was the outcome of over two years' steady labour. Twenty-nine questions, and a proportionate number of articles, are contained under that single head.† None of those strange difficulties found amongst the "*Quodlibeta*" are allowed to enter here. All is serious work. Some of the deepest problems of theology, some of the most abstract questions of philosophy, some of the most insidious errors of metaphysics are here discussed. Perhaps the Angelical never wrote a work which pointed more directly at the errors of his day, or sank so deeply into the well of truth. The pantheism of the

* Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis *Quæstiones Disputatæ*, *Tom. I.*, *p.* 1—638; *Tom. II.*, *p.* 1—438; *Vol. VIII.*, *IX. Ed. Parm.*

† For instance: De Veritate, *p.* 1—22; De Scientia Dei, *p.* 23—51; De Ideis, *p.* 52—62; De Verbo, *p.* 63—72; De Providentia, *p.* 73—90; De Prædestinatione, *p.* 92—102; De Libro Vitæ, *p.* 103—110; De cognitione Angelorum, *p.* 111—144; De cognitione Scientiæ Angelicæ per illuminationes et locutiones, *p.* 145—153; De Mente, *p.* 154—180; De Magistro, *p.* 181—189; De Prophetia, *p.* 190—216; De Raptu, *p.* 217—225; De Fide, *p.* 226—247; De Ratione superiori et inferiori, *p.* 248—259; De Synderesi, *p.* 259—264; De Conscientia, *p.* 264—272; De cognitione primi hominis, *p.* 273—287; De cognitione animæ separatæ, *p.* 288—292; De scientia animæ Christi, *p.* 293—302; De Bono, *p.* 303—312; De Voluntate, *p.* 314—334; De Voluntate Dei, *p.* 335—347; De libero Arbitrio, *p.* 349—376; De Sensualitate, *p.* 377—386; De Passionibus Animæ, *p.* 387—408; De Gratia, *p.* 411—426; De Justificatione impii, *p.* 427—443; De Gratia Christi, *p.* 445—456. As an example of the Articles, take *Quæstio XI.*, *De Magistro*; there are four articles:—1. *Utrum homo possit docere vel dici magister, vel solus Deus.* 2. *Utrum aliquis possit dici magister sui ipsius.* 3. *Utrum homo ab Angelo doceri possit.* 4. *Utrum docere sit actus vitæ contemplativæ, vel activæ. Vol. IX. Ed. Parm.*

Easterns, the rationalistic principles of Abelard, the various heresies which were fixed in the intellect of the thirteenth century, are combated and completely overthrown, not merely through the power of authority, but by the sharp-pointed lance of reason.* The doctrines of emanation, the grotesque teachings of Spanish and Arabian philosophers, are met fairly, and are as fairly proved abortive. Any one reading the "*Summa Theologica*" after studying these "*Quæstiones Disputatæ*" will perceive that whilst he was forming the minds of his students and annihilating error, the Angelical was at the same time hewing out the great blocks and keystones for his mighty architectonic work.

These "*Quæstiones Disputatæ*" are thrown into certain grand divisions. The first, headed "*De*

* Take simply two points : creation, and the nature of the human soul —points on which the Easterns principally erred. In teaching these the Angelical brings out the full truth by a most masterly analysis. See *Quæstio III., De Creatione*, under the general heading of *De Potentia*, *p.* 24—75. This one question is resolved in nineteen articles, to give which will be to convey an idea of the rest. 1. Utrum Deus possit aliquid creare ex nihilo. 2. Utrum creatio sit mutatio. 3. Utrum creatio sit aliquid realiter in creatura, et si est, quid sit. 4. Utrum potentia creandi sit alicui creaturæ communicabilis, vel etiam actus creationis. 5. Utrum possit esse aliquid quod non sit a Deo creatum. 6. Utrum sit unum tantum creationis principium. 7. Utrum Deus operetur in operatione naturæ. 8. Utrum Deus operetur in natura creando. 9. Utrum anima rationalis educatur in esse per creationem, vel per seminis traductionem. 10. Utrum anima rationalis sit creata in corpore. 11. Utrum anima sensibilis vel vegetabilis sit per creationem, vel traducatur ex semine. 12. Utrum anima sensibilis vel vegetabilis sit in semine a principio quando deciditur. 13. Utrum aliquid ens ab alio possit esse æternum. 14. Utrum quod est a Deo diversum in essentia, possit semper fuisse. 15. Utrum res processerint a Deo per necessitatem naturæ vel per arbitrium voluntatis. 16. Utrum ab uno primo possit procedere multitudo. 17. Utrum mundus semper fuerit. 18. Utrum Angeli sint creati ante mundum visibilem. 19. Utrum poterint esse Angeli ante mundum visibilem. (S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia, Vol. VIII.*)

Potentia," is composed of ten questions,* with a certain number of articles under each, sometimes seven, sometimes nineteen, sometimes six, according to the subject-matter. Next comes "*De Malo*," sixteen questions in all, with their various articles.† Two questions succeed, each complete in itself and called a "*Quæstio Unica*," one "*De Spiritualibus Creaturis*," the other "*De Anima*;"‡ and finally there is a third, "*De Unione Verbi Incarnati*." Five more "*Quæstiones Unicæ*" follow, "*De Virtutibus in Communi*," "*De Caritate*," "*De Correctione Fraterna*," "*De Spe*," and "*De Virtutibus Cardinalibus*." Lastly, there is that splendid treatise "*De Veritate*," which, as has been said, is one of the most marvellous writings of the great Angelical. It is divided into

* I.—De Potentia Dei ; II.—De potentia generativa in Divinis ; III.—De Creatione ; IV.—De creatione materiæ informis ; V.—De Conservatione rerum in esse a Deo ; VI.—De Miraculis ; VII.—De Divinæ Essentiæ simplicitate ; VIII.—De his quæ relative dicuntur de Deo ab æterno ; IX.—De Personis Divinis ; X.—De Processione Divinarum Personarum.

† I.—De malo in communi ; II.—De Peccatis ; III.—De Causa peccati ; IV.—De Peccato originali ; V.—De Poena originalis peccati ; VI.—De electione humana, seu de libero arbitrio ; VII.—De peccato veniali ; VIII.—De vitiis capitalibus ; IX.—De inani gloria ; X.—De invidia ; XI.—De accidia ; XII.—De ira ; XIII.—De avaritia ; XIV.—De gula ; XV.—De luxuria ; XVI.—De dæmonibus.

‡ "*De Spiritualibus Creaturis*" is thrown into eleven articles, "*De Anima*" into twenty-one. They directly overset the doctrines of the Arabs and of Averroës. For example, see under the first heading, *Art. IX.*—Utrum intellectus possibilis sit unus in omnibus hominibus, *p.* 452 ; and *Art. X.*—Utrum intellectus agens sit unus omnium hominum, *p.* 456 ; and under the second, *Art. II.*—Utrum anima humana sit separata secundum esse, *p.* 468 ; *Art. III.*—Utrum intellectus possibilis, sive anima intellectiva sit una in omnibus, *p.* 472 ; *Art. V.*—Utrum intellectus agens sit unus et separatus, *p.* 478. These are points which the Angelical is never wearied of insisting on and of repeating continually. (S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia, Vol. VIII.*)

twenty-nine questions, with the usual series of articles according to the division of the object-matter. It embraces four hundred and fifty pages, the subjects are treated with the greatest care and elaboration, are developed with singular lucidity, and a thread of order runs through the whole which lends a unity to the component parts.

Under the great headings of "Power," "Evil," and "Truth," the Saint has treated with a depth, simplicity, and brevity all his own, some of the most difficult and most important questions of religion and philosophy. For the reader to grasp the power of S. Thomas in overthrowing error, and to acquire a notion of his driving force of mind, these questions themselves must be studied in detail. To bring out his full merit, even in this his minor work, would occupy not simply a few pages, but a moderate volume.*

One of the most useful and handy of the Saint's

* Take as an example the simple Article (under *Quæstio VI., p.* 308–313, *Vol. VIII.*) *Utrum homo habeat liberam electionem actuum, aut ex necessitate eligat.* Here are as many as twenty-four arguments advanced against the liberty of man's will; next the whole matter is discussed, developed, explained, and then twenty-four detailed replies are given to the arguments advanced in the beginning. This position is founded on *Scripture* and *Philosophy*:—"Sed contra est quod dicit *Eccli. XV.*, 14: *Deus ab initio constituit hominem, et reliquit eum in manibus consilii sui.* Hoc autem non esset, nisi haberet liberam electionem, quæ est appetitus præconsiliati, ut dicitur in *III. Ethic (Cap. II. et III.)*. Ergo homo habet liberam electionem suorum actuum. Præterea, potentiæ rationales sunt ad oppositа, secundum Philosophum *(IX. Metaph. Com. III.)*. Sed voluntas est potentia rationalis; est enim in ratione, ut dicitur in *III. De Anima (Com. XLII.)*. Ergo voluntas se habet ad opposita et non ex necessitate movetur ad unum. Præterea, secundum Philosophum *(in III. Ethic., Cap. V.)*, homo est dominus sui actus, et in ipso est agere et non agere. Sed hoc non esset, si non haberet liberam electionem suorum actuum."

works is his "*Compendium Theologiæ*," which he dedicated to his beloved *socius* Reginald.* It is a model of simplicity, lucidity, and reasoning. Most probably it was written specially for the use of missionaries who went into distant parts amidst pagans and barbarians. It is a most compendious *résumé* of Catholic doctrine, thrown into a nut-shell, and yet capable of being expanded by one who knows how to elicit the fruitfulness of principle, and serviceable in every way to those having the cure of souls: it is a kind of "*Summa Theologica*" in its minutest form. Here, unlike in several of the *Opuscula*, the Saint does not rest so much upon authority as on reason; that is to say, he carefully confirms by intellectual arguments those positions which have been before maintained by faith.†

* Compendium Theologiæ ad Fratrem Reginaldum Socium suum carissimum, *p.* 1—85 (*Opusculum I.*), *Vol. XVI.* In reality it principally consists in a development of the *Tractates* De decem præceptis et lege Amoris (*Opusc. III.*), *p.* 97—114; De Articulis Fidei et Ecclesiæ Sacramentis (*Opusc. IV.*), *p.* 115—122; Expositio Orationis Dominicæ (*Opusc. V.*), *p.* 123—134; and the Expositio Symboli Apostolorum (*Opusc. VII.*), *p.* 133—151, *Vol. XVI.* (*See Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XXI., p.* 584, *sqq.*)

† The Saint begins thus:—"Æterni Patris verbum sua immensitate universa comprehendens, ut hominem per peccata minoratum in celsitudinem divinæ gloriæ revocaret, breve fieri voluit nostra brevitate assumpta, non sua deposita majestate. Et ut a cœlestis verbi capessenda doctrina nullus excusabilis redderetur, quod pro studiosis diffuse et dilucide per diversa Scripturæ sanctæ volumina tradiderat, propter occupatos sub brevi summa humanæ salutis doctrinam conclusit. Consistit enim humana salus in veritatis cognitione, ne per diversos errores intellectus obscuretur humanus: in debiti finis intentione, ne indebitos fines sectando, a vera felicitate deficiat; in justitiæ observatione, ne per vitia diversa sordescat. Cognitionem autem veritatis humanæ saluti necessariam brevibus et paucis fidei articulis comprehendit." (S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia, Cap. I., p.* 1, *Vol. XVI.*)

This little work occupies eighty-five pages. The first part is subdivided into two hundred and forty-six chapters; the second has only ten; the third was never written. It was originally proposed to be in three grand divisions: the first treating of matters which could be reduced to the general heading of Faith, the second to that of Hope, and the third to that of Charity.* The Angelical, however, had only time fully to complete the first portion; at his death he had not got beyond the beginning of the eleventh chapter of the second part, in which he designed to prove the possibility of obtaining the kingdom of heaven.†

It stands to reason that the two hundred and forty-six chapters of this *Compendium* cannot be very heavy ones. Their length varies; those

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* The Saint says himself:—"Ut igitur tibi, fili carissime Reginalde, compendiosam doctrinam de christiana religione tradam, quam semper præ oculis possis habere; circa hæc tria in præsenti opere tota nostra versatur intentio. Primum de Fide, secundo de Spe, tertio vero de Caritate agemus. Hoc enim et apostolicus ordo habet, et ratio recta requirit. Non enim amor rectus esse potest, nisi debitus finis spei statuatur; nec hoc esse potest, si veritatis agnitio desit. Primo igitur necessaria est fides, per quam veritatem cognoscas; secundo spes, per quam in debito fine tua intentio collocetur; tertio necessaria est caritas, per quam tuus affectus totaliter ordinetur." *(Cap. I., p. 1, Vol. XVI.)*

† These are his last words *(Cap. II., Quod regnum obtineri est possibile.)*:—"Oportet autem ulterius ostendere, quod homo ad illud regnum pervenire possit: alioquin frustra speraret et pateretur. Primo autem apparet hoc esse possibile ex promissione divina: dicit enim Dominus, *Luc. XII.*, 32: 'Nolite timere pusillus grex, quia complacuit Patri vestro dare vobis regnum.' Est autem divinum beneplacitum efficax ad implendum omne quod disponit, secundum illud *Isa. XLVI.*, 10: 'Consilium meum stabit, et omnis voluntas mea fiet.' 'Voluntati enim ejus quis resistit?' ut dicitur ad *Roman. IX.*, 19. Secundo ostenditur hoc esse possibile exemplo." Then the editor exclaims: "Hucusque compilavit S. Thomas de Aquino brevem compilationem Theologiæ; sed, proh dolor! morte præventus eam sic incompletam dimisit!" *(Opusc. I., p. 85, Vol. XVI.)*

dealing with subjects intimately affecting the errors of that day, for instance, respecting the Arabian aberrations regarding the unity of man's intellect, are drawn out at considerable length, and are argued with great care and elaboration. Then, again, all those questions which bear upon our Lord are more fully developed than any other dogmatic portions. On the whole, especially in the first part of the *Compendium*, Scripture is but scantily made use of, whilst the Fathers are seldom referred to. Simplicity, order, brevity, and clearness of reasoning, seem principally to have been studied here, whilst the Angelical keeps within the rigid bounds of a genuine *Breviloquium*.* The first thirty-six articles are taken up with the consideration of God's attributes, perfections, intellect, and will.† Then eight are dedicated to the Word, its relations, essence, and connection with the Father.‡ Love is treated next. Then

* "Hiedurch gewinnt das *Compendium theologiæ* einen eigenthümlichen besonderen Werth, abgesehen davon, dass es durch seine nette und succincte Darstellung von grossem Interesse ist; man könnte es dem *Breviloquium* des heiligen Bonaventura als charakteristisches Gegenstück zur Seite stellen." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 389.)

† For instance: *Cap. II.*—Ordo dicendorum circa fidem; *Cap. III.*—Quod Deus sit; *Cap. IV.*—Quod Deus est immobilis; *Cap. V.*—Quod Deus est æternus; *Cap. VI.*—Quod Deum esse per se est necessarium; *Cap. VII.*—Quod Deus semper est; *Cap. VIII.*—Quod in Deo non est aliqua successio; *Cap. IX.*—Quod Deus est simplex; *Cap. X.*—Quod Deus est sua essentia; *Cap. XI.*—Quod Dei essentia non est aliud quam suum esse; *Cap. XII.*—Quod Deus non est in aliquo genere sicut species; *Cap. XIII.*—Quod impossibile est Deum esse genus alicujus, &c.

‡ *Cap. XXXVII.*—Qualiter ponatur verbum in Divinis; *Cap. XXXVIII.*—Quod verbum in Divinis conceptio dicitur; *Cap. XXXIX.*—Quomodo verbum comparatur ad Patrem; *Cap XL.*—Quomodo intelligitur generatio in Divinis; *Cap. XLI.*—Quomodo verbum, quod est

five chapters are spent in speaking of the Holy Spirit and His relations to the Father and the Son. Sixteen follow on the relations, distinctions, and properties of the Divinity.* In harmony with his usual method, after having treated of the Divine life, the Angelical touches upon the Divine action *ad extra*. Hence comes creation in general, then in particular, and in its relation to man. Errors relating to the connection of body and soul, with regard to the light of the intellect, and the generation of life, are gone into patiently ;† and in his analysis of them the Angelical displays the mind of a master. Next, the end of the Divine operations is spoken of. It is proved that the Divine goodness is the last end of all, whilst the

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Filius, idem esse habet cum Deo Patre, et eamdem essentiam ; *Cap. XLII.*—Quod catholica fides hæc docet ; *Cap. XLIII.*—Quod in Divinis non est differentia Verbi a Patre secundum tempus, vel speciem, vel naturam ; *Cap. XLIV.*—Conclusio ex præmissis.

* Beginning thus : *Cap. XLV.*—Quod Deus est in se ipso sicut amatum in amante ; *Cap. XLVI.*—Quod amor in Deo dicitur spiritus ; *Cap XLVII.*—Quod spiritus, qui est in Deo, est sanctus, &c. *(Vol. XVI.)*

† The Saint's treatment of creation and the human soul shows how he wrestled with the dominant errors of his day. See, for instance, *Cap. LXIX.*—Quod Deus in creando res non præsupponit materiam ; *Cap. LXX.*—Quod creare soli Deo convenit ; *Cap. LXXI.*—Quod materiæ diversitas non est causa diversitatis in rebus ; *Cap. LXXII.*—Quomodo Deus diversa produxit, et quomodo pluralitas rerum causata est. Then, *Cap. LXXXVI.*—Quod quæ iam sunt substantiæ intellectuales, quæ immateriales dicuntur ; *Cap. LXXVI.*—Quomodo tales substantiæ sunt arbitrio liberæ ; *Cap. LXXVIII.*—Quod necesse est ponere intellectum agentem ; *Cap. LXXXIV.*—Quod anima humana est incorruptibilis ; *Cap. LXXXV.*—De unitate intellectus possibilis, which is a long and carefully argued chapter, *p.* 19—20 ; *Cap. LXXXVI.*—De intellectu agente, quod non est unus in omnibus. Then comes the great principle, destructive of the Averroistic error, drawn out in *Cap. LXXXVII.*, *p.* 21, namely, Quod intellectus possibilis et agens fundantur in essentia animæ ; then, *Cap. LXXXVIII.*—Qualiter istæ duæ potentiæ conveniant in una essentia animæ ; *Cap. LXXXIX.*—Quod omnes potentiæ in essentia animæ radicantur, *p.* 21.

end of man's intellect is the vision of the essence of God.

Having established the true relation between God and His creatures, the Saint proceeds to consider how man either attains his last end or deflects from it. Hence, good and evil are discussed; while guilt and punishment, and the power exerted by higher natures over lower, are considered in their turn: the bearing of the heavenly bodies upon creation, and how creatures of the earth are influenced by them, are explained.* The Saint demonstrates how God alone can impress the human will, and treats at length of chance, fate, providence, sin, and grace. Then the last end of man, the conditions of the resurrection, the saved and lost, the punishment of sin after death are dwelt upon and theologically propounded; and, finally, original sin and the Incarnation are analyzed, whilst "Christ" is treated of in about forty chapters, with greater frequency of scriptural reference and of patristic authority, and with greater variety of reasoning than is employed in any other portion of the *Compendium.*†

* One of the longest and most carefully-reasoned chapters strikes straight at the error of the Arabians, and is headed:—"Rationes ostendentes quod est necessarium materiam ab æterno creationem mundi præcessisse, et solutiones earum." *(Cap. XCIX., p. 25—26, Vol. XVI.)*

† As a specimen of the *Compendium*, and to show the method of the Angelical in meeting the salient errors of his day, no better chapter could be chosen than the eighty-seventh:—"Quod intellectus possibilis et agens fundantur in essentia animæ. Cum autem intellectus agens et possibilis nobis formaliter uniantur, necesse est dicere quod in eadem essentia animæ conveniant. Omne enim quod alicui unitur formaliter, unitur ei per

But a far greater work than this is the "*Summa Contra Gentiles.*" Just as the noblest work of the Angelical is called a theological sum, so this may be justly named a *philosophical* one. Its principal practical aim at the time it was written was the enlightenment of the Moors, the Saracens, and the Jews of Spain; and also to bring into prominence those arguments from reason for the establishment of Christianity, which were beginning to be undermined by the rationalistic spirit of the age.

Had it not been for the zeal of S. Raymund of Pennafort this powerful argument in favour of the Church most probably would never have been produced.* Raymund was a Spaniard, and is said

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modum formæ substantialis, aut per modum formæ accidentalis. Si igitur intellectus possibilis et agens uniantur homini per modum formæ substantialis; cum unius rei non sit nisi una forma substantialis; necesse est dicere quod intellectus possibilis et agens conveniant in una essentia formæ, quæ est anima. Si vero uniantur homini per modum formæ accidentalis, manifestum est quod neutrum potest esse accidens corpori; et ex hoc quod operationes eorum sunt absque organo corporali, ut supra ostensum est, sequitur quod uterque eorum sit accidens animæ. Non est autem in uno homine nisi una anima. Oportet igitur quod intellectus agens et possibilis in una essentia animæ conveniant."

"Item. Omnis actio quæ est propria alicui speciei, est a principiis consequentibus formam quæ dat speciem. Intelligere autem est operatio propria humanæ speciei. Oportet igitur quod intellectus agens et possibilis, qui sunt principia hujus operationis, sicut ostensum est, consequantur animam humanam, a qua homo habet speciem. Non autem sic consequuntur eam quasi ab ipsa procedentia in corpus, quia, ut ostensum est, prædicta operatio est sine organo corporali. Cujus autem est potentia, ejus et actio. Relinquitur ergo quod intellectus possibilis et agens conveniant in una essentia animæ." *(p. 21, Vol. XVI.)*

* "Qui de Angelici Doctoris vita scripserunt, consentiunt plerique Raymundum Pennafortium, quum in convertendis ad Evangelii lucem Mauris aliisque populis Catholicæ religionis ignaris totus esset, auctorem Thomæ extitisse ut hujuscemodi lucubrationem susciperet; seu ut alii malunt, perficeret jam susceptam. Perfecit autem Aquinas, quod haud dubiis testimoniis compertum habemus, quum summum gereret Pontificatum Urbanus hujus nominis quartus, ab anno scilicet Christiano *MCCLXI. ad MCCLXIV.* Qua quidem in lucubratione non Ethnicos modo vir gravissimus insectari ac refellere aggressus est, sed Thurcas

to have been descended from the kings of Aragon. As a boy he gave signs of exceptional ability, and after passing through the ordinary *curriculum* became a public professor of theology. But having dissuaded a certain young man from entering religion, he was touched with a qualm of conscience, and throwing up his position and prospects, he became a brother of the Friars Preachers. He had scarcely ended his noviciate when he was made *Socius* to the Pontifical Legate in Spain; and his reputation for learning was so high in Rome, that Pope Gregory IX. employed him in putting together the celebrated "*Corpus Juris*," which has been of such great authority in the Church. He also wrote a "*Summa de Casibus Conscientiæ*," in which he manifested considerable originality of genius. Of his humility, poverty, and spirit of retirement, much might be written. He shrank from several high positions, and ever embraced, as a real good, the quiet seclusion and simplicity of monastic life. In 1238 he was elected General of the Order, but it was with difficulty that he could be persuaded to retain office even for two years; and finally he resigned his post,

quoque Mahumetis cultores, et Judæos, et quotquot præterea, a recta avorum fide quum desciverint, *hæreticorum* nomine adpellantur: unde licet conjicere titulum ab æqualibus illorum temporum Operi inditum esse CONTRA GENTILES, propterea quod in hisce potissimum exagitandis magnam partem versatur; verum enimvero, si Auctoris mentem et propositum spectes DE CATHOLICÆ FIDEI VERITATE inscribendum videatur." (S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia, Præfatio, p.* 1, *Vol. V., Parmæ, MDCCCLVI.*; see also Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. IX., n.* 3, *p.* 51.)

and retired to end his days in prayer, study, and meditation in his beloved retreat. He was as famous for his miracles as for his erudition, and he is said to have raised as many as forty persons from the dead.

The one absorbing thought of his life was how he might convert the infidel to Christianity. He felt that one of the mightiest instruments for effecting his purpose would be a well-reasoned and lucid statement of Catholic doctrine.* He knew that he must reach the intellect as well as touch the heart.†

Who could construct a theology to satisfy these requirements? It was but natural that Raymund

* That the "*Contra Gentiles*" was such a work appears from the following:—"Scripsit etiam librum, qui intitulatur Contra Gentiles, stylo disertum, et rationum novitate et subtilitate profundum: in quo miro modo ostendit, quod ex proprio ingenio habuit, et quod raptu mentis in Deum orationibus impetravit. Per quod manifeste ostendit aliis gentibus, fidei non subjectis, quanta sit veritas fidei Christianæ: quæ si humanam rationem transgreditur, rationibus tamen naturalibus, si pro sua altitudine non probatur, verisimiliter suadetur: ut ipsi infideles ex hac scriptura ad fidem habeant auditum, et dictæ scripturæ habere non renuant intellectum: dum advertunt, quod fidem nostram rationibus non possunt impugnare, quibus nequeant defensores fidei rationibus respondere. Unde cum prædictum librum scriberet, frequenter visus est quasi totaliter a sensibus alienus, qui divinis revelationibus semper erat intentus." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. IV., n.* 18, *p.* 663.)

† He had twenty brothers taught Arabic, and they converted as many as ten thousand Saracens in Spain and Africa. Raymund's successor (John of Wildeshusen), was no less zealous. In the acts of the Provincial Chapter of Toledo, we find:—"Cupientes satisfacere mandato magistri et attendentes utilitatem negotii præsentis, præcipue vero futuri, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti assignamus ad studium Arabicum, hoc injungentes in remissionem peccatorum auctoritate magistri et nostra, idque imperantes virtute obedientiæ, Fr. Arnoldum Guardia, F. Petrum de Cadireta, F. Raimundum Martin, F. Petrum Ariam, F. Petrum de Puteo, F. Petrum de Sanctofelice, F. Dominicum Estevan, et F. Petrum de Canoles: supradictum vero F. Arnoldum de Guardia aliorum prælatum designamus. Numerum duodecimum complebimus, cum primum facultatem nobis Deus concesserit." (*Echard et Quetif I, p.* 396.)

should cast his eyes upon the Angel of the Schools. He interceded with the General, and S. Thomas received an obedience to write a work, which is only second to the "*Summa Theologica*" itself in its depth of thought and its scientific conformation. He entitled it "*De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei Contra Gentiles.*"* It at once gained a high position. It was speedily translated into Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, most probably by friars living in the Spanish colleges established by S. Raymund for the study of Oriental tongues. It was in writing this work that the Angelical manifested so great a love of holy poverty, that he made use of refuse paper, such as any other would have thrown away.† He appears to have completed it between 1261 and 1264.

* De Rubeis has written a useful *Dissertatio* on the *Contra Gentiles.* The headings of the chapters suggest, sufficiently for the present purpose, the bearing of his argument, and his conception of the work. "1. Veteres allegantur qui recensent S. Thomæ opus, quod *Summa Contra Gentiles* inscribi solet, hortatore S. Raymundo de Pennafort elucubratum. 2. Genuinus operis titulus constituitur *(i.e., De Veritate Fidei Catholicæ).* 3. Definitur tempus quo illud Aquinas confecit (between 1261—1264). 4. Operis distributio. 5. Theologia naturalis et revelata simul conjunctæ, ac methodus quæ in utraque illustranda servatur. 6. Commentarius Francisci Sylvestri. 7. Hebraica versio a J. M. Ciantes elaborata; græca a Demetrio Cydonio; itemque animadversiones. 8. Solidissimæ S. Thomæ doctrinæ specimen in eo argumento quod Religionis revelatæ veritatem spectat: ac primo naturæ lumine non omnes possunt veritates ad Deum pertinentes innotescere. 9. Istas veritates revelare gratuito favore potuit Deus; itemque alias quæ eodem naturæ lumine investigari possunt. 10. Utrasque veritates reipsa Supremum Numen revelavit. 11. Perperam objiciuntur quæ Mysteria revelata jactabant Gentiles ac jactant Mahumetani. 12. Rationi naturali adversa non sunt Mysteria Fidei christianæ. 13. Supra ipsam rationem attolluntur ac ordinem constituunt naturæ quælibet creatæ superiorem." (S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia, p.* 385—394, *Vol. V.)*

† "Fr. Thomas . . . inter alia fuit præcipuus paupertatis amator, adeo quod, dum scriberet *Summam Contra Gentiles*, non habebat cartas de papyro, in quibus illum scriberet, ita quod illam scripsit in schedulis minutis." *(Processus, Boll., VII. Martii, Cap. VII., n.* 66, *p.* 706.)

In this "*Summa Philosophica*" a decided advance is perceivable towards scientific exposition.* Though it may not be compared with the "*Summa Theologica*" in its perfection of form, its grandeur of conception, and its multiplicity of parts, still it is a far more scientific and artistic work than either the *Compendium* of theology or the "Commentary" on the Lombard. The reading, study, and thought of years, the viewing difficulties in different aspects, a more intimate acquaintance with opponents' minds—all these combined, insensibly carry a theologian towards the best method of manifesting truth, and suggest a system to his mind, which will display it in its most engaging and most perfect shape.†

* After speaking of the *Compendium* Werner says:—"Auf einer ungleich grösseren Höhe systematischer Durchbildung steht die *Summa contra gentiles*, welche ihren Eintheilungsgrund ausschliesslich vom Objecte hernimmt, und von dessen gedankenmässigen inneren Verhältnissen die Gründe der weiteren Gliederung und Stoffvertheilung entlehnt. Dieses Object ist die katholische Wahrheit und ihre Rechtfertigung gegen Andersglaubende der Zweck des Werkes, die Tendenz desselben somit vorherrschend apologetisch. Nun aber scheidet sich das Gebiet der katholischen Wahrheit in zwei grosse Kreise; in den ersten Kreis fallen diejenigen Wahrheiten des Glaubens, welche auch der Vernunft zugänglich sind und durch Demonstrationen erwiesen werden können; andere hingegen sind, weil sie über den Bereich der nothwendigen Vernunfteinsicht erhaben sind, nur durch den Glauben gewiss, und die wissenschaftliche Rechtfertigung derselben beschränkt sich auf Darlegung ihrer Möglichkeit und Denkbarkeit durch analogische Erläuterungen und durch Widerlegung der Gründe, mittelst welcher man die Möglichkeit und Denkfarkeit bestreiten will. (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 402—403.)

† The Saint begins with the words "'Veritatem meditabitur guttur meum, et labia mea detestabuntur impium.' (*Prov. VIII.*, 7.) . . . . Convenienter ergo, ex ore Sapientiæ, duplex sapientis officium in verbis propositis demonstratur, scilicet: veritatem divinam, quæ antonomastice est veritas, meditari et meditatam eloqui, quod tangit quum dicit: *Veritatem meditabitur guttur meum;* et errorem contra veritatem impugnare, quod tangit quum dicit: *Et labia mea detestabuntur impium*, per quod falsitas contra divinam veritatem designatur, quæ religioni contraria est, quæ pietas nominatur; unde etiam falsitas contraria ei, impietatis sibi nomen assumit." (*De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei Contra Gentiles, Lib. I., Cap. I., p.* 1, *Vol. V.*)

The "*Contra Gentiles*," whilst principally aimed at a certain class of aberration, and at establishing the opposite truths, in reality strikes at error as a whole, and builds up from the ground, that is, from principles admitted by all who possess the light of natural reason, the fundamental positions of orthodox religion. Then those other portions of the vast fabric of Christianity, though undemonstrable by mere arguments of human ingenuity, are proved to possess a higher sanction in the supernatural gift of faith.* It is the beautiful completeness of the whole, the fitting of part into part, the lucid evidence, the cogent proof, the firm links of reasoning, the crushing reply, the steady building up of the catholic Temple of Truth from the base to the summit, till it stands out majestically with its clearly-cut outline and harmony of colour, with its order, fitness, and proportion, which

* Nothing could be clearer or more concise than the words of De Rubeis. He says, speaking of the construction of this work :—"In Libros quatuor tributum a sanctissimo Auctore prostat Opus. Singulis præmissum legitur Prooemium. Uno absolvuntur capite, quæ tertio libro et quarto Prooemia præfixa sunt ; capita complectuntur plura, quæ librum primum præcedunt et secundum. Singula vero ab aliquo ducta sunt sacræ Scriptura textu."

"Tum naturalem Theologiam, tum revelatam versat omnem Aquinas. Divinas veritates illas tametsi divina manifestatis revelatione, naturæ tamen lumine adsequibiles, exponit ac vindicat duobus integris primis libris ac tertii parte. Tuetur ac illustrat libro quarto Mysteria Fidei, quæ luminis naturalis vim, potestatem et efficaciam excedunt ; cujusmodi sunt Personarum trinitas, Filii divinitas et Spiritus Sancti, Verbi Dei incarnatio, una in duplici natura persona cum duplici voluntate et operatione, Conceptio ex Virgine matre, Sacramenta, Resurrectio corporum, judicium finale. Tertii superioris libri partem residuam in iis exponendis legis evangelicæ documentis insumit, quæ ad partem moralem pertinent : ultima vera hominis beatitate, amore Dei ejusque cultu, consiliis evangelicis, peccato, et merito, ac debita pœna, divinæ gratiæ auxiliis." (Vid. *Opp Omnia* S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Vol. V., Fr. Jo. Franc. Bernardi Mariæ de Rubeis Ordinis Prædicatorum Dissertatio*, § *IV.*, *p.* 387.)

is as astonishing to the imagination as it is startling to the mind. It seems irresistibly to proclaim to the human reason, from the very unity of its design, that if the truths of the natural order are to be accepted, those of the supernatural cannot be denied; that if a part is to be received the whole must be admitted; for what is so perfectly harmonious cannot have fallen together by hazard, and the mutual bearing of part upon part, of stone upon keystone, proclaims to the intelligence that the architect was one, that what rests on the earth is intimately connected with what is lifted to the heavens, and that the supernatural revelation of Christianity is a gift, not clashing with, but elevating, perfecting, and adorning the initial revelation of the human conscience.*

The work occupies four hundred pages, and is

* The following passage indicates the Angelical's method of showing how harmoniously one step leads to another in the theological order. The *italics* mark out the expressions bearing specially on the point in hand :— "Considerandum etiam videtur quod res quidem sensibiles [et creaturæ omnes], *ex quibus humana ratio* cognitionis principium sumit, *aliquale vestigium in se divinæ imitationis* retinent [videlicet quod sunt et bonæ sunt], ita tamen *imperfectum* quod ad declarandam ipsius Dei substantiam *omnino insufficiens* invenitur. Habent enim effectus suarum causarum, suo modo, similitudinem, cum agens agat sibi simile ; non tamen effectus ad perfectam agentis similitudinem *semper* pertingit. *Humana igitur ratio* ad cognoscendum Fidei veritatem, quæ solum videntibus Divinam substantiam [altiori lumine gloriæ roboratis] potest esse notissima, ita se habet quod ad eam potest *aliquis veras similitudines* colligere ; quæ tamen non sufficient ad hoc quod prædicta veritas, *quasi demonstrative* vel per se intellecta comprehendatur. *Utile* tamen est ut, in hujusmodi rationibus *quantumcumque debilibus* se mens humana exerceat, dummodo desit *comprehendendi* vel *demonstrandi* præsumptio ; quia *de rebus altissimis*, etiam *parva et debili consideratione*, aliquid posse inspicere jucundissimum est." *(De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei Contra Gentiles, Lib. I., Cap. VIII., p. 5, Vol. V.)*

divided into four books.* These may be separated into two main divisions.† The two first books, and a portion of the third, appeal to the light of natural reason, and elicit their arguments from principles which would be admitted by Saracens, Jews, Mahommedans, Arabs, heretics, and rationalists of all degrees. The first book dwells upon God, His being, eternity, simplicity, essence, perfection, goodness, intelligence, truth, will, life, and beatitude, forming in all one hundred and two chapters. Thus the Supreme Being, as He is in Himself, is treated of: the Lord is shown to be God.‡ Having established the Centre of being in His position, the Angelical proceeds in the second book to manifest His relations to the works of His hands; and in this portion of the work it is that the master-heresies of the thirteenth century are riven to pieces with a power which was certainly novel in those days. § Experience, reading,

* *Lib. I., Cap. I.—CII., p.* 1—68; *Lib. II., Cap. I.—CI., p.* 68—159; *Lib. III., Cap. I.—CLXIII., p.* 159—291; *Lib. IV., Cap. I.—XCVII., p.* 129—384. *Vol. V.*

† See the high opinion entertained of this work by Vielmus:—Hieronymi Vielmii *Episc. Æmoniensis de Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis, Lib. II., p.* 108—109; *Brixiæ MDCCXLVIII.*

‡ Lib. I. Prooemium, *p.* 1—6; Deum esse, *p.* 6—12; De Æternitate, *p.* 12; De Simplicitate Dei, *p.* 13—18; De Dei Essentia, *p.* 18—23; De Dei Perfectione, *p.* 23—27; De Dei Bonitate, *p.* 27—29; De Dei Unitate, *p.* 29; De Dei Infinitate, *p.* 31; De Dei Intelligentia, *p.* 33—41; De Dei Veritate, *p.* 42—50; De Dei Voluntate, *p.* 52—65; De Dei Vita, *p.* 65—66; De Dei Beatitudine, *p.* 66—68. Each of these divisions includes a certain number of chapters; take, for example, *De Dei Simplicitate, Cap. XVI.*—Quod in Deo non sit potentia passiva; *Cap. XVII.*—Quod Deus non est materia; *Cap. XVIII.*—Quod in Deo nulla sit compositio; *Cap. XIX.*—Quod in Deo nihil est violentum nihilque præter naturam; *Cap. XX.*—Quod Deus non est corpus.

§ Lib. II. Prooemium, *p.* 68—70; De Dei Potentia, *p.* 70—71; De Dei relationibus ad creaturas, *p.* 71—73; De Creatione in genere,

arguments drawn from the 'Commentary' on the Lombard, and from some of the *Opuscula*, are thrown again into shape, united with more recent matter, and whilst forming an impregnable defence of the truths of Christianity, become a most powerful apology in their favour with the unbeliever. The Saint begins on common ground, and steadily advances, with firm step, to the full view of the Catholic Church. The third book still carries on the work which had been initiated in the second: God's divinity, providence, miracles, law, grace, are fully analyzed, and brought into bold relief;* and the fourth book, while putting as it were

p. 73—85; De Æternitate mundi, *p.* 87—93; De Distinctione rerum, *p.* 94—100; De Substantiis intellectualibus, *p.* 100—106; De Unione animæ et corporis, *p.* 108—122; De Intellectu, *p.* 122—133; De Anima, *p.* 134—149; De Substantiis separatis, *p.* 150—159. The number and length of the chapters at once point to the salient questions of the day. Take the chapters under *De Intellectu* as specimens; *Cap. LXXIII.*—Quod intellectus possibilis non est unus in omnibus hominibus; *Cap. LXXIV.*—De opinione Avicennæ qui posuit formas intelligibiles non conservari in intellectu possibili; *Cap. LXXV.*—Solutio rationum quibus videtur probari unitas intellectus possibilis; *Cap. LXXVI.*—Quod intellectus agens non sit substantia separata, sed aliquid animæ; *Cap. LXXVII.*—Quod non est impossibile intellectum possibilem et agentem, in una substantia animæ convenire; *Cap. LXXVIII.*—Quod non fuit sententia Aristotelis quod intellectus agens sit substantia separata sed magis quod sit aliquid animæ, *p.* 122—134, *Vol. V.*

* Lib. III. Prooemium, *p.* 159; De intentione agentis, de bono et malo, *p.* 160—169; De fine rerum, *p.* 170—176; De fine et felicitate hominis, *p.* 177—184; De contemplatione Dei. *p.* 184—206; De providentia Dei, *p.* 206—239 (as an example of some of the chapters of this important argument; *Cap. LXIV.*—Quod Deus sua providentia gubernat universa; *Cap. LXV.*—Quod Deus conservat res in esse; *Cap. LXVI.*—Quod nihil dat esse, nisi inquantum agit in virtute divina; *Cap. LXVII.*—Quod Deus est causa operandi omnibus operantibus; *Cap. LXVIII.*—Quod Deus est ubique et in omnibus rebus; *Cap. LXIX.*—De opinione eorum qui a rebus naturalibus proprias subtrahunt actiones; *Cap. LXX.*—Quomodo idem effectus sit a Deo et a naturali agente: *Cap. LXXI.*—Quod divina providentia non excludit arbitrii libertatem); De miraculis et de mirabilibus, *p.* 241—251; De lege Divina, *p.* 252—279; De Gratia Divina, *p.* 280—291.

the keystone in the arch, dwells upon the supernatural truths of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Sacraments of Grace, and Life Eternal.* Thus the City of God stands out clear and bright before the eye of the mind, casting into shade the mystic and volatile dreamings of the Easterns, and shaming rationalism and irreverence itself into the homage of genuine admiration. It is such mighty constructions as these which really impress and captivate the educated mind.

Then the Angelical wrote other works of great polemical importance, touching upon certain salient errors which called for special attention at his day. Besides the rationalism and irreverence of the schools, which the Saint waged war against by the gentle majesty of his personal character, and by the great architectonic creations of his genius, there were the three rampant evils, Greek schism, Jewish obstinacy, and Eastern pantheism to be met.†

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* Lib. IV. Prooemium, *p.* 291; De Sancta Trinitate, *p.* 293—323; De Incarnatione Dei, *p.* 324—350; De Sacramentis, *p.* 354—368; De Vita æterna, *p.* 369—384. See the Angelical's grasp of the heresies of the past: *Cap. XXVIII.*—De errore Photini circa incarnationem; *Cap. XXIX.*—De errore Manichæorum circa incarnationem; *Cap. XXX.*—De errore Valentini circa incarnationem; *Cap. XXXI.*—De errore Apollinaris circa corpus Christi; *Cap. XXXII.*—De errore Arii et Apollinaris circa animam Christi; *Cap. XXXIII.*—De errore Apollinaris dicentis animam rationalem non fuisse in Christo, et de errore Origenis dicentis animam Christi ante mundum fuisse creatam; *Cap. XXXIV.*—De errore Theodori Mopsuesteni circa unionem verbi ad hominem.

† Werner's remarks are worth careful study. Speaking of the "*Contra Gentiles*," he says:—"Die *Summa adversus Gentiles* soll keine Palästra für dialektische Denkübungen sein; der dialektischen Function des Abwägens von Satz und Gegensatz zum Zwecke einlässlicher Erörterung und feiner, scharfer Begränzung einer *in thesi* feststehenden Wahrheit ist in diesem Werke nicht Raum gegeben. Denn es handelt sich hier weit mehr um Begründung, als um Ausführung der fraglichen Sätze; daher das Bestreben,

Against each of these the Saint directed the logic of his powerful intelligence. It is true that in reality he refutes them in his larger works, but that did not prevent him dealing with them singly, and combating in detail the fallacies by which they were supported.

Whilst Pope Urban IV. was endeavouring to negociate a union between the Greek and Latin Churches, the Angelical was steadily writing his celebrated "*Opusculum Contra Errores Græcorum.*" *

The cardinal questions of dispute were regarding the Holy Spirit, the primacy and power of the Pope, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and

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durch die Wucht einer möglichst gehäuften Zahl von Gründen in strenger, kurzer Fassung der in Frage gestellten Wahrheit die gerechte Geltung und nothgedrungene Anerkennung zu vindiciren. Diese vielen Gründe, die als Beleg für einen bestimmten besonderen Satz angeführt werden, sind aber in der Regel nichts anderes, als Beleuchtungen desselben aus allen Fundamentalsätzen seines Systems; sie dienen ihm dazu, die Beziehungen jeder besonderen Wahrheit zu allen Seiten des Ganzen hervorzustellen, zeigen also den Sinn des Ganzen an jeder einzelnen Hauptwahrheit. . . . Manichäismus und Fatalismus, emanatianistischer Pantheismus und hylozoistischer Sensualismus rangen mit dem Rechte der christlichen Ueberzeugungen; Islam und Judenthum, Häresie und Schisma forderten die Kirche zum Kampfe heraus. Allen diesen Feinden sollte nun, so weite der Kampf mit geistigen Waffen geführt wurde, die *Summa philosophica* als geschlossene Phalanx entgegengestellt werden." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 404—405.)

* *Contra Errores Græcorum ad Urbanum IV. P.M. (Opusc. VI.) Cap I.—XXXII., p.* 239—258, *Vol. XV.*) In the *Prooemium* the Saint indicates the cause of his writing:—"Libellum ab excellentia vestra mihi exhibitum, Sanctissime Pater Urbane Papa, diligenter perlegi: in quo inveni quamplurima ad nostræ fidei assertionem utilia et expressa. Consideravi autem, quod ejus fructus posset apud plurimos impediri propter quædam in auctoritatibus sanctorum Patrum contenta, quæ dubia esse videntur, et unde possent materiam ministrare errorum, et contentionis dare occasionem, et calumniæ. Et ideo, ut remota omni ambiguitate, ex auctoritatibus in prædicto libello contentis veræ fidei fructus purissimus capiatur, proposui primo ea quæ dubia esse videntur in auctoritatibus prædictis, exponere; et postmodum ostendere quomodo ex eis veritas catholicæ fidei et doceatur et defendatur." (*p.* 239.)

Purgatory. Both Greeks and Latins quoted tradition. Photius, in his "*Mystagogia Spiritus Sancti*," * endeavoured to show that the Fathers and Popes were in his favour. He said that if S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, or S. Augustine appeared to agree with the Latins, it was either because their works had been tampered with, or because they condescended to the weakness of those with whom they were in communion ; or finally because, like many of the eminent Greek Fathers, such as Denis of Alexandria, Methodius of Patara, Pierius, Pamphilus, Theognostus, Irenæus, and Hippolytus, they had fallen into error ; whilst with respect to the Sovereign Pontiffs, Popes Damasus, Celestine, Leo the Great, Vigilius, Agatho, Gregory the Great, Zachary, Leo III., Leo IV., Benedict III., and John VIII., were witnesses to the orthodox doctrine of the Greek Church. †

Now the Angelical was employed by Pope Urban IV. to bring out before the Catholic world the true voice of tradition, and to make manifest the erroneous teaching of the Greeks. The *Opusculum*

* "Den Lateinern blieb die Mystagogie des Photius durch fast drei Jahrhunderte unbekannt, was nicht Wunder nehmen darf, da die schliessliche Wendung der Geschichte des Photius und die darauf folgende Erneuerung der Einheit zwischen Griechen und Lateinern bis auf Michael Cärularius das Interesse an dieser Frage hinter andere näher liegende zurücktreten machte. Auch später, als das Schisma zum zweiten Male anhob, lernten die Lateiner die griechische Begründung der Verwerfung des *filioque* erst allmählig im näheren Verkehr mit byzantinischen Theologen und Gelehrten kennen." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 728.)

† *Cf.* Werner, *Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 728.

of the Saint originated in a book on the Greek question, containing arguments in favour of the Latins, which had been sent to him by the Sovereign Pontiff.* In his *Prooemium* he says that he has discovered much in it which would serve the Latin cause;† and continues:—

> But as it appeared to me that its effects may be lost on many because of certain statements made on the authority of the Holy Fathers, which in reality seem doubtful, and which hence might generate error, and breed contention and calumny; in order to remove all ambiguity, and that the most pure fruit of the faith may be gathered from the authorities contained in the said work, I have proposed first to explain what appears doubtful in these authorities, and then to show how the truth of the Catholic faith is taught and defended in them.

The Saint, in fact, writes a critique upon the work, and mentions various expressions of the

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* A general idea of the contents of the *Opusculum* may be gathered from the headings of some of the chapters: *Cap. I.*—Quomodo intelligitur hoc quod dicitur quod Filius habet esse a Patre sicut causatum a causa; *Cap. II.*—Quomodo intelligitur cum dicitur, quod Filius sit secundus a Patre, et Spiritus sanctus sit tertius; *Cap. III.*—Quomodo intelligitur hoc quod dicitur, quod Spiritus sanctus sit tertium lumen; *Cap. IV.*—Quomodo intelligitur, quod essentia sit genita in Filio, et spirata in Spiritu sancto; *Cap. V.*—Quomodo intelligitur quod Jesus dicitur filius paternæ essentiæ; *Cap. VI.*—Quomodo intelligitur, quod quæ sunt propria naturaliter Patris, sunt propria Filii; *Cap. VII.*—Quomodo intelligitur quod Pater neque Filio neque Spiritu Sancto indiget ad sui perfectionem; *Cap. VIII.*—Quomodo intelligitur quod Spiritus Sanctus dicitur ingenitus; *Cap. IX.*—Quomodo intelligitur quod Spiritus sanctus dicitur medius Patris et Filii . . . Then *Cap. XXXII.*—Quomodo intelligitur quod sola definitio Nicaeni Concilii est unica et vera possessio fidelium; Quod Spiritus sanctus est Spiritus Filii; Quod Filius mittit Spiritum sanctum; Quod Spiritus sanctus accipit de eo quod est Filii; Quod Filius operatur per Spiritum sanctum; Quod Spiritus sanctus sit imago Filii; Quod est character Filii; Item quod est sigillum Filii; Item quod Spiritus sanctus est a Patre per Filium; Quod Spiritus sanctus sit a Filio; Quod simul est a Patre et Filio . . .

† It has never been published. It rests with the other works of the Angelical, No. 808, in the library of the Vatican.

Fathers to which exception might be taken. His logical mind, modelled in the school of orthodoxy, and possessing a steady light, with masterly skill draws out the real meaning of the holy Doctors; and where they appear to use terms which could be misconstrued, or which are evidently inaccurate, he casts them into their true theological position. No man who had not gone through a thoroughly sound training, and who had not been familiar with the mind and system of the Fathers, could have succeeded as our Saint has done in so delicate an operation.*

The principal writers whom he explains are S. Athanasius and S. Basil; then S. Gregory Nyssen and Nazianzen, S. Cyril, S. Epiphanius, S. Hilary, S. Chrysostom, S. John Damascene, and S. Augustine, as well as Richard of S. Victor's, S.

* As this *Opusculum* is a crucial test of the Angelical's familiarity with the Fathers, Scripture, and dogma, as well as of his critical acumen, it will not be beside the mark to offer a few specimens. *Cap. XXI.*— "Item dubium est de hoc quod Athanasius dicit in eadem epistola: 'Filius Dei, ut hominem ad se reduceret, hominem in sua hypostasi assumens deificando Deum fecit:' et in III. Sermone Nicæni Concilii: 'Ipsos consummari impossibile est nisi ego suscipiam perfectum hominem, et deificem, et mecum Deum faciam.' Ex quibus datur intelligi quod hæc sit vera, Homo factus est Deus. Sed sciendum, quod secundum illam opinionem quæ in Christo dicit duo supposita, æqualiter utraque est vera: Deus est factus homo, et homo factus est Deus. Est enim sensus secundum eos, cum dicitur, Deus factus est homo: Suppositum Divinæ naturæ unitum est supposito humanæ naturæ; et e converso cum dicitur, Homo factus est Deus, sensus est: Suppositum humanæ naturæ est unitum filio Dei. Sed tenendo quod in Christo sit unum tantum suppositum, hæc est vera et propria: Deus factus est homo, quia ille qui fuit Deus ab æterno, incepit esse homo ex tempore. Hæc autem non est vera proprie loquendo: Homo factus est Deus: quia suppositum æternum quod supponitur nomine hominis, semper fuit Deus: unde exponenda est sic: Homo factus est Deus; idest, factum est ut homo sit Deus." *(Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXI., p. 246, Vol. XV.)*

Denis, the Lombard, and Maximus the monk. The following shows his method. He says :—

In many places these authorities [the holy Doctors] teach that the Holy Ghost is the image of the Son, as Athanasius says in the third Sermon on the Nicene Council: "The Holy Spirit of the Father and Son is called one deifying and life-giving Spirit, and is the true image of the Son, containing Him essentially, and naturally representing Him in Himself, just as the Son is the image of the Father;" and in the Epistle to Serapion: "The Holy Spirit contains the Son naturally in Himself, as His true and natural image." So Basil: * "The Holy Spirit is called the finger, the spiration, the unction, the breathing, the sense of Christ, procession, production, mission, emanation, effusion, vaporation, splendour, image, character, true God;" and again: "The Holy Spirit of the Father and the Son is the true virtue and the natural image of the Father and Son: He naturally represents them both to us. But it has not been the custom among the Latins to call the Holy Spirit the image of the Father or the Son; for S. Augustine says that the Son alone is signified by the Word, and thus word means image; and that the Son alone is the

* Now take S. Basil:—"Item videtur esse falsum quod Basilius dicit in 3 sermone de Spiritu sancto contra Eunomium hæreticum: 'sicut,' inquit, 'filius se habet ad patrem, eodem modo Spiritus sanctus se habet ad filium.' Et propter hoc dicitur, quod verbum Patris est Filius, verbum autem Filii Spiritus. 'Portat,' inquit Apostolus (*Hebr. I.*, 3) 'omnia verbo virtutis suæ.' Verbum enim, ut Augustinus dicit in lib. de Trinitate, solus Filius est. Unde et Joannes nomen verbi pro nomine Filii ponit . . . Nec refert, si quis translationem mutet, ut loco verbi eloquium ponat: nam id quod quis loquitur, verbum ejus est. Unde sicut solus filius in Divinitate est verbum, ita solus est eloquium. Sed dicendum, quod verbum Dei quandoque dicitur etiam sermo divinitus inspiratus et prolatus: et de hoc verbo hic Basilius intelligit, dicens Spiritum sanctum esse verbum vel eloquium Filii effective, inquantum Sancti ab eo inspirati de Filio sunt locuti, secundum quod dicitur (*Joan XVI.*, 13) de Spiritu sancto: 'Quæcumque audiet, loquetur.' Et quod hic sit intellectus Basilii, patet ex eo quod subdit: 'Ex quo eloquium filii per Apostolum: Gladium spiritus, dicit, sumite, quod est verbum Dei.' Ipsum enim verbum fidei a sanctis prolatum, gladium spiritus manifeste dicitur." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XII., p.* 243—244, *Vol. XV.*)

image of the Father, as well as being the Son. Richard of S. Victor's also gives the reason in his book on the Trinity why the Holy Spirit cannot be called, like the Son, an image.*

Some say that the Holy Spirit cannot be called image on this account: because then he would be the image of two, viz., of the Father and the Son, since He proceeds from two, and there cannot be one image of two things. Speaking on the authority of Sacred Scripture, which must not be overstepped in treating of the Divinity, it is expressly said that the Son is the image of the Father: for it is said, "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love. In whom we have redemption of sins. Who is the image of the invisible God." † And of the Son: ‡ "Who being the brightness of His glory and the figure of His substance." §

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* Now take S. Gregory Nazianzen:—"Item videtur esse dubium quod Gregorius Nazianzenus in sermone de Epiphania dicit, quod 'Spiritus sanctus secundum quod est in Deo, procedit ut sit ingenitus et non filius, medius ingeniti genitique.' Non enim videtur quod Spiritus Sanctus ingenitus dici possit. Hilarius enim dicit in *lib de Synodis*, quod 'si quis duos ingenitos dicit, duos Deos facit.' Item Athanasius dicit in Epistola ad Serapionem, quod 'non est ingenitus Spiritus sanctus, quia inprincipiatum esse et ingenitum soli Deo patri catholica Ecclesia congregata apud Nicæam recte et fideliter attribuit, et de solo patre hoc esse credendum et prædicandum, toti mundo sub anathemate mandavit.' Sed dicendum, quod 'ingenitus' dupliciter accipi potest. Uno modo pro eo quod caret principio; et sic soli patri convenit, ut ex dictis Athanasii patet. Alio modo pro eo quod non est genitum, licet sit principium habens; et sic non solum Gregorius Nazianzenus in verbis præmissis, sed etiam Hieronymus in regulis definitionum contra hæreticos Spiritum sanctum dicit esse ingenitum." *(Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. VIII., p. 242; Vol. XV.)*

† Take S. Chrysostom:—"Et Chrysostomus dicit super epistola ad Romanos: 'Si Spiritus est character et sigillum Christi; qui non habet sigillum et characterem Christi, hic non est ipsius Christi.' Constat autem quod character et sigillum derivantur ab eo cujus sunt. Unde per auctoritates Doctorum dictorum aperte ostenditur, quod Spiritus sanctus a Filio derivatur. Horum autem Doctorum auctoritates etiam ex auctoritate sacræ scripturæ, confirmantur. Dicitur enim *II. Corinth., I.*, 21: 'Unxit nos Deus, et signavit nos, et dedit pignus spiritus in cordibus nostris:' quod quidem de Patre et Filio intelligi oportet; cum uterque Spiritum sanctum det, ut ostensum est: et ad *Ephes., I.*, 13: 'In quo,' scilicet Christo, 'credentes signati estis spiritu promissionis sancto, qui est pignus hæreditatis nostræ.'" *(Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p. 251; Vol. XV.)*

‡ *Coloss., Chap. I.*, 13. § *Heb., Chap. I.*, 3.

But it must be known that two authorities of Sacred Scripture are brought forward by the Greeks in which the Holy Spirit seems to be called the image of the Son; for it is said: "For whom he foreknew he also predestinated to be made conformable to the image of his Son." * Now the image of the Son seems to be nothing else than the Holy Ghost. Again; "As we have borne the image of the earthly, let us bear also the image of the heavenly," † that is of Christ: by which image they understood the Holy Spirit, although in these authorities the Holy Spirit is not expressly called image. ‡ It can be thus understood that men are conformed to the image of the Son, or that they bear the image of Christ, inasmuch as holy men are perfected by the gifts of grace so as to resemble Christ, according to that of the Apostle: "We all beholding the glory of the Lord with open face, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord." § For here he does not say that the image is the spirit of Christ, but something existing in us from the spirit of God.

But because it is presumptuous to go against the express authority of such distinguished Doctors, we can say that the Holy Spirit is the image of the Father and the Son, in so far forth as by image nothing else is meant than something

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* *Rom., Chap. VIII.*, 29. † *I. Cor., Chap. XV.*, 49.

‡ Bareille speaks thus of the method of the *Contra Errores Græcorum*:—"C'est la puissance de l'analogie qui force le Docteur à reconnaître que le dogme de l'Esprit-Saint, procédant du Père et du Fils, fait partie de l'essence même du christianisme. La prééminence de rang et d'autorité du pontife romain est prouvée par la même méthode; le purgatoire repose également sur des bases inébranlables. Quand les propositions de la foi se prêtent aux déductions de la logique, celle-ci devient entre les mains de Thomas une arme toute-puissante; il remonte à toutes les origines, il interprète tous les monuments; les anciens Pères de l'Eglise grecque répondent unanimement aux Pères de l'Eglise latine. Les nuages sont dissipés, les difficultés disparaissent, les motifs de haine et de division sont complètement détruits; il ne tient plus au saint Docteur que l'union ne s'établisse désormais sur les fondements de la doctrine et de la charité." (*Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XX., p.* 239—240; *Quatrième Edition.*)

§ *II. Cor., Chap. III.*, 18.

existing *ab alio* and bearing its similitude.* But if by image is understood something existing from another, and bearing its similitude from the very fact of its origin, as a son who is begotten, or a word which is conceived, then, in that case, the Son alone is called an image. It belongs to the son to have a similitude to the father in whatever nature; and similarly it is of the nature of a word to be the similitude of that which is expressed by the word, whosesoever word it be; but it is not of the nature of spirit or of love to be in the similitude of him from whom it is, in everything, but this is the case in the Spirit of God on account of the unity and simplicity of the Divine Essence, from which it follows that whatever is in God is God. Nor is there anything against the idea of an image that the Holy Spirit does not resemble the Father in any personal specialties; because the similitude and equality of the Divine persons does not depend upon personal specialties, but upon essential attributes.† Nor should inequality and

* "Sed quia presumptuosum est tantorum Doctorum tam expressis auctoritatibus contraire, possumus quidem dicere Spiritum sanctum esse imaginem Patris et Filii, ita quod per imaginem nihil aliud intelligatur quam existens ab alio et ejus similitudinem gerens. Si autem per imaginem intelligatur aliquid existens ab altero, ex ipsa suæ originis ratione habens quod similitudinem gerat ejus a quo existit, in quantum ab altero, ut filius genitus, vel ut verbum conceptum; sic solus Filius dicitur imago; de ratione enim filii est quod similitudinem patris habeat in quacumque natura; et similiter de ratione verbi est quod sit similitudo ejus quod verbo exprimitur cujuscumque sit verbum; sed non est de ratione spiritus vel amoris, quod sit similitudo ejus cujus est, in omnibus; sed hoc in spiritu Dei verificatur propter divinæ essentiæ unitatem et simplicitatem, ex qua oportet quod quicquid est in Deo, sit Deus. Nec obstat ad rationem imaginis quod Spiritus Sanctus non convenit cum Patre in aliqua personali proprietate, quia similitudo et æqualitas personarum divinarum non attenditur secundum proprietates personales, sed secundum attributa essentialia." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. X., p.* 243, *Vol. XV.*)

† Here is a specimen of brevity and clearness: *Cap. XVII.*—"*Quomodo intelligitur, divinam essentiam increatam, conceptam esse et natam:* Item videtur esse dubium quod Athanasius dicit in epistola ad Serapionem, 'essentiam divinam increatam, conceptam esse et natam ex Virgine matre.' Magister enim in 3 Sentent., dist. 8, dicit, quod 'quæ res non est de patre genita, non videtur esse de matre nata, ne res aliqua filiationis nomen habeat in humanitate quæ non habet in Divinitate.' Et sic, cum divina essentia non sit nata de patre, non potest dici esse de matre. Sed dicendum, quod sicut improprie essentia divina dicitur generans vel genita secundum

dissimilitude be spoken of in the Divinity on the strength of difference of personal specialties, as S. Augustine says in his book against Maximus. When it is said that the Son is begotten of the Father, inequality of substance is not indicated, but order of nature. In like manner it makes no difference that the Holy Spirit proceeds from two; for he is from two inasmuch as they are one, since the Father and the Son are the one principle *(unum principium)* of the Holy Ghost.

Having explained his authorities, the Saint proceeds to show how they minister to truth and strike at error.*

generationem æternam, inquantum essentia ponitur pro persona, ut intelligatur essentiam generare, quia Pater, qui est essentia generat; secundum eumdem modum dicitur essentia divina nata de Virgine, quia Filius Dei, qui est divina essentia, natus est de Virgine." *(Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XVII., p.* 245, *Vol. XV.)*

* It has been controverted whether the Angelical was acquainted with the Greek tongue. The Dominican Guyard wrote a dissertation on the point, entitled, "Dissertatio, utrum S. Thomas calluerit linguam græcam: sequuntur observationes in tres priores Launoii epistolas et in 2 epistolam ad Thomam Fortinum." Guyard would establish that the Saint was very well acquainted with the language. Vincent Baro and Nicolajus do not agree with him in this. The fact appears to lie between the two; that, though the Angelical understood Greek to a certain point, still he had never learnt it systematically. What Werner says in the following interesting words fully bears this out:—"So z. B. die Herleitung des Wortes *μανία* von *manere* (2, 1 *qu.* 46, *art.* 8); *ἀγιος* von α—γη=*quasi sine terra* (2, 2 *qu.* 81, *art.* 8 und *caten. aur.* über Luc, 1, 49); *epikia*=*ἐπὶ δίκαιον, quod est supra justum* (2, 2 *qu.* 102, *art.* 2); Prophet von *πρὸ pro, procul* und *φάνος i. e. apparitio, quia scilicet eis aliqua, quæ sunt procul, apparent; διάβολος=circumsedens (comment. in Job, c.* 1, *lect.* 2); *archangelus* von *ἄρχος* (ein gar nicht existirendes Wort)=*princeps*, und *angelus (ad* 1 *Cor.* 15, *lect.* 3); *orthodoxus = recte glorians*, von *orthos i. e. rectum*, und *doxa i. e. gloria (opusc.* 24). Im Comm. zu *Politic. lib. VIII, lect.* 1, *h: Mechanica ideo dicitur, quia mechari facit quodammodo intellectum circa ea, quæ non sunt sibi propria* u. s. w. Uebrigens darf nicht übersehen werden, dass sich auch viele richtige Erklärungen griechischer Ausdrücke bei Thomas finden, z. B. über *ethos* (2, 1 *qu.* 58, *art.* 1); *eubulia* (2, 2 *qu.* 51, *art.* 1); *Stilbon = scintillans* als Bezeichnung des Mercur *(de cœlo II, l.* 12). *sphatesis* und *cercisis (Phys. VI, lect.* 3) u. s. w. Man kann also nicht sagen, dass er des Griechischen gänzlich unkundig gewesen; aber so viel steht fest, dass er es nicht methodisch erlernt hat. In ähnlicher Weise urtheilen auch *Vielmius (de Divi Thomæ doctrina ac scriptis*, 1564, neu edirt *Vindobon.* 1763), *Tuvella (de Laudibus S. Thomæ*, Genua 1738) u. s. w." *(Der heilige Thomas von Aquino. Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 766.)

For it must be considered that "for this purpose the Son of God appeared that he might destroy the works of the devil."* Hence the devil directed, and still directs all his efforts to dissolve those things which are of Christ. And this he first of all attempted to do by means of tyrants, killing the ministers of Christ, and afterwards by means of heretics, through whose instrumentality he put many to death spiritually. Hence whoever diligently studies the errors of heretics will find them principally tend to this—to derogate from the dignity of Christ. For Arius detracted from the dignity of Christ when he denied that the Son of God was co-essential with the Father, asserting Him to be a creature. Macedonius also did the same, because whilst he called the Holy Spirit a creature he deprived the Son of the authority of breathing a divine person. Manes did in like manner, because by asserting that visible things were created by a wicked God, he denied that all things were created through the Son.† Nestorius also dissolved the things which were of Christ; for in teaching that the person of the Son of man was one, and the person of the Son of God was another, he denied the oneness of Christ. Eutyches dissolved Christ; because whilst he would of two natures—the divine

* *I. John, Chap. III.*, 8.

† See how the Angelical combines the teaching of Greek and Latin Doctors:—"Considerandum est etiam, quod eisdem rationibus utuntur Doctores Græcorum ad ostendendum processionem Spiritus sancti a Filio quibus et utuntur Latini Doctores. Argumentatur enim Anselmus in Lib. de Processione Spiritus sancti ad ostendendam processionem Spiritus sancti ex hoc quod Pater et Filius sunt unius essentiæ. Ex quo sequitur quod Pater et Filius non differant ab invicem nisi in hoc quod hic est Pater, ille Filius. Habere autem Spiritum sanctum ex se procedentem non pertinet ad rationem paternitatis, neque ad rationem filiationis. Non enim ex hoc Pater dicitur Pater, quia Spiritus sanctus ab eo procedit; neque filiationi repugnat quod habeat ex se spiritum procedentem. Relinquitur ergo quod habere ex se Spiritum procedentem, est commune Patri et Filio. Et similiter Athanasius in Teca super Joannem sic argumentatur. 'Ex quo Filius omnia quæ Patris sunt, essentialiter habet, habet et Spiritum:' et Cyrillus dicit in Lib. Thesaurorum: 'vere spiritum Christi, spiritum Patris Apostolus dicit esse unum, et non plures: quoniam omnia quæ sunt Patris, veraciter et proprie transeunt secundum naturam in vero Filio.'" (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII.*, *p.* 254.)

and the human—form one in the Incarnation of Christ, he destroyed both, for what is made up of two things cannot truly be called either of them. Pelagius dissolved Christ, who by saying that grace was not necessary to man for salvation, frustrated the coming of the Son of God in the flesh; "for grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." * Jovinianus also lowered the dignity of Christ; for by equalling persons living in wedlock to virgins, he struck at that dignity of Christ by which we confess Him to be born of a virgin. Vigilantius did in like manner: because in attacking poverty practised out of love of our Lord he aimed at the perfection which Christ observed and taught.† It is not said, without a meaning, that "Every spirit that dissolveth Jesus is not of God, and this is Antichrist." ‡

And so also there are said to be some in these days who are trying to dissolve Christ, and to diminish His dignity in as far as is in them. For when they say that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, they diminish that dignity of His by which, together with the Father, He is the "spiration" of the Holy Spirit. And whilst they deny that there is one head of the Church, that is to say the holy Roman Church,

* *John, Chap. I.*, 17. † *I. John, Chap. IV.*, 3.

‡ The Saint continues showing the harmony of teaching in Greek and Latins thus:—"Ex hoc autem patet quod cum dicitur in Evangelio, Spiritum sanctum a Patre procedere, datur intelligi quod procedat a Filio, licet in Evangelio non addatur. Ea enim quæ essentialiter dicuntur de Patre et Filio, dicta de Patre, oportet quod intelligantur de Filio, etiam si cum exclusione dicantur; sicuti cum dicitur *Joan., XVII.*, 3: 'Ut cognoscam te solum Deum verum:' et *I. Tim., VI.*, 15: 'Quem,' scilicet Christum, 'suis temporibus ostendet beatus' et solus potens Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, qui solus habet immortalitatem. Intelliguntur enim hujusmodi et de Filio verificari ea ratione, quia Filius et Pater secundum essentiam unum sunt, secundum quod dicitur *Joan., X.*, 30: 'Ego et Pater unum sumus.' Cum igitur habere spiritum ex se procedentem, sit commune Patri et Filio, sicut ea quæ dicuntur essentialiter, ut ex dictis patet; cum dicitur in Evangelio, Spiritum sanctum a Patre procedere, intelligendum est quod procedat a Filio. Eadem ratione cum in Symbolo a Patribus edito dictum est quod Spiritus sanctus procedit a Patre, intelligi oportet quod procedit et a Filio; sicut cum de Patre in eodem Symbolo dicitur quod sit omnipotens, visibilium et invisibilium factor, oportet quod et de Filio intelligatur." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p.* 255.)

they manifestly dissolve the unity of the mystical body; for there cannot be one body if there is not one head, nor one congregation where there is not one rector. Hence "there shall be one fold and one shepherd." * And whilst they deny that the Sacrament of the altar can be consecrated of unleavened bread, they manifestly go against Christ Himself, who on the first day of the azymes (when by the law of the Jews nothing leavened was to be found in their houses), according to the Evangelists, instituted this Sacrament.† They seem also to cast a reflection on the purity of the Sacramental body of Christ, concerning which the Apostle exhorts the faithful, saying that they are not to feast "with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." ‡ They also diminish the virtue of this Sacrament by denying purgatory; because it is the custom to offer mass in the Church for the living and the dead, and by doing away with purgatory the efficacy of the mass is destroyed in its relation to the dead. For it can do no good to those in hell, out of which there is no redemption, nor to those who are in glory,

* *John, Chap. X.*, 16.

† Here is a fair specimen of the Saint's method of arguing from Holy Scripture :—"Ad ostendendum autem quod Spiritus sanctus a Patre procedat et Filio, primo sumendum est quod etiam ab ipsis errantibus negari non potest, cum expresse auctoritate sacræ Scripturæ probetur: quod scilicet Spiritus sanctus sit spiritus Filii. Dicitur enim ad *Galat., IV.*, 6: 'Quoniam autem estis filii Dei, misit Deus spiritum Filii sui in corda vestra clamantem, Abba, pater:' et *Rom. VIII.*, 9: 'Si quis spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus:' et *Actuum, XVI.*, 7: 'Cum venissent Misiam, tentabant ire in Bithyniam: et non permisit eos spiritus Jesu.' Dicitur etiam *I. Corinth., II.*, 16: 'Nos autem sensum Christi habemus;' quod de Spiritu sancto necesse est intelligi, ut patet per ea quæ ab Apostolo præmittuntur. Dicitur etiam Spiritus sanctus, spiritus veritatis, *Joan., XV.*, 26, ubi dicitur: 'Cum venerit Paraclytus, quem mittam vobis a Patre, spiritum veritatis.' Dicitur et spiritus vitæ, *Rom. VIII.*, 2: 'Lex spiritus vitæ in Christo Jesu;' unde cum Filius de se dicat, *Joan. XIV.*, 6; 'Ego sum via, veritas et vita:' concludunt Doctores Græcorum, quod sit spiritus Christi: quod similiter adstruunt ex hoc quod habetur in *Psal. XXXII.*, 6: 'Verbo Domini cœli firmati sunt, et spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum.' Nam os Patris Filius dicitur, sicut et verbum." (*Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p.* 248—249.)

‡ *I. Cor., Chap. V., v.* 8.

who do not need our suffrages. Therefore I will briefly show how errors of this kind are confuted by the authorities above-mentioned, beginning first with the procession of the Holy Spirit.*

After proving that it is necessary for salvation to believe in the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, S. Thomas says :—

The error of those who say the Vicar of Christ, the Pontiff of the Roman Church, does not possess the primacy of the Universal Church, is like the errors of those who declare that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son.† For Christ Himself the Son of God consecrates His Church, and seals it to Himself by the Holy Spirit, as it were, with His own character and seal, as is manifest from the aforesaid authorities.‡ And in like manner the Vicar of Christ, by His

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* *Chap. XXXII., p.* 248.

† Fr. Alessandro Reali (de'Predicatori Maestro in Sacra Teologia, et Reggente del Collegio di S. Tommaso alla Minerva in Roma) has written an able treatise to prove that, though the Angelical makes use of the authority of the Greek Doctors in touching on the prerogatives of the Sovereign Pontiff, he does not *found* his teaching upon them, but rather on the words of Sacred Scripture. That such is the case is evident from the way in which the Saint treats the same point in his *Commentary* on the Lombard, in the *Catena Aurea*, and in the *Summa Theologica* itself. Fr. Alessandro Reali says :—"Certamente nell' opusculo *contra errores Græcorum*, che è l'unica opera ove si serve l'Aquinate delle Greche testimonianze a lui esibite dal Pontefice Urbano, dovrebbe chiaramente apparire, quelle autorità essere state il fondamento sul quale innalzò la propria dottrina. Ma si manifesta tutto il contrario. In quell' Opusculo, come lo dimostra il titolo *contra errores Græcorum*, ha di mira l'Angelico abbattere le false opinioni che avevano corotto la fede di molti fra i Greci : perciò lo intitola *contra errores Græcorum*. Ora stimò conveniente servirsi delle autorità di Greci Dottori, perchè siccome venerati da Greci, più facilmente avrebbero abbracciate le sentenze contrarie insegnate dalla Chiesa latina." *(San Tommaso d' Aquino e L' Infallibilità dei Romani Pontefici, p.* 7. *Roma,* 1870.)

‡ There are five headings under Chapter XXXII. of the "*Contra Errores Græcorum*," which bear upon the privileges of the Sovereign Pontiff 1. Quod Pontifex Romanus est primus et maximus inter omnes Episcopos. 2. Quod idem Pontifiex in totam Ecclesiam Christi universalem prælationem habet. 3. Quod idem habet in Ecclesia potestatis plenitudinem. 4. Quod in eadem potestate quæ collata est Petro a Christo. 5. Quod ad eum pertinet determinare quæ sunt Fidei, *p.* 256—258. "In questi cinque paragrafi," says Reali, "preziosi siccome cosa divina, 1. pone ben formulata la sua tesi : 2. la vendica e la libera dall'

primacy and providence, like a faithful minister, keeps the Universal Church subject to Christ. It must be shown therefore, on the the authorities of the Greek doctors, that the aforesaid Vicar of Christ possesses the plenitude of power over the whole Church. That the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ, is the first and greatest of all bishops, the Canon of the Council expressly shows, saying: "We venerate according to the Scriptures, and the definition of the Canons, the most holy Bishop of ancient Rome, as the first and greatest of all bishops." The Sacred Scriptures agree with this authority, and both in the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles, give the first place to Peter amongst the Apostles. Hence Chrysostom says in his Commentary on Matthew upon the words: "The disciples came to Jesus saying: who is the greater in the kingdom of heaven?" that "they conceived a certain human scandal which they were unable to conceal, and they could not bear the ulcer in their heart on seeing Peter preferred and honoured before themselves." *

errore contrario sostenuto dai Greci per mezzo dell' autorità dei loro Dottori: 3. dimostra che la greca autorità è conforme alla Sacra Scrittura. Difatti nel paragrafo ove incomincia a trattare del Romano Pontefice formulata la tesi che *Pontifex Romanus est primus et maximus inter omnes Episcopos*, così esordisce: *Similis autem error est dicentium, Christi Vicarium, Romanæ Ecclesiæ Pontificem, non habere universalis Ecclesiæ primatum, errori dicentium, Spiritum Sanctum a filio non procedere:* quindi rigetta quest'errore greco per l'autorità dei loro Dottori: finalmente conchiude: *hoc autem auctoritati consonat Sacræ Scripturæ quæ inter Apostolos Petro attribuit primum locum, tam in Evangeliis, quam in Actibus Apostolorum.* Similmente nel paragrafo *Quod idem Pontifex in totam Ecclesiam Christi universalem habet prælationem*, conchiude, che *Petro indistincte oves suas Christus commisit, dicens* Joan. ult. v. 17. *Pasce oves meas*, et Joan. 10. 16. *ut sit unum ovile et unus Pastor:* e nell'ultimo per tacer degli altri, leggiamo, *Item etiam hoc patet ex auctoritate Domini dicentis;* Luc. 22. 23. *Tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.*" (*Loc. Cit., p.* 10—11.)

* Here is the real foundation of the teaching of the Angelical:— "Ma vediamo quali siano in detto luogo, i fondamenti sopra i quali stabilisce l'infallibilità Pontificia. Sono tre pietre, una all'altra subordinata, e non mobile arena come vorrebbe l'autor dell'opuscolo. Prima pietra, e questa durissima, è la Sacra Scrittura e sono i testi Luc. 22. *Ego pro te rogavi Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos:* e l'altro ad Corinth. 1. *Idipsum dicatis omnes et non sint in vobis schismata.* La seconda, le Decretali *extra de Bapt. cap. Majores*, nelle quali si dice che *majores et difficiliores Ecclesiæ quæstiones ad*

It is shown also that the aforesaid Vicar of Christ obtains universal prelacy over the whole Church of Christ. For we read in the Council of Chalcedon that the whole Synod exclaimed to Pope Leo: "Long life to Leo, the Most Holy, Apostolical, and Œcumenical [that is, Universal] Patriarch." And Chrysostom upon Matthew: "The Son conceded to Peter power belonging to the Father and Son all over the earth, and gave authority over all things which are in heaven to a mortal man, granting to him the keys that he might spread the Church throughout the earth." And upon John in the eighty-fifth Homily: "He circumscribes James locally in a given place, but he appoints Peter the master and doctor of the whole world." Likewise upon the Acts of the Apostles: "Peter received power from the Son over all who are sons, not as Moses, over one people, but over the whole world." This also is drawn from the authority of Sacred Scripture: for Christ committed His sheep to Peter, saying, without distinction, "feed my sheep;"* and "that there be one fold and one shepherd."† It follows from the authority of the said Doctors that the Roman Pontiff possesses the plenitude of power in the Church.

S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, ‡ S. Chrysos-

Summum Pontificem referuntur. La terza è la ragione che trae, parte dalla scrittura, e parte da'suoi principi generali sù cui come Filosofo appoggia le dottrine che fonda, e coi quali le illustra. E neppur là ove data occasione parla dell'Infallibilità dei Romani Pontefici perde di mira il solido fondamento sù cui sempre edificò questa dottrina." *(San Tommaso d'Aquino e L'Infallibilità dei Romani Pontefici, p.* 13. *Roma,* 1870.)

* *John, Chap. XVII.* † *John, Chap. X.,* 16.

‡ These are the words, as given by the Angelical out of the *Liber Thesaurorum*:—"'Sicut Christus accepit a Patre dux sceptrum Ecclesiæ gentium ex Israel egrediens super omnem principatum et potestatem, super omne quodcumque est, ut ei cuncta curventur, plenissimam potestatem; sic et Petro et ejus successoribus plenissime commisit:' et etiam: 'Nulli alii quam Petro Christus quod suum est plenum, sed ipsi soli dedit:' et infra: 'Pedes Christi humanitas est, scilicet ipse homo, cui tota æternitas plenissimam dedit potestatem; quem unus trium assumpsit in unitate personæ, transvexit ad patrem super omnem principatum et potestatem, ut adorent eum omnes Angeli Dei; quem totum dimisit per sacramentum et potestatem Petro et Ecclesiæ ejus.'" *(Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p.* 256, *Vol. XV.)*

tom,* and the Evangelist S. Matthew,† are quoted in support of this doctrine :—

It is also shown that Peter is the Vicar of Christ, and that the Roman Pontiff succeeds to the power given by Christ to Peter. For the Canon of the Council of Chalcedon says: "If any bishop is declared of bad name he has the free choice of appealing to the most blessed Bishop of ancient Rome: for Peter is our Father of refuge, and he alone has the right, in the place of God, freely to determine the guilt of a criminated bishop, according to the keys given him by the Lord;" and lower down, "and let all things defined by him be looked upon as coming from the Vicar of the Apostolic throne." ‡ So Cyril the Patriarch of Jerusalem says, speaking in the person of Christ: "Thou with an end, and I without end, will be with all whom I shall put in thy place, as I am with thee, fully and perfectly in sacrament and in authority." And Cyril in the book of *Treasures* says, that "the

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* "Et Chrysostomus dicit ad consulta Bulgarorum [which is in all the editions, but wrong; it should be, *Supra Joannem Hom. LXXXVIII.*], ex persona Christi loquens: 'Ter te interrogo, an ames, an diligas, quia ter me trepidus et timidus negasti. Nunc autem reductus, ne credant te fratres gratiam et clavium auctoritatem amisisse, quia amas me, coram ipsis id tibi jam confirmo quod meum est plenum.'" *(Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p. 256, Vol. XV.)*

† "Hoc etiam trahitur ex auctoritate Scripturæ: nam Dominus, Matth. XVI., 19, universaliter Petro dixit: 'Quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in cœlis.'" *(Ibidem.)*

‡ It has been the fashion to try and prove not only that the Angelical grounded his teaching on the Greek Fathers, but moreover that those passages which he relied upon were not written by them at all. Regarding the infallibility of the Pontiff, four of the Fathers are adduced, and three Councils. (1) S. Cyril of Jerusalem, (2) S. Cyril of Alexandria, (3) S. John Chrysostom, and (4) the Abbot Maximus; then two Councils of Chalcedon, and one of Constantinople. The *Libellus* from which the Angelical quotes not only gives the names and words of the authorities quoted, but also the references to the various works or places whence the extracts were drawn. For instance, S. Cyril of Jerusalem: "in XVIII. Tractatu super illum articulum Symboli Nicæni, in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam." S. Cyril of Alexandria: "De eodem (argumento) S. Cyrillus patriarca Alexandrinus tertii Concilii maximus definitor in tertio Libro Thesaurorum de Passione Domini." S. John Chrysostom: "Beatus Joannes Chrysostomus patriarca Constantinopolitanus super Matthæum: 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram, &c.' Idem in eodem Matthæo quum dicitur: 'In illa hora accesserunt discipuli ad

Apostles have affirmed in the Gospels and Epistles that in all questions of doctrine Peter is in the place of God and of His Church, giving him place in every chapter and synagogue, in every election and affirmation." And further on: "Before whom," that is, Peter, "all bend their heads *jure divino*, and whom the rulers of the world obey as if he were the Lord Jesus Himself." And S. Chrysostom says, speaking in the person of the Son: "Feed my sheep; that is, preside over the brethren in my place." *

It belongs to the said Pontiff to determine matters of faith, for Cyril says in the book of *Treasures:* "As members let us bide in our head the Apostolic throne of the Roman Pontiffs, from whom it is our duty to inquire what we ought to believe and what we ought to hold." Maximus † in a letter directed to the Orientals also says: "All the ends of the earth which sincerely receive the Lord, and the Catholics of the whole world who confess the true faith, look upon the

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Jesum dicentes, quis major est in regno cœlorum.' 'Idem Chrysostomus super Joannem [not 'ad consulta Bugarorum], Hom. LXXXVIII;" and finally: "Beatus Maximus magnus Doctor in epistola orientalibus directa." It is hardly credible that the Angelical, who knew the Fathers so intimately, and who lived upon S. Chrysostom's Homilies on S. Matthew, should have been deceived when not the words only, but the references, were before him. S. Cyril of Alexandria is continually cited in the *Catena Aurea*, and Cardinal Mai has in thirty-two instances in the *Commentary* on S. Luke shown the accuracy of the Angelical in his quotations. *(Cf. Ueber die Väterstellen in des heil. Thomas Op. Contra Errores Græcorum, Der Katholik, § XII., p.* 217; *August,* 1871. *Mainz.)*

* *Contra Errores Græcorum, Opusc. VI., Cap. XXXII., p.* 256—257, *Vol. XV.*

† If the words quoted by S. Thomas from the *Libellus* are not to be found, others equally impressive can be brought forward from another place:—"Nur möge er beachten, wie der heil. Thomas die Worte des anonymen Verfassers buchstäblich und textgemäss citirt, was bei einer kritischen Arbeit ganz natürlich ist; aber nicht so der Ungenannte. Sondern dieser führt die Väter an 'ad sensum,' nicht 'ad literam,' indem er oft ihre Aussprüche zusammenfasst, so z. B. wenn er eine Stelle aus der Katechese des heil. Cyrillus, welche aus drei Perioden besteht, in eine einzige zusammenzieht. Launoy sagt, dass das Zeugniss des heil. Maximus, 'epistola ad orientales,' nicht vorhanden sei; doch wenn man nachforscht, begegnet man auch dieser im zweiten Bande der Werke dieses Vaters unter dem Titel 'Ex epistola Romæ scripta,' und dieser enthält die nämlichen Meinungen, welche ihm der Unbekannte und der heil. Thomas zuschreiben, und sogar die Worte. Man vergleiche nur den Anfang: 'Omnes enim orbis terrarum fines, et qui ubique gentium Dominum vera rectaque fide

Church of the Romans as upon the sun, and receive from her the light of the Catholic and apostolic faith: nor without reason, for we read that Peter was the first to confess perfect faith, under divine revelation, when he said "Thou art Christ the Son of the living God." * Hence the Lord says to him: "I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not."

It is evident also that he is the Prelate of Patriarchs from what Cyril † says, namely, that it is "its place alone," that is, the Apostolic throne of the Roman Pontiffs, "to reprehend, correct, decree, dissolve, loosen, and to bind, in the place of Him who built it up." And S. Chrysostom in his *Commentary* on the Acts of the Apostles says, that "Peter is the most holy summit of the blessed Apostolic throne, the good shepherd." Again; this also is evident from the authority of our Lord, saying: "And thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren." ‡

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confitentur, velut in solem sempiternæ lucis in Sanctissimam Romanam Ecclesiam, ejusque Confessionem ac fidem recta intortis oculis respiciens, ex ipsa effulgurans expectantes jubar, Petrum doctrinæ sanctorumque prout sincere omnique pietate Numine afflatæ atque divinæ sex Synodi exposuere, explicatissime fidei symbolum edentes.'" *(Ueber die Väterstellen in des heil. Thomas Op. Contra Errores Græcorum, Der Katholik, § XII., p. 218; August, 1871. Mainz.)*

* *Matth., Chap. XVI., v.* 16.

† The reference to the third book of S. Cyril's *Thesaurus* cannot be collated, because only one book is extant. However, Cardinal Mai has published in his *Nova Bibliotheca Patrum, Vol. II. p.* 420; *Vol. III., p.* 144; and in the Homily *De Deipara, p.* 380, sufficient evidence to prove that S. Cyril did hold the doctrine attributed to him. Take these three quotations from the three several places referred to:—(1) In the *Commentary* on S. Luke: "Cum ergo Dominus discipuli negationem innuisset, iis verbis quibus dicit: oravi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua; infert statim consolatorium sermonem, aitque; et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos, idest *Firmamentum atque Magister esto* illorum qui per fidem ad me accedunt. Et mirare rursus sermonis sollertiam et divinæ placiditatis culmen. Ne enim in desperationem adduceret discipulum quasi de apostolatus gloria foret expungendus, postquam negasset, implet eum bona spe, fore ut promissa bona consequatur. Ait enim: et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos. O ineffabilis benignitas! nondum erat peccatum, et jam veniam præbet, rursusque illum, in apostolica dignitate constituit." (2) On *Psalm CXXX.*: "Vel etiam fortasse Ecclesiam suam appellat sanctorum civitatem, Satanæ inexpugnabilem, et nunquam capiendam, magnum, tutum et inexpugnabilem murum." (3) In the Sermon *De Deipara*: "Quod autem ita se habeant, testem proferamus fide dignum, sanctissimum scilicet et *totius mundi Archiepiscopum*, patrem et Patriarcam Cœlestinum magnæ Urbis Romæ." *(Cf. Loc. Cit.)*

‡ *Luke, Chap. XXII.*, 32.

It is of necessity for salvation to be subject to the Roman Pontiff; for Cyril says in the book of *Treasures:* "Therefore, brethren, let us so imitate Christ that we His sheep may hear His voice, abiding in the Church of Peter; and let us not be inflated with the wind of pride, lest perchance the coiling serpent cast us out for our contentiousness, as he did Eve of old, from paradise." * And Maximus says in the Epistle directed to the Orientals: "We declare the Universal Church, according to the definition of the Saviour, to be compacted and founded upon the rock of the confession of Peter, in which Church it is necessary for us to remain for the salvation of our souls."

Besides this Tractate against the special errors of the Greeks, the Saint also wrote another in answer to a certain Cantor of Antioch, who pro-

* Regarding the Councils which are quoted in support of the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff —"Es sind deren drei; zwei vom Concilium zu Chalcedon, eine dritte vom zweiten Concil zu Constantinopel. Die Zeugnisse vom Concil zu Chalcedon beziehen sich auf die Acclamationen, welche man dem Papste Leo darbrachte, auf einen Canon in Betreff der Appellationen. Und hier muss man vor Allem wissen, dass der heil. Thomas diese Zeugnisse nicht in einer Partialsammlung, sondern in den Acten selbst gelesen hatte, weil er diese in seinen Schriften anführt, wie er auch die Acten des Concils von Constantinopel gelesen hatte. Jetzt besitzen wir diese Acten nicht mehr unversehrt. Sie sind von den Griechen verfälscht worden, wie Gregor der Grosse und andere Schriftsteller nachgewiesen haben. Doch sie genügen, um die Aechtheit der Acclamationen festzustellen, welche Thomas anführt, da wir wissen, dass auf diesem Concil Leo viele Acclamationen gebracht wurden. Deusdedit gibt eine lange Reihe davon in der Sammlung seiner Canonen, welche Monsignore Martinucci, zweiter Custos der vaticanischen Bibliothek, und die Brüder Ballerini in den Werken des heil. Leo veröffentlicht haben. Der Canon in Betreff der Appellation an den Papst in grösseren Streitfragen findet sich in den Concilien von Nicäa, von Sardika und an anderen Orten. Man müsste das ganze canonische Rechte und die ganze Kirchengeschichte vernichten, wenn man dieses Fundamentalprincip verwerfen wollte."

"Es erübrigt nur noch der Canon des Concils von Constantinopel; worin der Papst genannt wird "primus et maximus episcoporum." Dieser Canon befindet sich nicht in den Concilsacten, wie wir sie jetzt haben: aber dennoch muss selbst Launoy zugestehen, dass er im römischen Ordo steht und ächt ist." (*Ueber die Väterstellen in des heil. Thomas Op. Contra Errores Graecorum, Der Katholik,* § *XII.* : *August,* 1871.)

posed a series of difficulties to him regarding the religion of the Saracens.*

S. Thomas begins by reminding the Cantor of S. Peter's words :—

"Sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts;" † that is, by faith, which will keep us safe under the attacks and ridicule of the enemy; hence he adds, "being ready always to satisfy every one that asketh you a reason of that hope which is in you." For Christian faith principally consists in confessing the Holy Trinity, whilst it glories in a special manner in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. For "the word of the Cross," as S. Paul says, "to them indeed that perish is foolishness; but to them that are saved, that is to us, it is the power of God." ‡ Our hope consists in two things: in that which we expect after death, and in God's help towards attaining our expectation. And these are the things that you say are attacked and ridiculed by the infidel: you allege that the Saracens laugh at us for calling Christ the Son of God, seeing that God has no wife; and hold us to be mad for confessing

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* *Declaratio quorumdam Articulorum contra Græcos, Armenos et Saracenos ad Cantorem Antiochenum, Opusc. II., Cap. I.—X., p.* 86—96; *Opp. Omnia, Vol. XVI. Cap. II.*—Qualiter sit disputandum contra infideles; *Cap. III.*—Qualiter in divinis sit accipienda generatio; *Cap. IV.*—Qualiter in divinis sit accipienda processio Spiritus Sancti a Patre et Filio; *Cap. V.*—Quæ fuit causa incarnationis Filii Dei; *Cap. VI.*—Qualiter debet intelligi hoc quod dicitur: Deus factus est homo; *Cap. VII.*—Qualiter sit accipiendum quod dicitur verbum Dei passum; *Cap. VIII.*—Qualiter sit accipiendum quod fideles accipiunt corpus Christi; *Cap. IX.*—Qualiter est specialis locus ubi animæ purgantur antequam sint beatæ; *Cap. X.*—Quod divina prædestinatio humanis actibus necessitatem non imponat. Rubeis says of this *Opusculum* :—"Recensitum legimus apud synchronos supparesque testes omnes, hactenus adhibitos in Operum Aquinatis censura: Ptolomæum Lucensem, Bartholomæum Logothetam, Bernardum Guidonis, Nicolaum Trivetum, Joannem de Columna, Ludovicum Valleoletanum, Sanctum Antoninum. Superiorem Opusculi inscriptionem diserte notant Bernardus Guidonis et S. Antoninus: inscriptumque: 'De Rationibus Fidei,' recensent alii. 'Cantori Antiocheno' nuncupatum est. Quisnam ille fuerit, ignotum plane. De Cantoris munere apud Græcos et apud Latinos consule Ducangium in utroque Lexico Mediæ et Infimæ Græcitatis et Latinitatis." (Bernardi Mariæ de Rubeis, *Dissertatio III., Cap. III., p.* 426; S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia, Vol. XV.*)

† *I. Peter, Chap. III.*, 15. ‡ *I. Cor., Chap. I.*, 18.

three persons in God. and at the same time holding that there are not three Gods. They mock also at our saying that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was crucified for the salvation of the human race; because if the Omnipotent God could have saved mankind without the passion of His Son, He could also have made man so as not to be capable of sinning.* They blame Christians for eating their God upon the altar, and say that if the body of Christ had been as big as a mountain it would by this time have been consumed. And you say that the Greeks and Armenians err in holding that the souls of the dead, up to the day of judgment, will be neither punished nor rewarded, but that they are as it were hidden away; because since they are without their bodies they ought to be neither punished nor rewarded. And they quote the words of our Lord in the Gospel in support of their error: "In my Father's house there are many mansions." † With regard to the merit which depends on free will, you say that both Saracens and others assert the necessity of human acts on account of the Divine prescience and ordination, and declare that man could neither die nor sin had not God so ordained; and that every man has his destiny written on his forehead. With regard to these things you ask for moral and philosophical reasons such as the Saracens admit, for it is vain to argue from authority against those who reject authority. ‡

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* The Saint indicates how the heathen is to be met:—"De hoc tamen primo admonere te volo, quod in disputationibus contra infideles de articulis fidei, non ad hoc conari debes, ut fidem rationibus necessariis probes. Hoc enim sublimitati fidei derogaret, cujus veritas non solum humanas mentes, sed etiam Angelorum excedit; a nobis autem creduntur quasi ab ipso Deo revelata. Quia tamen quod a summa veritate procedit, falsum esse non potest, nec necessaria ratione impugnari valet quod falsum, non est; fides nostra necessariis rationibus sicut probari non potest, quia humanam mentem excedit, ita improbari necessaria ratione non potest propter sui veritatem. Ad hoc igitur debet tendere christiani disputatoris intentio in articulis fidei, non ut fidem probet, sed ut fidem defendat: unde et beatus Petrus non dixit: 'Parati semper' ad probationem, sed 'ad satisfactionem,' ut scilicet rationabiliter ostendatur non esse falsum quod fides catholica confitetur." *(Cap. II., p. 86, Vol. XVI.)*

† *John, Chap. XIV., 2.*

‡ See how the Saint meets the difficulty regarding the real Presence:—"Si quis autem infidelis velit dicere hanc conversionem impossibilem esse,

The Saint then sets himself to give the solution of these difficulties: insinuating how controversy against infidels is to be conducted, explaining the meaning of the term *Generation*, elucidating the doctrine of *Procession*, the reasons of the Incarnation of the Word, and unfolding, in a long argument, how the words "God was made man" are to be understood, as well as this expression, "The Word of God suffered." Next, objections regarding the Blessed Eucharist are solved, and the doctrine of Purgatory is proved; whilst finally it is shown that the admission of the theory of predestination is not equivalent to admitting the necessity of human acts; and thus ends this able paper in answer to the difficulties of the Cantor of Antioch.*

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consideret Dei omnipotentiam. Confitetur quidem quod per virtutem naturæ possit una res converti in aliam quantum ad formam, sicut quod aer in ignem convertitur, dum materia quæ prius erat subjecta formæ aëris, postea formæ ignis subjicitur. Multo magis ergo virtus omnipotentis Dei, quæ totam rei substantiam in esse producit, non solum transmutando secundum formam, ut facit natura, poterit hoc totum in illud totum convertere, ut sic panis in Corpus Christi convertatur et vinum in sanguinem. . . . Si quis vero Dei omnipotentiam non confitetur, contra talem in hoc opere disputationem non assumimus, sed contra Saracenos, et alios qui Dei omnipotentiam confitentur. Alia vero hujus mysteria sacramenti non sunt hic magis descutienda, quia infidelibus secreta fidei pandi non debent." *(Contra Græcos, Armenos et Saracenos, Opusc. II., Cap. VIII., p. 93; Vol. XVI.)*

* See how well the Saint argues with regard to liberty and Providence:—"Sicut autem divina scientia contingentibus necessitatem non imponit, sic nec ejus ordinatio, qua provide ordinat universa. Sic enim ordinat res sicut agit res: non enim ejus ordinatio cassatur, sed quod per sapientiam ordinat, exequitur per virtutem. In actione autem divinæ virtutis hoc considerare oportet, quod operatur in omnibus et movet singula ad suos actus secundum modum uniuscujusque; ita quod quædam ex motione divina ex necessitate suas actiones perficiunt, ut patet in motibus cœlestium corporum; quædam vero contingenter, quæ interdum a propria actione deficiunt, ut patet in actionibus corruptibilium: arbor enim quandoque a fructificando impeditur, et animal a generando. Sic ergo divina sapientia de rebus ordinat, ut ordinata proveniant secundum modum pro-

Regarding the Jews, with whom there was great contention in the middle ages,* the Angelical not only dwells upon the way they should be met in his "*Summa Philosophica*," and fairly confronts them in the "*Summa Theologica*," but he enters into personal conflict with them, and by the clearness and power of his reasoning converted them to the faith. For instance, Paul de Burgos, one of the most famous Jewish Rabbies of the fifteenth century, abjured Judaism after studying the Angelical's exposition of the mysteries and prophecies in the old Law, and of the figurative meaning of the ceremonies, sacraments, and sacrifices of the Jewish dispensation.

The Saint met two celebrated Rabbies at the country-house of Cardinal Richard, when on his way from Rome to Naples.† They had the

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priarum causarum. Est autem hic modus naturalis homini ut libere agat, non coactus: quia rationales potestates ad opposita se habent. Sic igitur Deus ordinat de actibus humanis, ut actus humani necessitati non subdantur, sed proveniant ex arbitrii libertate."

"Hæc igitur quæ sunt ad præsens, visa sunt de propositis quæstionibus conscribenda; quæ tamen alibi diligentius pertractata sunt." (*Declaratio quorumdam Articulorum contra Græcos, Armenos et Saracenos ad Cantorem Antiochenum, Cap. X., p.* 96; *Vol. XVI.*)

* See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., p.* 302--309.

† Gibelli puts it thus:—"Tommaso ito un giorno a visitare il Cardinal Riccardo, che dimorava in una sua villa non di lungi da Roma, trovò ivi due Rabbini tanto tenaci mantenitori del giudaismo, che dir non si potrebbe. Il Santo Dottore, a cui sempre era in cuore di ridurre gli erranti a via di salute, entrò per dolce e caro modo a ragionamento con essi. Eglino tolsero a magnificare l'antichità della loro religione, la santità della legge, le solenni promesse, di che il Dio di Giacobbe avea consolato il suo popolo. Tommaso molto benignamente consentì loro tutto ciò che di vero aveano recato, e rimase con loro in concordia dell' autorità de' divini dettati; poscia del concesso si valse contra di loro. Fece vedere la necessità di concordare le promesse colle minacce, e d'intendere le une e le altre a dirittura di sentenza; dimostrò, allegando i testi opportuni, come il Signore dovea conchiudere una nuova alleanza col suo popolo: come tutto il vecchio testamento non era più che una profezia e figura del nuovo; produsse in

reputation of being wealthy, learned, and stubborn men. They soon entered into controversy with S. Thomas, and descanted with great eloquence on the grandeur and antiquity of their religion, on the sanctity of their law, on the privileges of their order, and on how the Lord had solemnly sworn to be for ever the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The Angelical without difficulty was able to testify to the truth of the greater part of what they said ; and, like an able controversialist, knew how to turn it to advantage. Whilst he admitted with them the canonicity and authority of the Sacred Scriptures, he maintained the necessity of conciliating God's promises with His menaces, and of interpreting each according to the true sense of Holy Writ. He proved, from express texts, that the Lord was to make a new alliance with His people ; that the Old Testament was but a prophecy and a figure of the New, just as the New is the explanation and the complete fulfilment of the Old.* He discussed the most striking

mezzo i vaticinii di Giacobbe, di Daniello, d'Aggeo e degli altri profeti, i quali diffinirono e circoscrissero per l'appunto il luogo, il tempo ed ogni circostanza della vita e della morte del Redentore ; disse in somma ogni cosa che all' inteso fine tornar dovesse opportuna. I Rabbini tuttavia perfidiavano ; sempre le medesime opposizioni mettevano in campo ; egli a strettissimo discorso di ragione li prese, e a tale li condusse che, chiusa loro ogni uscita, non ebbero che appore." (*Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Cap. XXIII., p.* 88—89 ; *Seconda Edizione.* See also Bareille, *Chap. XXI., p.* 253—258 ; Touron, *Liv. II., Chap. XX., p.* 179—182 ; Tocco, *Boll., cap. IV., n.* 23, *p.* 665.)

* It was prayer, as usual, which in the end prevailed :—" Non si diede però egli vanto di vittoria ; troppo sapea che la fede è dono di Dio ; sapea che l'uomo può sì bene sonare in parole, ma non già aprire l'intendimento, nè volgere a vera conversione il cuore. Pregò caramente i due

passages of the Prophets—of Jacob, Daniel, and Aggeus—who foretold the character and the coming of the Messiah, and spoke with clear utterance of the place, time, and circumstances of His birth, life, actions, and death. Then, by carefully comparing what had been foretold of our Lord with the accomplishment of the prophecy, the Saint clearly demonstrated that the Christ who had already come was the promised one of Israel.

The Rabbies were excessively struck by the ability of the Christian doctor, and they were still more amazed when, after stating as forcibly as possible the strongest arguments of their cause, they found that the calm self-possessed Angelical separated truth from error, exploded sophistry, and maintained the Christian position all the more startlingly in proportion as they plied him with difficulties against it.*

Rabbini di tornare il giorno appresso ; in quel mezzo non fosse lor grave di ripensare alle cose discorse e di venirle rivolgendo fra se medesimi ; procacciassero a tutto potere che la mente loro fosse libera da ogni preoccupazione ; procacciassero che l'affetto del cuore non impedisse il discorso della ragione. Venuta la notte, egli, secondo suo usato, si gettò ginocchione davanti all'altare, e accesamente supplicò il Signore che di sua grazia ralluminasse la loro mente. Fattosi giorno, quando fu tempo, i due Rabbini (sempre presente il Cardinale) tutti mutati da quel che erano, ritornarono, e senza più, datisi per vinti confessarono sè non poter resistere a quello spirito di sapienza, che parlava per bocca di Tommaso ; e presti e parati, com'erano, ricevettero la grazia del Santo Battesimo." (Gibelli, *Cap. XXIII., p.* 89.)

* Tocco relates the story thus :—"Nam in Molaria castro Domini Richardi Cardinalis prope Romam, cum prædictus Doctor in festo Nativitatis Domini cum prædicto Domino moraretur, et ad eum duo magni Judæi litterati et divites, sicut omni anno consueverant, convenissent, rogavit prædictus Dominus, ut præfatus Doctor cum eis de eorum conversione tractaret. Cum quibus cum diutius contulisset de Lege veteri, et Salvatoris adventum probasset per dicta plurium Prophetarum, dedit eis terminum in crastinum, ut de eorum conversione, et super his, quæ proposuerat, responderent. Pro quorum conversione cum pius Doctor

The upshot of the encounter was that the Rabbies were converted; and to the surprise of the Roman people, these two proud Israelites made their public recantation and received Holy Baptism in the Eternal City, and filled with the spirit of the true Gospel, began to live the lives of humble, zealous, and devoted servants of the Cross.

Besides confronting rationalism and irreverence in the schools, and writing *ex-professo* against the Greeks, Saracens, Armenians, and Jews, the Angelical exerted his greatest energies in oversetting the special error of Avicenna,* Avicebron,†

orasset; et eam petivisset a Dei Filio, ut sibi in suæ nativitatis gaudio concedere dignaretur, esse Judæi in termino præfixo ad prædictum Doctorem conveniunt, convertuntur, confitentes se non posse spiritui sapientiæ, qui in ipso loquebatur, resistere, nec contra hoc, quod pure suaserat, respondere. Fit magnum de festo Nativitatis Dominicæ gaudium, et pro eo quod Judæis perfidis conversionis beneficium hoc est Deo miserante donatum, Dominus Cardinalis de utroque festum cum magno gaudio celebravit." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. IV.*, *n.* 23, *p.* 665.) Werner says:—"Thomas hat kein Werk hinterlassen, welches speciell gegen die jüdische Theologie gerichtet wäre. In seinen Schrifterklärungen nimmt er, wie wir oben sahen, gelegentlich auf die jüdische Interpretation Rücksicht, hat aber die wenigsten jener Bücher commentirt, aus welchen die christlichen Polemiker ihre Beweisstellen zusammentrugen. In dem Eingange seiner Summe *contra gentiles* erklärt er ausdrucklich, dass er zwischen besonderen Classen seiner Gegner nicht unterscheiden, daher auch nicht speciell gegen die Juden aus dem alten Testamente argumentiren wolle." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino*, *Erster Band*, *Fünftes Capitel*, *p.* 661.)

* See S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia*, *Vol. XVI.*, *De Substantiis Separatis (Opusc. XIV.)*; *Cap. II.*, Opinio Aristotelis et Avicennæ de numero substantiarum separatarum, *p.* 184—186; *Cap. X.*, Opinio Avicennæ de fluxu rerum a primo principio, cum sua reprobatione, *p.* 194—195.

† *Ibidem*, *Cap. V.*, De substantiarum separatarum essentia secundum Avicebron, *p.* 187—188; *Cap. VI.*, Reprobatio opinionis Avicebron quantum ad modum ponendum, *p.* 188—189; *Cap. VII.*, Reprobatio opinionis Avicebron de materialitate substantiarum separatarum, *p.* 189—190; *Cap. VIII.*, Solutio rationum Avicebron opinionis, *p.* 190—192. And thus the Angelical goes on oversetting the teachings of the Arabians and Jews. See, for instance, *Cap. IX.*, Opiniones dicentium substantias immateriales causam sui esse non habere, et earum reprobatio, *p.* 192—194; *Cap. XI.*, Opinio Platonicorum de effluxu rerum a primo principio, cum reprobatione, *p.* 196—197; *Cap. XIII.*, Opinio auferentium rerum providentiam a Deo et substantiis separatis, et ejus reprobatio, *p.* 197—

and Averroës.* He is continually coming across them in his various works, and never tires of advancing his powerful arguments from reason against them.

This he aimed at doing in an *Opusculum* especially dedicated to the purpose, called "*De Unitate Intellectus.*" Here is evinced the high esteem in which he held Aristotle, his exact knowledge of the Stagyrite's teaching, and the spread of Averroistic errors in many minds in the Christian schools. The main object is to prove that Aristotle did not teach the doctrine of the unity of the intellect, and that other peripatetics were on the orthodox side. Themistius is quoted in the Catholic sense, as well as Theophrastus, whilst even Averroës himself is proved to have held that Alexander maintained the passive intellect to be the form of the body.†

Next, the authority of the Arabs is quoted; Avicenna and Algazel are brought to bear, and the Saint shows, by many arguments, that the operations of the intellect are not effected by a corporeal organ. He says :—

We premise these things, not because we want to condemn the above-mentioned error on the authority of the

199; *Cap. XIV.*, Quod divina providentia ad minima se extendit, *p.* 199—200; *Cap. XV.*, Solutio rationum prædictarum pro prædicta opinione, *p.* 200—201; *Cap. XVII.*, Quod omnes substantiæ separatæ sint a Deo productæ, *p.* 202—203. Thus the Angelical refutes the errors drawn out in *Chapter XIII.* of the First Volume of this work; see also *Chap. XVIII.*, *p.* 466—467.

* See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII., Arabians and Jews, p.* 271—302.

† *De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas (Opusc. XV.), p.* 208—224; S. Thomæ Aquinatis *Opp. Omnia, Vol. XVI.*

philosophers, but in order to show that not only the Latins (whose expressions some do not approve), but the Arabs and the Greeks also, held that the intellect is a part or a power, or a virtue of the soul which is the form of the body.

He cannot understand how men should glory in their error—

Unless it be that they are less desirous of holding the true doctrine with the rest of the Peripatetics, than of falling into error with Averroës, who was not so much a Peripatetic as a corruptor of Peripatetic philosophy.*

The treatise begins thus :-

As all men naturally desire to know truth, so they naturally wish to avoid error, and, if they can, to confute it. That seems to be the most unbecoming error which is committed with regard to the intellect—the very instrument given us for avoiding falsehood and for apprehending truth. And an error of this kind has been gaining ground for some time past in many minds, in consequence of Averroës teaching that the intellect is a certain substance separate in its being

* The Saint argues with as great cogency against Avicebron and Avicenna and Avempace in *Opusc. XIV.* (See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIII.*), as he does in this one against Averroës. Avicebron's great error was resolution of all things, ultimately, into material principles. This, says S. Thomas, is the error of the ancient natural philosophers, who admitted nothing but matter. Avicebron held that all forms considered in themselves are "accidents," and thus he does away with *materia prima*. For if it belongs to the notion of *materia* to be something in *potentia*, *prima materia* must be altogether *in potentia ;* and hence is not predicated of anything in act. And thus he destroys the principles of logic, doing away with the conception of *genus* and *species* and substantial *differentia ;* for he converts all things into accidental predications. He ruins the foundation of natural philosophy in doing away with the theory of generation and corruption, like the ancients, who held the doctrine of one material principle. He also oversets philosophy, doing away with the unity of singulars, and in consequence with true entity and diversity. The Saint shows that were the materialistic principle admitted it would be necessary to proceed *ad infinitum* in material causes ; that there would be only one *forma*, and that there could be no such thing as diversity. He furnishes an abstruse scholastic argument, saying :—"Unde patet falsum esse principium quod supponebat, dicens potentiam et receptionem in omnibus eodem modo inveniri." *(Opusc. XIV., Cap. VI., p.* 188–189 ; *Vol. XVI.)*

from the body, and in some sort of way to be united to it as its form; and that the passive intellect is one in all men, a doctrine against which we have written much. But since the impertinence of those who are in fault does not cease to strike against the truth, we propose to write in opposition to their false doctrine, and to confute it.*

The Saint then proceeds to analyze Aristotle's teaching, and to show how the fair interpretation of his system is strongly opposed to those tenets which the Arabs and Averroës would father upon him; and he concludes this portion of his treatise thus:—

It appears therefore most manifest, without any sort of doubt, from Aristotle's own words, that this was his teaching regarding the passive intellect, namely, that it is a part of the soul which is the *act* of the body; but in such wise that the intellect does not possess any corporeal organ, as is the case with other powers of the soul. †

* *Opusc. XV., De unitate Intellectus contra Averroistas, p.* 208; *Vol. XVI.* Avicebron held again that corporeal and spiritual substances are *una materia*. The Saint argues: If the matter is the same in both, a distinction must be admitted in it, anterior to the difference of forms, namely, of spirituality and corporeity. But this cannot be through quantity in spiritual substances, for dimensions do not exist in them, therefore it must be according to forms or dispositions, or according to the matter itself; but since it cannot be according to forms or dispositions *ad infinitum*, it must be, after all, according to the matter itself. Therefore the matter of corporeal and spiritual substances is altogether different. Next the Saint proves with great force that it cannot be the same in both, because the mode of receiving forms is different in spiritual and corporeal substances. After fully entering into the various proofs against the materialistic teaching of Avicebron, the Angelical proceeds to attack the error of the Easterns against creation. He says that just as Avicebron deviated from Plato and Aristotle regarding the condition of spiritual substances, robbing them of their spirituality, so some have erred from truth regarding the mode of their existence, denying that they proceeded from the First and Supreme Author. Some held that they had no cause; others, that they proceeded from the First Principle through intermediate principles; others, that as to being, they came from the First Cause immediately, but received their special character from those above them. These errors the Saint replies to at length. (See *Opusc. XIV., De Angelorum Natura, Cap. VII.—IX., p.* 192, *sqq.*; *Vol. XVI.*)

† *Opusc. XV., Dei Unitate Intellectus, p.* 211; *Vol. XVI.*

He then proceeds to prove, by an elaborate argument, that it is not impossible for a certain "form" to be in "matter" at the same time that its virtue or power is separate, as is the case with the intellect. Then it is objected that if the intellect be the form of the body, it necessarily follows that it is corruptible.* The Saint says that this argument has had its influence with many. Some held on this account that the soul passes from body to body, others that it possesses a certain incorruptible body which will never be separated from it; and then the Angelical begins to show that Aristotle in reality maintains the intellective soul to be the form of the body in such a way as is compatible with the doctrine of its being incorruptible.

He then goes on to prove that neither the Greeks nor the Arabians taught the heresy of

* Speaking of errors regarding the origin of beings, the Saint proves with great penetration how they flow from Avicebron's teaching. They proceeded from men who could not rise above their imaginations, and made spirit and matter one. The intellect seemed incapable of intuing another mode of causation from that which relates to material things. Still the mind of man progressed by degrees towards the right solution. First, men put everything down to change, regarding *fieri* as nothing more than *alterari*, and matter as eternal. They could not intellectually transcend the distinction of substance and accidents. Others advanced further, holding that some substances were self-caused; but since these men saw nothing but matter, they resolved substances into certain corporeal principles, and placed the origin of things in congregation and segregation. Others went still further, and resolved sensible substances into matter and form, and so placed the *fieri* of things in change of forms. But beyond this "making," with Plato and Aristotle we must place a higher principle. For as the First Prlnciple should be most simple, it must not be a participation, but an *esse* existing of itself; but since subsisting being can be *unum* only, all others must possess their *esse* by participation. Therefore the intellect should be able to resolve each one of them into *id quod est*. Therefore besides the composition of matter and form, another origin of things should be presupposed, according to which from the First Cause, "being" is attributed to all things. *(Opusc. XIV., Cap. IX., p.* 193; *Vol. XVI.)*

the unity of the intellect; and after stating the arguments of the Averroistic school regarding the separate passive intellect, and its relations to the phantasms, the Saint gives three arguments which altogether overset their pretensions. Nor was it any use for them to shift their ground and say that the intellect is united to the body as a mover; for against this our author appositely cites the eighth book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, and advances a carefully-wrought argument thrown into the form of an illustration.*

After referring to Plato, S. Gregory Nyssen, Macrobius, Plotinus, and Themistius, he brings other arguments to bear. For instance :—

> The operation of a man, inasmuch as he is a man, is to understand, and in this he differs from other animals, and

* The Angelical combats Avicenna no less than Avicebron. The Saint begins by saying that some people assert that all things draw their being from the First and Supreme Principle, whom we call God ; but not immediately. For since the First Principle of things is altogether one and simple, they hold that nothing proceeds from it but *unum*, which, although more simple than the rest of inferior things and *magis unum*, still possesses less simplicity than the first, because it is not its own *esse*, but a substance having *esse:* and this they name the first intelligence, from which they affirm many other things can proceed. For the second intelligence proceeds from it, as it turns to understand its simple first principle : and in its turning to understand itself, it produces the soul of the first Orb : and in its understanding itself on the side of its *potentia*, the first body proceeds from it ; and so on from the First Principle to the last body. This is the position of Avicenna in the book "*De Causis.*" To this the Saint says : The general good is more important than particular good. But if the perfection in the effect be not attributed to the agent, the *ratio* of good is destroyed in particular effects. Hence Aristotle reprobated the opinion that the forms of things come from the necessity of nature. Therefore the *bonum universi*, which consists in the distinction and order of parts, must proceed from the First Agent ; therefore this distinction and order must pre-exist in the intellect of the First Principle. And since things proceed from it as from an intellectual principle, it is not necessary to maintain that one thing only proceeds from it, although it be simple in its essence. *(Opusc. XIV., Cap. X., p.* 194—195, *Opp. Omnia ; Vol. XVI.)*

therefore Aristotle places his ultimate felicity in this operation. But, as Aristotle says, the principle by which we understand is the intellect, therefore it must be united to the body as a form: not indeed so that the intellective power itself should be the act of any organ, but because it is a power of the soul which is the act of a physical organic body.

Again: According to the position of the Averroists the principles of moral philosophy are destroyed, for according to it all individual power is withdrawn from us; for nothing is in our power except through our will; hence on this very account what we are able to do of ourselves is called "voluntary." But the will is in the intellect, as is evident from the teaching of Aristotle in his third book *De Anima*, and because there are will and intellect in separate substances, and because, as Aristotle says in his *Rhetoric*, * it is through the will that a thing is loved or hated universally, as we hate the race of thieves. If, therefore, the intellect is not something belonging to an individual man, or is not truly one with him, but is united to him only by the phantasms, or as a motor, in these cases the will is not in the individual man, but in the separate intellect; and hence the individual man will not be the master

* The Angelical continues replying to Avicenna thus:—There is a two-fold mode of producing things, one according to mutation and motion, another without them. According to the first method, things proceed from the First Principle by means of second causes, just as plants and animals are produced into being by motion according to the efficacy of the supreme causes, which can be traced up to the First Principle. But according to the second method this cannot be, for what is produced into being this way is not only made *per se* "*hoc ens*," but "*per se simpliciter ens*." But effects must be in proportion to causes: a universal effect to a universal cause, a particular to a particular. So since by motion something is made *per se* '*hoc ens*,' the effect is referred to a particular cause, and when *ens* is made *simpliciter ens per se* and not *per accidens*, the effect must be referred to the universal cause of being; and this is the First Principle, which is God. Therefore besides the method of mutation or motion, there is another way by which things are produced into *esse* by the First Principle without the assistance of second causes, and without motion, and this is called "creation," and is referred to God alone: in this way alone immaterial substances can be produced into being. It follows, therefore, that all immaterial substances, and heavenly bodies, which cannot be produced into *esse* by motion, have God alone for the Author of their being. (*Opusc. XIV., Cap. X., p.* 195; *Vol. XVI.*)

of his own acts, nor will any of his acts be worthy of praise or blame; and this is to destroy the principles of moral philosophy.*

Having entered still further into these questions, and stated all that can be advanced in opposition, as well as the proofs which establish the true theory and demolish the false one, the Angelical concludes :—

It is evident that what they say is false, namely, that all philosophers, Arab and Peripatetic, with the exception of the Latins, maintained as a principle that the intellect is not multiplied numerically.† For Algazel was not a Latin, but an Arab; whilst Avicenna, who was an Arab, writes thus in his book on *The Soul:* "Prudence, and folly, and opinion, and such like, are in the essence of the soul." It is moreover evident from the words of Themistius—not to omit the Greeks—that neither the active intellect which illuminates, nor the passive intellect which is illuminated, is one; but that the principle of illumination is one, namely, some separate sub-

* *Opusc. XV., p.* 218. *Vol. XVI.*

† Besides Avicebron and Avicenna, the Angelical overturns Avempace. This philosopher held with Abu-Bekr (Ibn-Zohr), according to Averroës (*De Anima, III., text. Com. V.*), that the passive intellect is identical with the imagination. The Saint disproves this position thus: Animals as well as men possess imagination, whilst men alone possess intellect; therefore intellect and imagination are not identical. Again: Imagination has only to do with corporeal and singular things, since phantasy is a motion elicited by sense (as is said in the second book *De Anima, text. Com. CLXI.*), but the intellect with universals and incorporeal things, therefore the passive intellect is not identical with the imagination. Moreover, it is impossible for the same thing to be the mover and the moved, but the phantasms move the passive intellect, as *sensibilia* do the sense, as Aristotle says (*De Anima, III. text. Com. XXV.*) It is therefore impossible for the passive intellect to be the same as the imagination. Again: It is proved in the third book *De Anima* (*Text. Com. VI.*) that the intellect is not an act of any part of the body, but the imagination has a determinate corporeal organ; therefore the imagination and the passive intellect are not the same. In reference to this fact it is written, "Who teacheth no more than the beasts of the earth, and instructeth no more than the fowls of the air" (*Job, Chap. XXXV., v.* 11), by which we learn that in man there is a faculty of knowledge beyond that of sense and imagination which animals possess. (Vid. *Summa Contra Gentiles, Lib. II., Cap. LXVII., p.* 119; *Vol. V.*)

stance—that is either God, according to Catholics, or the ultimate intelligence, according to Avicenna. The unity of the separate principle Themistius proves from the fact that the teachers and the taught understand the same thing, which would not be the case if the illuminating principle were not identical.*

The Angelical finally concludes :—

Therefore it is evident that Aristotle, and Theophrastus, and Plato himself, did not hold it as a principle that the passive intellect is one in all men. It is also clear that Averroës perversely alters the meaning of Themistius and Theophrastus with regard to the passive and active intellect; therefore we did well to call him the perverter of Peripatetic philosophy.† Wherefore it is strange that some, having seen merely the comments of Averroës, should have presumed to say that what he taught was held by all philosophers, Greek and Arabian, with the exception of the Latins. And it is a source of still greater astonishment, or even of indignation, that any man professing himself to be a Christian should dare to speak so irreverently of the Christian faith, as to say with Averroës that "the Latins do not hold it as a principle," that there is one

* *Opusc. XV., De Unitate Intellectus, p.* 223, *sqq., Vol. XVI.* Besides refuting the Arabian philosophies, the Angelical, in his *Opusculum XIV.*, aims at the errors of the Platonists *(Cap. XI.)* and of Origen *(Cap. XII.)*; establishes the rule of God's Providence *(Cap. XIII.)*, showing how it extends to the smallest creatures *(Cap. XIV.)*; argues against the teachings of the Manicheans, and shows that all separate substances must have been created by God. *(Opusc. XIV., Cap. XVII., p.* 262; *Vol. XVI.)*

† *Opusc. XV., De Unitate Intellectus, p.* 224, *Vol. XVI.* The Saint shows his full grasp of Aristotle and Plato when he draws out their points of agreement and difference regarding their theory of separate substances. They agree, he says, first in the *mode* of existence; secondly, that all separate substances are wholly free from matter; thirdly, in their view of Providence. They differ, first, in this: that Plato held a separate order of universals which Aristotle rejected; secondly, that Plato did not limit the number of separate intellects to the number of heavenly motions, and this Aristotle did; and, thirdly, Plato placed certain intermediary souls between those of the heavens and of men, which Aristotle did not do; and therefore neither he nor his followers make any mention of demons. (See *Opusc. XIV., Cap. III., p.* 186; *Cap. IV., p.* 187; *Opp. Omnia, Vol. XVI.)*

intellect only, "because perchance their law is against it." Here Averroës commits two errors—first, by doubting whether his doctrine is contrary to faith, and secondly, by asserting by implication that he does not submit to the law; and what he afterwards adds is also wrong, namely, "This is the reason why Catholics seem to hold this opinion," putting down a declaration of faith as being merely an opinion.* Nor is there less presumption in what he next asserts, namely, that God could not ordain that there should be many intellects, because it would imply a contradiction to do so. And what he adds is still more serious: "I conclude, as a necessary consequence of reason, that the intellect is one numerically, still I firmly hold the opposite through faith."

Therefore he feels that there are some matters of faith

* Here is a perfect specimen of the Angelical's method of reasoning on a deep philosophical point. Against Averroës he says:—"Est ergo dicendum secundum sententiam Aristotelis, quod intellectum quod est unum, est ipsa natura vel quidditas rei. De rebus enim est scientia naturalis et aliæ scientiæ, non de speciebus intellectis. Si enim intellectum esset non ipsa natura lapidis quæ est in rebus, sed species quæ est intellectu, sequeretur quod ego non intelligerem rem quæ est lapis, sed solum intentionem quæ est abstracta a lapide. Sed verum est quod lapidis natura, prout est in singularibus, est intellecta in potentia; sed intellecta in actu per hoc quod species a rebus sensibilibus mediantibus sensibus usque ad phantasiam perveniunt, et per virtutem intellectus agentis species intelligibiles abstrahuntur, quæ sunt in intellectu possibili. Hæ autem species non se habent ad intellectum possibilem ut intellecta, sed sicut species quibus intellectus intelligit; sicut etiam species quæ sunt in visu, non sunt ipsa visa, sed ea quibus visus videt; nisi inquantum intellectus reflectitur supra seipsum, quod in sensu accidere non potest. Si autem intelligere esset actio transiens in exteriorem materiam, sicut comburere et movere, sequeretur quod intelligere esset secundum modum quo natura realiter habet esse in singularibus, sicut combustio ignis est secundum modum combustibilis. Sed quia intelligere est actio in ipso intelligente manens, ut Aristoteles dicit 9 Metaphysic., sequitur quod intelligere sit secundum modum intelligentis, id est secundum exigentiam speciei qua intellectus intelligit. Hæc autem cum sit abstracta a principiis individuantibus, non repræsentat rem secundum conditiones individuales, sed secundum naturam universalem tantum. Nihil enim prohibet, si aliqua duo conjunguntur in re, quin unum eorum repræsentari possit etiam in sensu sine altero: unde color mellis vel pomi videtur a visu sine ejus sapore. Sic igitur intellectus intelligit naturam universalem per abstractionem ab individualibus principiis. Est ergo unum quod intelligitur a me et a te; sed alio intelligitur a me, et alio a te, idest alia specie intelligibili; et aliud est intelligere meum, et aliud tuum; et alius est intellectus meus, et alius tuus. Unde et Aristoteles in Prædicamentis dicit, aliquam scientiam esse singularem quantum ad subjectum, ut quædam grammatica in subjecto quidem est in anima, de subjecto vero nullo dicitur. Unde et intellectus meus quando intelligit se intelligere, intel-

the contraries of which are necessarily true. But since a conclusion is not of necessity, except with regard to necessary truth, the opposite of which is false and impossible, it follows, according to his *dictum*, that faith is the subject of the false and the impossible : a result that even God could not bring about, and a statement which is unendurable to the ears of the faithful. Nor is he wanting in great temerity in presuming to dispute on matters which do not appertain to philosophy, but are of pure faith—as that the soul suffers in the infernal fire,—and in saying that the teachings of the Doctors are to be reprobated on this point. By parity of reasoning disputes could be started about the Trinity, the Incarnation, and subjects of a kindred nature, concerning which only a stutterer would talk.*

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ligit quemdam singularem actum ; quando autem intelligit intelligere simpliciter, intelligit aliquid universale ; non enim singularitas repugnat intelligibilitati, sed materialitas. Unde cum sint aliqua singularia immaterialia, nihil prohibet hujusmodi singularia intelligi. Ex hoc autem apparet quomodo sit eadem scientia in discipulo, et doctore. Est enim eadem quantum ad rem scitam, non tamen quantum ad species intelligibiles quibus uterque intelligit . . . Sicut enim in infirmo est principium naturale sanitatis, cui medicus auxilia subministrat ad sanitatem perficiendam ; ita in discipulo est principium naturale scientiæ, scilicet intellectus agens, et prima principia per se nota. Doctor autem subministrat quædam adminicula, deducendo consequens ex principiis per se notis . . . et sicut sanitas in infirmo fit non secundum potestatem medici, sed secundum facultatem naturæ ; ita et scientia causatur in discipulo non secundum virtutem magistri, sed secundum facultatem addiscentis." *(Opusc. XV., p. 222, Opp. Omnia, Vol. XVI.)*

* Take the *Contra Gentiles*, and that work alone is sufficient to show the energy with which the Angelical combated the Eastern errors; he does not even let the early Greek philosophers escape. For example, see *Lib. I., Cap. XLIII., p.* 32. Anaxagoras is replied to, *Lib. II., Cap. XL., p.* 95 ; others, again, *Lib. I., Cap. XX., p.* 17 ; then the Arabs, especially Averroës, are upset, *Lib. II., Cap. LXXXIII., p.* 122 ; *Lib. II., Cap. XXII., p.* 79—82 ; *Lib. II., LIX., p.* 112 ; *Cap. LX., p.* 113—114 ; then Aristotle is brought to bear against his own admirers, *Lib. II., Cap. LXI., p.* 115—116 ; Aristotle taken out of the hand of Averroës, *Lib. II., Cap. LXX., p.* 121 ; Aristotle brought to bear again, *Lib. II., Cap. LXXVIII., p.* 133—134 ; Avicenna refuted, *Lib. II., Cap. LXXIV., p.* 126 ; *Cap. XLII., p.* 96—97 ; *Cap. XXI., p.* 79 ; Averroës and Avicenna answered, *Lib. I., Cap. L., p.* 36, *Cap. LXIII., p.* 44 ; Algazel and Averroës answered, *Lib. II., Capp. LXXIX., LXXX., LXXXI., p.* 134—138 *sqq. ;* Avempace refuted, *Lib. II., LXXII., p.* 119. Sometimes these are made witnesses to truth, for instance, Averroës, *Lib. I., Cap. XIII., p.* 12, and *Cap. XX., p.* 17 ; Avicenna, *Lib. I., Cap. LX., p.* 45 ; *Cap. XLIII., p.* 63, whilst Pantheism is hit at, *Lib. I., Cap. XXVI., p.* 21—23, and Alexander answered, *Lib. II., Cap. LXII., p.* 116—117.

This, therefore, is what we have written towards the destruction of the said error: making use not of documents of faith, but of the reasonings and *dicta* of philosophers themselves. If any one glorying in false science wishes to say anything against what we have written, let him talk neither in secret nor before boys who cannot judge of difficult questions; but let him write, if he dare, against this work, and he will find not only that I, who am the least of all, but that many others who cultivate truth, will confront his error or expose his ignorance.*

It stands to reason that to understand fully the weight and accuracy of the Angelical's reasoning, the whole *Opusculum* must be carefully studied as it stands.

Then, besides this, there are three interesting Expositions, which, together with his polemical tractates, still further prepared the Angelical for the great "*Summa Theologica*;" the "*Expositio in Librum Boetii de Hebdomadibus*," † the "*Expositio in Librum Boetii de Trinitate*," ‡ and the Exposi-

* *Opusc. XV., De Unitate Intellectus, p.* 224, *Vol. XVI.*

† *In Librum Boetii de Hebdomadibus Expositio, Opusc. LXII., Lect. V., p.* 339—348; *Vol. XVII.* "Thomas erklärt den Ausdruck: 'de hebdomadibus,' als gleichbedeutend mit: 'de editionibus: quia in Græco hebdomada idem est ac edere' (Thomas las in seinem corrumpirten Texte: 'ecdomadileus,' und mochte hiebei an das griechische εκδιδωμι denken). Wie er das 'edere' verstand, erklärt eine andere Aeusserung: Solitus erat sibi commentari i. e. componere vel excogitare quasdam hebdomadas i. e. editiones seu conceptiones' . . . Der Anlass zur Entstehung dieses Auszuges aus den Hebdomaden ist nach Thomas' Angabe die Bitte des römischen Diaconus Johannes, Boëthius möchte einige Scheinwidersprüche auflösen, die in seinen 'Editionibus' sich fänden." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Viertes Capitel, p.* 489.)

‡ *In Librum Boetii de Trinitate Expositio, Opusc. LXIII., Quæstiones VI., p.* 349—396; *Vol. XVII.* The method followed is that of the "*Quæstiones Disputatæ*." Each *Quæstio* is divided into four articles. For instance, the first *Quæstio*, "*De Divinorum Cognitione*," *Art. I.*—Utrum mens humana ad cognitionem veritati indigeat nova illustratione divinæ lucis; *Art. II.*—Utrum mens humana possit ad Dei notitiam pervenire; *Art. III.*—Utrum Deus sit primum quod a mente cognoscitur; *Art. IV.*—Utrum ad Divinæ Trinitatis cognitionem mens humana per naturalem rationem pervenire sufficiat.

tion of the book "*De Causis*,"* all of which display the singular gift of grasping the meaning of an author for which he was so especially famed. To give an analysis, however short, of these Commentaries, would take up too much space; besides, it seems hardly called for, since sufficient has already been done to suggest the labours and method of the Angelical in theological and philosophical disquisition.

There are many other *Opuscula* attributed to the Saint, but being of uncertain authenticity, they shall be mentioned in another place; enough has been said to prove him to be a profound philosopher and an incomparable theologian. Of his writings as a politician, this is not the place to speak; but it would be an oversight to forget his merits as a framer of holy Liturgy and as a Christian poet. His great gifts manifested themselves in the composition of the office and mass for the solemn feast of *Corpus Christi*.† It is said that Pope Urban IV. gave instructions to

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**De Causis, Liber Unicus, De primis causis rerum in triplici ordine constitutis, earumque ad invicem distinctione et dependentia; Lectiones XXXII., p.* 717—760; *Vol. XXI.*

† "Essendo dunque sì divoto del santissimo Sacramento dell'altare, meritamente gli fu e da Dio conceduto sì profondamente scriverne, ed ingiunto da Urbano Papa IV. di mettere in assetto la Messa e l'Officio per la solennità del Corpus Domini, da lui con ispirito veramente celeste compilato con gl'hinni, antifone, responsorij, versetti, lettioni, e la sequentia, che come appropriati alla detta sollennità, servono per essa, e per l'ottava, ne' quali s'ammira l'artifitio, l'altezza de' concetti, l'ordine, l'armonia, e la divotione; siche con tutti gli altri divini officij infin hora messi in ordine dagli antichi padri può stare a paragone. Onde da Sisto Papa IV. da Santo Antonino, e da chiunque ne parlo, fu a ragione commendato." (Frigerio, *Vita di S. Tomaso d'Aquino, Lib. II., Cap. II., n.* 5, *p.* 75.)

S. Bonaventure, as well as to S. Thomas, to construct the office; and it is related that when the Angelical was arranging the Vespers for the Feast, S. Bonaventure called upon him, and during conversation took up and read that beautiful antiphon for the *Magnificat*, beginning with the words, "*O Sacrum Convivium!*" * So overcome was he by its depth and sweetness, that he returned home, and cast into the flames as useless the work which he himself had been preparing.

And, indeed, how could the composition of the Angelical be surpassed? What office of the Church, used during the great festivals, is more touching, more soul-expanding, more full of unction than that of the feast of *Corpus Domini?* †

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* *Ad Magnificat, Antiph.* "O sacrum convivium! in quo Christus sumitur, recolitur memoria passionis ejus, mens impletur gratia, et futuræ gloriæ nobis pignus datur. Alleluja, Alleluja." Then for the First Vespers: "O quam suavis est, Domine spiritus tuus! qui ut dulcedinem tuam in filios demonstrares, pane suavissimo de cœlo præstito, esurientes replens bonis, fastidiosos divites dimittis inanes." This is the Prayer:—"Deus qui nobis sub Sacramento mirabili passionis tuæ memoriam reliquisti, tribue quæsumus ita nos Corporis et Sanguinis tui sacra mysteria venerari, ut redemptionis tuæ fructum in nobis jugiter sentiamus. Qui vivis, &c." Then the Hymns are "*Pange Lingua*," "*Sacris Solemniis*," "*Verbum Supernum*," and "*Lauda Sion*." (See *Opusc. V., Officium de Festo Corporis Christi ad mandatum* URBANI PAPÆ *IV. dictum Festum instituentis, p.* 233—238; *Vol. XV.*)

† Take the hymn "*Verbum Supernum prodiens*":—

"The Word, descending from above,
Though with the Father still on high,
Went forth upon His work of love,
And soon to life's last eve drew nigh.

He shortly to a death accurs'd
By a disciple shall be given;
But, to his twelve disciples, first
He gives Himself, the Bread from Heaven.

See how the Saint culls from the sweet psalms of David, and from the ordinances of the Old Law, types and figures of the New; see how his large heart, and his deep affections flow, with the overwhelming force of some majestic river, into those hymns which form the household words of the Sanctuary, and the very language of the Holy Place! The "*Pange Lingua*" and "*Sacris Solemnis*," so exquisitely theological, so tenderly affective, so reverently adoring, so expressive of every want and aspiration of the human heart—where are two hymns so touching, so poetical, so angelical as they? What writer has so fixed his name in every Sanctuary, or has made ten thousand churches ring for hundreds of years with such an ever-repeated, never-omitted anthem of joy and praise? He who lived at the foot of the altar and drunk of the dew of heaven, he whose conversation was with the Saints of God, had learnt, as no other, how to throw into human words an angel's song. He, the champion of the Blessed Sacrament, as if by heavenly inspiration, poured out his numbers in a poet's prayer. Whether it be the beautiful sim-

Himself in either kind He gave;
He gave his Flesh, He gave his Blood;
Of flesh and blood all men are made;
And He of man would be the Food.

At birth our brother He became;
At board, Himself as food He gives;
To ransom us He died in shame;
As our reward, in bliss He lives."
(Caswall's *Lyra Catholica*, *p.* 114—115.

plicity of the "*Tantum Ergo*,"* the tender and strong love of the "*O Salutaris*,"† or the jubilant "*Lauda Sion*," it matters not; the Angelical was master of every note of joy, adoration, and thanksgiving which could be breathed from the human soul fired with the grace of God; and knew, as no other, how to stamp the impress of his own spirit on the treasures of his genius. It was his intense energy of devotion, and spotlessness of purity, which made him throw into divine song the deepest feelings of humanity; for he summed up in himself all that is purest and tenderest, all that is most noble in the hearts of the redeemed.

Take a specimen of the "*Lauda Sion*":—

"Lo! upon the Altar lies,
Hidden deep from human eyes,
Bread of Angels from the skies,
Made the food of mortal man:
Children's meat to dogs denied;
In old types foresignified;
In the manna Heav'n-supplied,
Isaac and the Paschal Lamb.

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* "*Tantum Ergo*":—
"Down in adoration falling,
Lo! the sacred Host we hail;
Lo! o'er ancient forms departing,
Newer rites of grace prevail;
Faith, for all defects supplying,
Where the feeble senses fail.
To the everlasting Father, &c."
—(*Loc. Cit.*, *p.* 112.)

† "*O Salutaris Hostia*":—
"O saving Victim! opening wide
The gate of Heav'n to men below!
Our foes press on from every side;—
Thine aid supply, thy strength bestow.
To thy great Name be endless praise,
Immortal Godhead, One in Three!
Oh, grant us endless length of days,
In our true native land, with Thee!"
—(*Loc. Cit.*, *p.* 115—116.)

Jesu ! Shepherd of the Sheep !
Thou thy flock in safety keep.
Living Bread ! thy life supply ;
Strengthen us, or else we die ;
Fill us with celestial grace :
Thou who feedest us below !
Source of all we have or know !
Grant that with thy Saints above,
Sitting at the feast of love,
We may see Thee face to face."*

How full of large, free, tender adoration was the heart of the Angelical, can only be fully realized by studying in its integrity the office composed by him in honour of the Blessed Sacrament.

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* See *Lyra Catholica*, by Edward Caswall, M.A., p. 240 ; London, 1840. The poem begins thus :—

I.

"Sion, lift thy voice, and sing ;
Praise thy Saviour and thy King ;
Praise with hymns thy Shepherd true :
Strive thy best to praise Him well ;
Yet doth He all praise excel ;
None can ever reach His due.

II.

See to-day before us laid
The living and life-giving Bread !
Theme for praise and joy profound !
The same which at the sacred board
Was by our Incarnate Lord
Giv'n to His Apostles round.

III.

Let the praise be loud and high ;
Sweet and tranquil be the joy
Felt to-day in every breast ;
On this festival divine,
Which records the origin
Of the glorious Eucharist.

IV.

On this Table of the King,
Our new Paschal offering
Brings to end the olden rite ;
Here, for empty shadows fled,
Is Reality instead ;
Here instead of darkness, light."
—*(p. 236—237.)*

CHAPTER X.

S. THOMAS AND FAITH.

PART II.

It will now naturally be asked what was the condition of the political and ecclesiastical world during the time that the Angelical was penning his treatises, delivering his lectures, and writing his poems.

By the death of our Saint's friend and patron, Urban IV., at Perugia (1264), the Church lost an able and accomplished Pope. Like many men of great energy and exceptional gifts, he had risen from the ranks to the highest dignities attainable in the Church. He started life in a tailor's shop, then received the tonsure, and having become in turn archdeacon, bishop, legate, and cardinal, was chosen Pope by eight of the nine cardinals at Viterbo, on account of his high character for saintliness and wisdom.*

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* "Ce pape fut le premier qui exprima le numéro de son nom. Il signait Urbain pape IV. On prétend qu'il existe une bulle de Pélage signée *Pelagius PP. II.* ; mais beaucoup d'auteurs regardent cette bulle

To give a detailed account of the vigour with which he pursued the policy of Alexander IV., his predecessor, with respect to Manfred, the turbulent king of Italy, and of how he declared a crusade against him on account of his outrages on the Church and his oppression of the people, would take up too much room. Suffice it here to say that Guy, Bishop of Auxerre, and Robert, son of the Count of Flanders, overset Manfred in a pitched battle in Lombardy; but Manfred, with his noted elasticity, speedily recovered himself, and taking vengeance on his enemies, pushed his successes so far as to threaten to lay siege to Rome. Urban took refuge in Orvieto, and shortly afterwards died at Perugia.* Prudence, meekness, and generosity, combined with a deep love of literature and learning, were the distinguishing characteristics of this venerable Pontiff.

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comme apocryphe. Urbain mourut le 22 Octobre, à Pérugia. Il gouverna l'Eglise trois ans un mois et quatre jours. C'était un homme d'un esprit élevé, prudent. Il avait le cœur rempli de clémence, de mansuétude, de générosité, et de beaucoup d'autres vertus qu'on pouvait appeler vraiment royales. On a de lui une *Paraphrase des Pères*, et soixante et une lettres où respirent la sagesse et la bonté." (Artaud de Montor, *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains, Tome III., p.* 15; *Paris*, 1851.)

* It was at Orvieto, and at this period, that Pope Urban IV. instituted the feast of *Corpus Domini*, for which the Angelical wrote the office, as has been said already. "Refugié à Orviéto, le pape institua la fête du Saint Sacrement, qu'il célébra pour la première fois le jeudi d'après l'octave de la Pentécôte, en 1264. Il fit composer l'office de cette fête par saint Thomas d'Aquin, alors professeur de philosophie à Orviéto: c'est le même office que nous récitons encore. Mais le pape Urbain étant mort à Pérugia, la célébration de cette solennité fut interrompue pendant plus de quarante ans; elle avait été ordonnée dès l'année 1246, par Robert de Torote, évêque de Liége, à l'occasion des révélations qu'une sainte religieuse hospitalière, nommée Julienne, avait eues sur ces objets." (Artaud de Montor, *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains, Tome III., p.* 14.)

He governed the Church three years, one month, and four days.

Five months elapsed before a successor was chosen. The cardinals assembled at Viterbo met at length in conclave, and elected Guy Foulquois, cardinal of Santa Sabina, successor of Pope Urban IV. Guy, like his predecessor, was a Frenchman; he belonged to a noble family of Saint-Gilles, on the Rhône. He had many high qualities and a wide experience to recommend him. He had been sucessively a soldier, a lawyer, a secretary, a husband, a father of a family, a widower, a canon, an archdeacon, a bishop, a cardinal, and, finally, he was nominated Pope.* He had been raised to the cardinalate by Urban IV., under the title of *Santa Sabina*, in recognition of the skilful manner in which he had fulfilled the duties of Apostolic Legate at the English Court.

Guy was absent at Boulogne-sur-Mer when the sacred college met in conclave at Viterbo, and it was at Boulogne that he first heard the astounding intelligence that he had been canoni-

* "Clement IV., appellé auparavant Guy Foulquois, appartenait à une famille noble de Saint-Gilles, sur le Rhône. On remarquera ici que c'est un Français qui succède à un Français. Guy fut successivement militaire, jurisconsulte, secrétaire de Louis IX., marié, père de famille, veuf, prêtre, chanoine, archidiacre, évêque, cardinal, et pape. Quelques auteurs prétendent que Guy fut aussi chartreux; mais il parait qu'ils ont confondu le fils avec le père, qui, en effet, entra dans l'ordre de Saint-Bruno." (Artaud de Montor, *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains, Tome III., p.* 18.)

cally chosen to succeed to the tiara.* It is said that the condition of Italy at this period was so insecure for prelates, on account of the violence of Manfred, that Guy was constrained, in passing through Italy, to dress himself as a mendicant friar; and that in this disguise he appeared at Viterbo, and implored the sacred college upon his bended knees, with many prayers and tears, to free him from the terrible burden they wished to place upon him. But his entreaties were of no practical avail. The cardinals persisted in their choice, private feeling had to give way to public good, and Guy was with great pomp and ceremony enthroned and crowned (1265) under the title of Clement IV.†

Having been forced against his will to take the responsibility of government, he was determined

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* "Un Français, un Languedocien, Gui Fulcodi, cardinal-évêque de Sabine, l'un des membres les plus distingués du sacré collége, envoyé comme légat en Angleterre pour amener un accommodement entre le roi et les barons révoltés, apprend à Boulogne-sur-Mer que les suffrages de ses collègues, réunis à Pérouse, l'appellent au trône pontifical. Il accourt en Italie et se rend à Pérouse, déguisé en frère mendiant pour échapper aux embûches de Mainfroi, toujours en guerre avec l'Eglise romaine. Il vient se plaindre de cet honneur imprévu, et tenter tous les efforts pour s'y soustraire; mais, ni ses prières ni ses larmes ne peuvent arrêter la justice d'une élection à laquelle il avait été d'ailleurs si complètement étranger; il est forcé d'accepter, le 5 février 1265; et le 22 du même mois, premier dimanche du carême, il est couronné sous le nom de Clément IV." (Bareille, *Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXIII., p.* 274—275.)

† "Novaes ne peut se lasser d'admirer Clément IV.: 'Il fut,' dit cet historien, 'prédicateur éloquent, jurisconsulte consommé.' Durand l'appelle *lumière du droit, illustre en pénitence, en prière, en zèle apostolique, en modestie, en manières telles que plus il s'élevait en dignité, plus il florissait en sainteté.* Il n'opéra jamais sous son règne une seule chose grave, qu'auparavant il n'eût consulté le sacré collége. Novaes loue ensuite l'horreur de ce pape pour le népotisme, *tant fut grand en ce pontife le détachement de son propre sang.*" (Artaud de Montor, *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains, Tome III., p.* 23.)

that his relations should not feed and flourish upon the patrimony of the Church.* He wrote thus to his nephew, Peter the Fat: "We wish neither you, nor your brother, nor any other member of the family, to come to us without our express command; for if you do, you will be disappointed in your expectations, and will be sent home again in confusion." †

But if the new Pope was severe with the members of his family, he was full of tenderness towards men who, by their talents and labours, had deserved well of the Holy See.‡ His keen intelligence, which had been practised in so many varied experiences, found little difficulty in discovering where merit lay, or in hitting upon methods of rewarding it. If his first act was to calm the rising ambition of his relatives, his second may be said to have been to fix his eye upon the Angel of the Schools, whom he deter-

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* See Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap, I., p.* 200.

† "Quelques papes jusqu'ici n'ont peut-être pas assez réprimé l'ambition de leur famille: aussi la conduite tout opposée de Clément IV., a fait l'admiration de la postérité. Il ne permit pas que ses parents venissent auprès de lui, et leur défendit toute recommendation. Il voulut que sa nièce fût mariée à un simple chevalier, et il ne promit que la plus modique somme pour sa dot. Il ne se montra pas plus favorablement disposé pour l'établissement des deux filles qu'il avait eues pendant son mariage: aussi embrassèrent-elles la vie religieuse dans l'abbaye de Saint-Sauveur, de Nîmes." (Artaud de Montor, *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains, Tome III., p.* 22.)

‡ Du Pin, speaking of the humble expressions this Pope made use of when writing to his friends, says:—"Il écrit toutes ces choses en secret, et à la charge qu'on n'en parlera point: c'est pourquoi il lui marque qu'il ne se sert point de Bulle, mais de l'Anneau du Pescheur, dont les Papes se servent quand ils écrivent secrètement à des particuliers de leurs amis: ce qui fait voir que cette Lettre n'est point l'effet d'une vaine ostentation d'humilité; mais que ce sont ses veritables sentiments." (Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliothèque, Tom. X., Seconde Edition; Paris, MDCC.)*

mined to raise to some conspicuous ecclesiastical position. If S. Thomas lost a friend in Urban, he found a warm admirer in Urban's successor.* Indeed, the Pope and the great theologian were by no means strangers; Clement, when a simple priest, had looked upon that quiet, marvellous Dominican with wonder and delight. He had marked the extraordinary and brilliant success of his career, and had been struck by his retiring modesty, his severe simplicity, his gentleness of life, and the spotless candour of his character. It appeared to Pope Clement that such a man as this would render distinguished service to religion, were he raised from the lowly estate of a simple friar, and placed in an elevated position in the Church. He not only felt urged to reward S. Thomas, but also to benefit mankind.†

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* "On voit par-là de quels yeux Clément IV. regardoit son élévation; quel étoit son mépris pour les grandeurs de ce monde, et son détachement de toutes les personnes qui lui étoient unies par les liens du sang. On le loue cependant d'avoir toujours estimé le mérite, et favorisé particulièrement ceux qui travailloient pour l'utilité, et l'édification de l'Eglise. Les vertus de Thomas d'Aquin, le zèle et les talens, qu'il lui connoissoit, le lui avoient rendu si cher, qu'une de ses premières attentions, lorsqu'il se vit sur la Chaire de S. Pierre, fut de l'avoir auprès de sa personne, et de l'engager à prendre quelque part à la sollicitude pastorale." (Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv, III., Chap. I., p.* 201.)

† See Bareille, *Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXIII., p.* 275; Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 508; Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. I., p.* 203; Frigerio, *Vita di S. Tomaso d'Aquino, Lib. II., Cap. IX., n.* 7, *p.* 114. Tocco speaks thus:—"Simile alias perfectionis exemplum et humilitatis ostendit, quia accepta Bulla ab eodem Pontifice de promotione sua ad Archiepiscopatum Neopolitanensem, cum additione redditiuum monasterii S. Petri ad Aram, dignitatem accipere noluit, et quod Summus Pontifex ulterius non promoveret eum ad alia, suppliciter exoravit. O felix Doctor, contemptor sæculi! O amator cœli; qui fecit quod docuit; qui sic terrena despiceret, quasi pignus haberet possessionis cœlestium, quæ speraret." (*Boll., Cap. VII., n.* 43, *p.* 671.)

He caused a Bull or Brief to be drawn out, conferring upon the Angel of the Schools the Archbishopric of Naples; and the revenue of the monastery of S. Peter *ad aram*—so called from the legend that S. Peter said mass there before entering into the Eternal City,—was also made over to him, that he might not want for means to support the dignity of his position.

This formal document was in due course presented to the Saint, and when he understood its contents he was thrown into the profoundest melancholy. Neither prayers nor threats could induce him to accept the responsibility. The Bull had to be withdrawn, and S. Thomas was left in peace during the rest of his career, and allowed to prosecute that one great object to which he had dedicated his entire intellect.

He felt indeed that he was not made for the active strifes of ecclesiastical politics; he knew that his tastes and talents lay in another sphere. He was not a Basil or a Chrysostom, an Ambrose or a Gregory the Great. His vocation from the first had been in the World Unseen, and now he was about ripe for realising the one great hope for which he had lived his life. Had he consented to accept the Archbishopric of Naples, in all human probability the "*Summa Theologica*" would never have been written.*

* Werner gives a reason which may have moved Pope Clement to offer the Archbishopric to the Angelical:—"Vielleicht auch deshalb, um dem

The huge labour of preparation for this master-work had now been accomplished. The Saint's intellect had been impregnated with the spirit and temper of the classic Fathers of theology. He was master of the Church's past, and had grasped the whole dogmatic and moral teachings of the greatest intellects which had been raised up to expand and defend her doctrine. He was familiar with the special gift of each columnal Father; he knew where each was strong, where they diverged; he could contemplate them apart and in relation; he saw them as many, and yet as one.* He had written on them and quoted them, as well as read them; and by the labour of many independent works and tractates, he had made their sayings as familiar to himself as household words. He

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gräflichen Hause Aquino einigen Ersatz zu bieten für die schweren Opfer, die es in jenen stürmischen Zeiten seit einer Reihe von Jahren seiner Treue gegen die Kirche und deren Oberhaupt gebracht hatte. Vergeblich bat Thomas auf das Inständigste, dass er seiner Zelle und seinen Studien nicht entrissen, und seinen Schultern keine Last aufgebürdet werden möge, unter deren Schwere er zu erliegen fürchte. Clemens hoffte den Widerstand der frommen Demuth endlich doch zu besiegen, und liess die Verleihungs-bulle ausfertigen. Er versetzte aber hiedurch seinen heiligen Freund in eine solche Bestürzung, dass er, aus Furcht, ihm ein ernstliches Wehe zuzufügen, aus eigenem Antrieb die Bulle wieder zurücknahm, und den Verleihungsact irritirte, zur grossen Freude des in seinen innersten Gefühlen bedrängt gewesenen Thomas." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 508.)

* Then besides his mastery of the Fathers, his natural and supernatural gifts made him unapproachable as a theologian:—"Ne dubbio giammai gli nacque, che da lui sciolto non fosse; godendo insieme sì prodigiosa memoria, che mai sempre in essa tenacemente si fermò ciò, ch'una sol volta entrato vi fosse; servendogli appunto come una viva bibliotheca; di sorte che bene spesso di tre e quattro copiatori in un medesimo tempo si valeva, a'quali, (scrivendo egli parimente,) insiememente dettava materie, tanto fra di loro disparate e profonde, quanto sparse ne'suoi gran volumi hoggi si leggono; e con sì fatta celerità, che mentre un di quegli era nello scrivere occupato, egli ad altri diversamente dettava; essendo egli e scrittore senza riposo, e senza otio dettatore." (Frigerio, *Lib. I., Cap. VI., n.* 5, *p.* 27.)

had thrown off an hundred sketches, drafts, *cartoni*, *imbozzi*, he had practised carefully and long, before he ventured to set himself to the grand construction of his life.

The same may be said of his mastery of Sacred Scriptures, which he knew by heart, and read by the light of the most brilliant minds which have ever illuminated the *Ecclesia Docta*. He fathomed every cavern in which a single gem of traditionary truth could lie concealed, and grasped the whole *scibile* of the Catholic Christian faith.*

Again, what was the secret of his intense labours upon the text of Aristotle? Why such wearisome commenting on so many of his works, on his metaphysics, politics, physics, ethics ; why did the Saint think it necessary to steep his pure mind so deep, and for such a length of time, in that sea of pagan thought, save that he had some great end in view adequate to the intensity of the brain-work which he so freely exercised? If his study was thorough in tradition and in Scripture, no less was it so, even more if possible, in the order of

* The Paris University has spoken clearly enough :—"Tutte l'università delli studij generali dalla verità constrette hanno inalzato a i Cieli quest'Angelica dottrina, ed in particolare l'università di Parigi, quale dopò di haver preconizato infinite lodi dice ; 'Cupientes igitur gloriosum Deum in sanctis suis apud fidelium devotionem in terris gloriosius exaltari, ac sacratissimæ Matris nostræ Ecclesiæ desiderantes vestigia sancta imitari, et beatum Thomam gloriosum feliciter in cœlis regnantem apud terrigenas devotius, et celebrius honorari : præsertim cum fuerit universalis Ecclesiæ lumen præfulgidum, gemma radians Clericorum : fons Doctorum, universitatis nostræ Parisiensis speculum clarissimum ; candelabrum insigne, ac lucens, per quod omnes, qui vias vitæ, et scholas doctrinæ sanæ ingrediuntur lumen vident : claritate vitæ, famæ, et doctrinæ, velut stella splendida, et matutina refulgens.'" (*Vita, p.* 5.)

human reason.* He took possession of the firm frame-work set up by Aristotle, hammered it into shape where it was required, changed its form in places, cut out all unfitting matter—all being done carefully and tenderly,—and then threw the moral and dogma of religion into it, manifesting in scientific form the connected and systematic teaching of the Church. If from the classic Fathers and from the Scriptures the Saint drew the pure waters of belief, and learnt such vastness of design, it was by the Greek philosophers that he was taught to display such breadth of reasoning, such clearness of elaboration, such minute development of detail, such unity in complexity of parts, such richness yet simplicity of thought—in one word, the highest gifts of analysis to be found in the history of human intellectual activity.†

* Had he not thus worked, Pope Clement VIII. would not have written of him as follows :—"Ac doctrinæ quidem testis est ingens ille librorum numerus, quos ille brevissimo tempore, in omni ferè disciplinarum genere, singulari ordine ac mirâ perspicuitate, sine ullo prorsùs errore conscripsit: in quibus conscribendis interdùm sanctos Apostolos Petrum et Paulum colloquentes, locosque illi quosdam Dei jussu enarrantes habuit. Quos deinde conscriptos expressâ Christi Domini voce comprobatos audivit." (*Brief to the City of Naples ;* see Bareille, *p.* 431.)

† Mettenleiter speaks well :—"Die ganze menschliche Wissenschaft seiner Zeit war in den Schriften des Aristoteles beschlossen. Logik, Physik, Naturgeschichte, Metaphysik, Moral, Politik, Alles lehrte Aristoteles, und in ihm verehrte man den Meister, der über Alles das letzte und tiefste Wort gesprochen. Indessen bedurfte es nur der flüchtigsten Durchsicht von einigen seiner Werke, um einzusehen, dass in diesem Philosophen nur sehr wenig von dem christlichen Geiste lebendig sey, und dass bereits das eifrige Studium desselben beklagenswerthe Früchte gebrachte habe. Diess waren nun die wissenschaftlichen Elemente, über die Thomas verfügen konnte. Mit ihnen musste eine Psychologie, Ontologie, eine Moral und Politik geschaffen werden, die würdig waren, sich dem Dogma des Glaubens anzuschliessen. Und Aquino vollbrachte es. Indem er die Träumereien und Verirrungen des Stagyriten überging, nahm er aus dessen Schriften, was sich Wahres und Gutes darin sammeln liess, verwandelte und entwickelte, diese Materialien, und bildete so, ohne den

What then, once again, are the elements of power which go towards the construction of the "*Summa Theologica*"? First, the inspired writers, the Prophets, the Seers, the Apostles, and the Evangelists; next, the classic Fathers of the Church, such as Athanasius, Basil, Gregory *Theologus*, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory the Great,* with the Pontiffs and the Councils; and then all that is best in Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

It is an inaccuracy to call the philosophy of S. Thomas the philosophy of the Stagyrite: it is Aristotelian indeed, but corrected by the light of revelation, perfected by an effluence of Platonic elevation, and with just the *soupçon* of the Socratic method in it, to make it charming to a crystal and active mind. The "*Summa Theologica*" exhibits the most successful manifestation of the harmony of fullest faith with the most perfect development of reason which—in spite of all the attractions and subtleties of German schools—has as yet been elaborated by the mind of man. If the "*Summa*

Götzen des Jahrhunderts anzubeten oder umzustürzen, eine Philosophie, die zwar noch aristotelisches Blut, aber gelaütert durch sein eigenes und das aller grossen Vorgänger in der Wissenschaft in den Adern hatte." (*Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin, Einleitung, p.* 27—28; *Regensburg*, 1856.)

* "Au moment où il a exécuté cette vaste synthèse, déjà tous les dogmes fondamentaux avaient été successivement défendus par les Athanase, les Basile, les Grégoire de Nazianze, les Cyrille, les Augustin et les Jérôme; chacune de ces questions avait été pour ainsi dire épuisée par les longues controverses auxquelles elles avait donné lieu, par conséquent en recueillant ce vaste héritage la science pouvait se considérer comme ayant dit sur beaucoup de points son dernier mot." (Drioux, *La Somme Théologique, Introduction*, § *III.*, *p.* 30.)

Theologica" was not laid upon the table of the Vatican Council, there was no other book found worthy to take its place.*

It has been shown abundantly that no writer before the Angelical's day could have created such a synthesis. The greatest of the classic Fathers have been treated of, and the reasons of their inability are evident. As for the scholastics who more immediately preceded the Angelical, their minds were not ripe for so great and complete a work: the fulness of time had not yet come. Very possibly, had not Albert and Alexander preceded him, S. Thomas would not have been prepared to write his master-work; just as, most probably, Newton would never have discovered the laws of gravitation had it not been for the previous labours of Galileo and of Kepler.† But, just as the English astronomer stands solitary in his greatness, though surrounded and succeeded by men of extraordinary eminence, so also the

* "The obedience of faith . . . which is due to the sovereignty of God, is the most reasonable act of an intellectual being, the most perfect act of which the human intellect in this state of mortality is capable. There remains after it nothing but the vision of the Uncreated Truth without a veil. 'After the *Summa* of S. Thomas there remains nothing but the light of glory,' is not an academical exaggeration, but a very truth." (See *the Fourfold Sovereignty of God*, by Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster, *Lect. I., p*, 22; *London*, 1871.)

† "Diese *Summa theologiæ* ist ein unvergängliches Denkmal der Wissenschaft und des christlichen Glaubens. Thomas hat sich dadurch verewigt. Die Form der Lehre kann eine verschiedene seyn, aber die Lehre selbst bleibt unveränderlich! Die scholastische Form, in welche Thomas sein Werk gekleidet hat, wurde zwar in unseren Tagen hart angefochten, aber welche Philosophie ist im Stande, in diesem Werke ihre Stelle zu vertreten? Welcher Geist ist so gewaltig, den heiligen Thomas von Aquin von seinem Throne zu verdrängen?" (Mettenleiter, *Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin, Einleitung, p.* 26.)

Angelical stands by himself alone, though Albertus Magnus was a genius, Alexander was a theologic king, and Bonaventure a seraphic doctor. Just as the *Principia* is a work unique, unreachable, so, too, is the "*Summa Theologica*" of the great Angelical.* Just as Dante stands alone amongst the poets, so with S. Thomas in the schools.

It is not only on account of its being the most perfect synthesis of rational and Christian teaching that the *Summa* has excited so great a power in the world—that it has stood firm as the rock of Gibraltar amidst the ebb and flow of human thought; but because it brought into more perfect equilibrium the two great phases of philosophy which are represented by Plato and the Stagyrite. Its charm does not consist in the scientific harmony of faith alone, but in the scientific balance of human reason also.† The Platonic leaven had

* Professor Gibelli fully bears me out. Speaking of the *Summa*, he says:—"Il primo volume in 114 Questioni comprende 619 Articoli, il secondo in 189 Questioni comprende Articoli 917. Molto mi diffonderei in parole se dovessi pur lievemente toccare della materia di cosiffatte Questioni; mi restringerò a dire che la prima delle due Parti tratta dell'ultimo fine dell'uomo, e delle virtù e de'vizi in generale; l'altra (cioè, come dicono, la Seconda della Seconda) tratta delle virtù e de' vizi in ispecie. Mai non ne verrei a capo, se volessi (poniamo che mi bastasse l'ingegno e lo studio, il che non è) discorrere della perfezione e sapienza, ond'è incomparabile quest'Opera e massime la Seconda della Seconda; dirò solo che sebbene da sei secoli ella sia stata messa in luce, pure non fu vinta giammai da nessuna di quelle tante Opere, di che i più dotti teologi e francesi e spagnuoli e alemanni e italiani intesero giovare il mondo e rallegrare la Chiesa; ed aggiugnerò che se dalle tante opere e filosofiche e politiche e teologiche ed ascetiche, per le quali le più colte fra le moderne nazioni sentono alteramente di sè, si levasse via tutto ciò che o per diretto o per indiretto è stato tolto dalla Somma Teologica, non so per fermo quanta materia di gloria rimanesse ai loro autori." *(Vita di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, Cap. XXVII., p.* 104—105. *Seconda Edizione.)*

† The deep lament of the learned University of Paris on hearing of the death of the Saint conveys a vivid idea of his intellectual pre-eminence. The Doctors of the University thus address the General Chapter of the

pierced into the Church, and had done its work. The Alexandrian school had spread abroad its subtle influences, which had produced their effect in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, and the Greek Peninsula; and, finally, had permeated to a great extent, through the Damascene and the Areopagite, into the Western Schools. It is sufficient to refer to the Angelical himself to bring vividly before the mind the strong influence of these two writers in the mediæval Church. Who so soaringly Platonic, for example, as Denis—who so abstract, who so difficult, so poetic, so borne away on the feathery wings of subtlest philosophy into the highest empyrean of thought? *

Then, take the period when Roman literature can hardly be said to have been absolutely dead. Who ruled? Plato still: that is, Boethius and

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Dominicans:—"Singultuoso clamore, totius Ecclesiæ universale dispendium, nec non et Parisiensis studii manifestam desolationem lacrymabiliter deplangimus, et his diebus præelegimus in communi non immeritò deplorare. Heu, heu, heu, quis det nobis ut repræsentare possimus Jeremiæ lamentum, quod supra subitum modum in mentes deinceps singulorum inauditam extasim causans, et inestimabilem stuporem adducens, demum viscerum nostrorum intima penetravit. Fatemur, vix valemus exprimere: amor enim retrahit; sed dolor et vehemens angustia dicere nos compellit ex communi relatu, et certo rumore multorum nos scire Doctorem venerabilem fratrem Thomam de Aquino, ab hoc sæculo fuisse vocatum." (See Bareille, *Appendice, p.* 406.)

* Once more hear the Doctors:—"Quis posset æstimare divinam providentiam permisisse stellam matutinam præeminentem in mundo, jubar in lucem sæculi, imò, ut veriùs dicamus, luminare majus, quod præerat diei, suos radios retraxisse? Planè irrationabiliter judicamus suum revocasse fulgorem, et passum fuisse umbrosam Eclypsim, dum toti Ecclesiæ tanti splendoris radius est subtractus. Et licet non ignoremus Conditorem nostrum ipsum toti mundo ad tempus, speciali privilegio concessisse, nihilominùs si antiquorum auctoritatibus vellemus inniti, eum videbatur specialiter posuisse naturam ad ipsius naturæ occulta illucidanda." (*Datum Parisiis, Anno Domini* 1274, *die Mercurii antè Inventionem Sanctæ Crucis.*)

S. Gregory, and the giant son of Monnica. Those Churchmen who wrote between the days of the great African Bishop and the Angelical shine mostly with a borrowed light, and recall the master-influences of Plato and S. Augustine.* The Fathers of the barbarian age, S. Martin, S. Isidore, Venerable Bede, Raban, and others of like calibre, did not construct an epoch-making theology, but, with simple faith, cherished in a stormy day, and handed down the treasures they had received.† Then Abelard,‡ Roscelin,§ and William of Champeaux‖ were simply knight-errants, who loved adventure, and spent their energies in ventilating novel theories, and then in defending them with the sharp weapons of logic, sarcasm, and sophistry. S. Anselm¶ and

* Take the Greek and Latin writers of the sixth century. GREEKS OR ORIENTALS:—Æneas *Gazæus, c.a.* 500; Nemesius *Ep. Emisenus, c.a.* 500; Andreas *Ep. Cæsar. Capp., c.a.* 520; Joan. Maxent. *Mon. Ant., c.a.* 536; Joan. Climacus *Abbas, c.a.* 580; Leontius *Byzant. Mon., c.a.,* 550; Anastasius *Ep. Antioch., c.a.* 599; Procopius *Gazæus, c.a.* 560; Dorotheus *Archimandr., c.a.* 560; Anastasius *Sinaita, c.a.* 564; Evagrius *Histor., c.a.* 598. LATINS:—Gennadius *Presb. Massil., c.a.* 500; Victor *Uticensis Hist., c.a.* 500; Boëthius *Philos., a.* 524; S. Avitus *Ep. Viennens. Gall., a.* 525; S. Fulgentius *Ep. Rusp., a.* 533; Dionysius *Exiguus Abb., c.a.,* 536; S. Cæsarius *Ep. Arelat, a.* 543; Cassiodorus *Monachus, a.* 562; Junilius *Ep. Africanus, c.a.* 550; S. Gregorius *Ep. Turon, a.* 596.

† Take the seventh and eighth centuries. GREEKS AND ORIENTALS:—S. Sophronius *Ep. Hieros, c.a.* 650; S. Maximus *Mon. et Mart, a.* 662; Joan. Moschus *al. Eviratus, c.a.* 650; Antiochus *Monachus, c.a.* 650; Isaias *Abbas, c.a.* 680; S. Germanus *Ep. CPtanus, a.* 730; S. Joan. *Damascenus Mon., a.* 754; S. Andreas *Cretensis, c.a.* 720. LATINS:—S. Ildephonsus *Ep. Tolet., a.* 669; S. Julianus *Ep. Tolet., a.* 690; Desiderius *Ep. Cadurc. Gall., c.a.* 670; S. Theodorus *Ep. Cantuar. a.* 690; S. Gregorius II. *Papa, a.* 714; Beda *Venerabilis, a.* 735; S. Bonifacius *Ep. Mogunt. a.* 755.

‡ See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. IX., p.* 151—172.

§ See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. VIII., p.* 144—145.

‖ See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. IX., p.* 155.

¶ See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. IX., p.* 146—147.

S. Bernard* were thinkers of a more serious cast, and men of high and soaring genius, but their lives, even had there been no other reason, were too much engrossed with the turbulence of ecclesiastical politics to have leisure for carrying out any continuous intellectual labour. † S. Anselm's greatest effort was simply written accidentally, at the request of some of his brethren, who wished to have his views on God's existence. ‡ With the Lombard we perceive and advance towards some sort of synthesis; but even he, together with Hugh and Richard of S. Victor's, § simply reproduced Plato and S. Augustine in his philosophy, whilst his dogmatic teaching had not yet received the vivifying spark of a truly systematic life. Albert, ‖ Hales, ¶ and Bonaventure,** again, are men of larger growth; but Albert's mind was too miscellaneous to be truly scientific, Hales was too original to be completely safe, whilst S. Bonaventure, occupied as were his days with the weight of a heavy public responsibility, had he possessed the exquisite balance together with the breadth of the Angelical, would not have enjoyed the opportunity of doing that

* See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. X.*, 173—192.

† It is but necessary to continue the list of Greek and Latin writers from the eighth century to the thirteenth, in order to perceive the position of the Angelical and his relation to S. Augustine.

‡ See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XII., p.* 131—169.

§ See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XI., p.* 203, *sqq.*; *Chap. XII., p.* 258.

‖ See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. VII., p.* 115—132.

¶ See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XIX., p.* 475—476, *sqq.*

** See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XXI., p.* 580—581.

which his friend was only able to accomplish after a life of ceaseless toil and contemplation.*

How, then, do we stand? The great classic Fathers, with their Platonism and rhetoric, living in days of hand-to-hand clash and conflict, had neither time, nor opportunity, nor education to fit them for creating a vast scientific synthesis of theology. S. Augustine, who represents them all, and who approaches nearest to the idea of a "*Summa Theologica*" in his "*De Civitate Dei*," manifests the shortcomings, as well as the greatness, of works written during the heat of battle. The writers who succeeded him, from S. Martin to the first of the scholastics, had to be content, for the most part, with keeping the sacred fire from dying out; whilst those who followed these were simply in the bud what S. Thomas was in the bloom.

The Angelical's position as a theologian be-

* How well Werner speaks :—"Das Werk des heiligen Thomas ruht durchgängig auf dem Grunde wissenschaftlicher Traditionen ; und deren Bedeutung desselben in geschichtlicher Hinsicht aus. Es bezeichnet nach wohlgefügte und durchgebildete Vermittelung macht die eigentliche dieser Seite einen Höhenpunct in der Entwickelung der mittelalterlichen Theologie, nicht so, als ob eine weiter fortschreitende Entwickelung nicht mehr stattgehabt hätte, sondern insofern die constitutiven Elemente und Factoren der mittelalterlichen wissenschaftlichen Theologie nirgends so harmonisch in einander griffen und zu einem so abgerundeten Ganzen sich zusammenschlossen, wie in dem theologischen Systeme des heiligen Thomas. Und so ist es in der That ein epochemachendes Werk im höchsten Sinne ; der Entwickelungsprocess der theologischen Wissenschaft war in ihm zu einem relativen Abschlusse gelangt ; und da die ganze mittelalterliche Theologie des Abenlandes auf Augustinische Theologie in Thomas' Summe für sein Jahrhundert und für eine Reihe der folgenden Jahrhunderte ihren systematischen Abschluss gefunden hatte, ohne dass men jedoch Thomas zu einem blossen Schüler Augustin's machen könnte oder andererseits verkennen möchte, dass in Thomas' System nicht der ganze Augustinus aufgegangen und erschöpft ist." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 821—822.)

comes evident at once by comparing the "*Summa Theologica*," first, with a classic work of each classic Father, from S. Athanasius to S. Augustine; secondly, with the leading Church writers from the Areopagite to Raban; thirdly, with those from Raban to the Lombard; and, finally, with the Lombard, and with Albert, Hales, or Bonaventure.* Or it may perhaps be said that the Angelical rendered a service to Christian science somewhat analogous to that which Aristotle rendered to the teachings of his day.

The greater portion of Greek scientific knowledge came, in the first instance, from the Egyptians, who to warmth of imagination and mystic bias, united the art of mixing, and, as it were, shaking up together physics, morals, and mathematics in inextricable confusion. Pythagoras followed, and drawing his inspirations from Egyptian teachers, added to the original confusion an *imbroglio* of his own, composed of hard facts

* Take the names belonging to the early, middle, and later scholastic period, and the position of the Angelical comes out very clearly. In the *Early Period* we have Alexander of Hales, William of Auvergne (Guillelmus Parisiensis), and Vincent of Beauvais; in the *Middle Period* Albertus Magnus, and S. Thomas of Aquin. Then the disciples and contemporaries of S. Thomas: Henry of Ghent, Richard Middleton, Ægidius Colonna and Godfrey of Fontaines. Next comes John Duns Scotus with his friends and opponents, such as Francis Mayronis, Hervaeus. Natalis, &c.; mysticism, natural philosophy, and theosophy are represented by S. Bonaventure, Roger Bacon, and Raymund Lullus. In the *Later Period* we have the nominalist schools of Peter Aureolus, William Durandus de S. Pourçain, William Occam with his followers John Buridanus, Peter de Alliaco, Gabriel Biel, &c.; and the realist school of Walter Burleigh, Thomas of Strasburg, Marsilius of Inghen, Raymund of Sabunde, and John Gerson, the mystic; then follow the German mystics, Eckhart, Tauler, Suso, Ruysbroek, &c. S. Thomas stands like a giant amongst these able men.

and untangible abstractions, which served as a solvent of every possibility of veritable science. It may be imagined that Plato's lofty enthusiasm did not effect much in the way of unity and order, his system being excessively erratic in its use of logic and metaphysics; and, what with the highly dramatic and eclectic elements of which his writings are composed, there is little trace of that calm and continuous analysis which divides science from science, and discriminates art from art.*

Now Aristotle had studied under Plato for twenty years, as S. Thomas had studied under Albertus Magnus. His shrewd intellect quickly perceived the chaos generated by the Eastern dreams, by the confusions of the Pythagoreans, and by the unsymmetrical mysticism of Plato. He set to work to reduce this *materia informis* into symmetry and order; he separated off, each from each, those various groups of thought which were not homogeneous; he distinguished those

* "It seems to me," says Lewes, "that he taught nothing decisively, because, like many other active sceptical intellects, he was afraid of committing himself; and like many others, he concealed his own vacillations by assuming a native incompetence in the public. Plato was not wanting in dogmatic impulse, but he was unable patiently to think out a system; and the vacillating lights which shifted constantly before him, the very scepticism which gave such dramatic flexibility to his genius, made him aware that any affirmation he could make was liable to be perplexed by cross lights, or would admit of unanswerable objections. He is perpetually refuting himself. If there is one theory which might be attributed to him, and with all the greater show of reason because it is attributed to him by his pupil Aristotle, it is the theory of ideas; yet this theory is not only variously modified in various dialogues, but in the *Parmenides* is triumphantly refuted." (*History of Philosophy, Vol. I., Sixth Epoch, Chap. II., p.* 219.)

several principles which lay at the basis of certain sciences ; he constructed or attempted to build up different sciences logically, by clear definition and analysis, and did his best to introduce light and design into a mass of darkness and disorder. The treatises which form what is called the *Organon*, as well as the *Ethics* and the *Rhetoric*, to this day witness to the success of the Stagyrite in this splendid undertaking.*

If Aristotle systematized the teachings of the Egyptians, Pythagoreans, and Ancient Greeks, S. Thomas systematized the teachings of the Fathers, the Areopagite, and the Lombard ; if the Stagyrite threw Plato (in as far as he held with him) into scientific form, the Angelical did the same for S. Augustine. The "*De Civitate Dei*" is to the "*Summa Theologica*" what the *Dialogues* of Plato are to the *Organon* of the Stagyrite. Plato created thought, Aristotle created system ; S. Augustine gathered up the subject-matter of Catholic teaching, S. Thomas

* "We begin by forming conceptions of phenomena, and then we proceed to enquire how those conceptions were reached ; in the second enquiry we have to lay bare the genesis of our knowledge, and, in so doing, to discriminate between its objective and subjective elements ; between what is *given* by the external order, and what is *brought* by the mind. This separation has been attempted with more or less success in all ages of philosophy ; but it was only in Kant that it was attempted with a clear consciousness of its speculative importance . . . we must fix our attention on Aristotle as the first who arranged speculative questions in such a systematic form as stimulated and suggested the research. He not only resumed all the speculations of his predecessors, and placed them in a clearer light by his redistribution of their questions,—he not only condensed the vacillating vapours of philosophy into tangible systems, he constructed an Organon whereby all research might be carried on." (Lewes' *History of Philosophy, Vol. I., Seventh Epoch, Chap. II., p.* 284.)

cast it into scientific form. Such, without being an accurate analogy, is a sufficient approximation to reciprocal relations to throw a light on the position and chief merit of the Angel of the Schools.*

The "*De Civitate Dei*" and the "*Summa Theologica*" stand like two great towers of David, representing the mightiness of the ancient and the modern world, marking out the ground, and by their very majesty showing how comparatively insignificant all other creations are which lie between them; the one standing like a massy, heaven-directed citadel, strong as Rome, colossal as the East, irregular in form, and fashioned according to the growing need; the other looking more like a modern stronghold, with its crenellated walls, frowning earthworks, and gabioned parapets. All is constructed here on a scientific principle, the whole is the realization of

* "Augustinus war der geniale Schöpfer der abendländischen Theologie, und Thomas der systematische Vollender ihrer mittelalterlichen Ausbildung. Somit legt sich von selbst die Frage nach dem wechselseitigen geistigen Verhältnisse dieser beiden in ihrer Art grössten Geister nahe, und die Absicht einer geschichtlichen Würdigung der Leistungen des Theologen Thomas schliesst auch schon das Vorhaben einer Darlegung seiner Beziehungen zu dem heiligen Augustinus in sich. Diese lässt sich um so weniger umgehen, da es eben um die Cardinalpunkte des Thomistischen Systems sich handelt, deren Wesen und Bedeutung erst in Folge dieser Beleuchtung in ihr volles geschichtliches Licht tritt. Die Vergleichung zwischen beiden bewegt sich um die Haupt-und Grundfragen der religiösen und philosophischen, rationalen und supranaturalen Erkenntniss, um die vornehmsten und wichtigsten Probleme der Theologie und Anthropologie, also um alles dasjenige, was eben die geistige Grundlage des Thomistischen Systems ausmacht. Was über diesen Grundlagen erbaut ist, ist nach seinen geschichtlichen Beziehungen und Voranssetzungen bereits im Vorausgehenden, wol nicht erschöpfend, aber doch genügend beleuchtet worden." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 822—823.)

one grand geometrical conception, and so set up that part becomes the defence of part, battery of battery, whilst an hundred combinations of thundering artillery can be turned upon the enemy, let him show himself at what point he may. The former fortress is more picturesque, more beautiful; this is more symmetrical, more terrible in its array of strength: the one resembles some huge Roman camp, the other is more like our modern Paris, the triumph of the scientific engineer, equally capable of fascinating the mind by its exquisite construction, and of forcing gainsayers into genuine admiration by its vastness of design, its harmony of parts, and its colossal power.* It forms the impregnable *enceinte* encircling the "*Civitas Dei*" on earth, whilst the works of other skilful men are but as mamelons, redans, or detached forts, formidable in themselves, serviceable in their place and measure, but of different shape and strength, and but fragments of defence, compared with the firm network

* Speaking of the *Summa* Werner says :—"Um der Bedeutung desselben als System vollkommen gerecht zu werden, muss man es in seinem Verhältniss zu den vorausgehenden Gesammtdarstellungen der christlichen Theologie würdigen; und dann darf wol gesagt werden, dass es, wie der Zeit, so auch seinem Range nach das erste durchgebildete System der Theologie gewesen, gross und einfach in seiner Anlage, reich und mannigfaltig in seiner Ausführung, mächtig und gewaltig in der imposanten Gesammtdarstellung seines wohlgefügten Inhaltes, bewundernswerth in der geschmachvollen Wahl und Aushebung des Passendsten und Zweckmässigsten aus dem reichen Schatze philosophischer und theologischer Bildung, der seinem Verfasser, zu Gebote stand, in streng methodischem Fortschreiten ohne Lücke und Sprung, unter vielseitigster Beziehung jeglicher Einzelheit auf den Zusammenhang und die Grundvoraussetzungen des Ganzen, und in der kunstreichen Sorgfalt, die der dialektischen Bearbeitung und Verknüpfung aller Einzelheiten gewidmet ist." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 821.)

of adamant and iron round which they stand at various intervals to occupy and guard the ground.*

Or it might, again, be looked upon as the *corps d'armée* itself which protects the Spiritual City, composed of several divisions, yet all commanded by one chief:† or, as Annat calls it, a "*terribilis castrorum acies ordinata, sub cujus vexillo militant omnes Theologi.*"‡ Tradition, reason, and revelation—artillery, cavalry, and infantry—are the three arms of this mighty service, which, though different each from each, indeed because they vary, lend each to the other an overwhelming power when handled by a skilful captain, and form that *triplex funus* which possesses a proverbial strength.§

First, the enemy is reconnoitred from different points by various detachments of the *corps d'armée*, one or other branch being employed

* Werner compares the *Summa* to the work of an Architect:—"Wie er selbst es liebte, den wissenschaftlichen Systematiker mit einem Architekten zu vergleichen, so ist auch der Charakter seines Werkes in der Hauptsache als ein architektonischer zu bezeichnen und das Werk einem erhabenen Dome zu vergleichen, dessen gewaltige Steinwucht, auf eine unermessliche Zahl kunstreich geschmückter Säulen gestützt, die Wunder und Denkmale der im Himmel und auf Erden, in Natur und Geschichte, Welt und Kirche sich offenbarenden Grösse des Herrn in sich fassen soll." *(Loc. Cit.)*

† "If the fine-edged sword could cut through and through the truest tempered mail on the infidel's breast, not because of the brute strength with which it was handled, but through the deftness and very delicacy of hand with which it was gracefully waved, no less easily were the intricacies of heresy or false theories ripped open, unravelled, and stripped off, by the intellectual keenness of a Thomas Aquinas, wielding the subtle weapons of the schools." (See Cardinal Wiseman's "Inaugural Discourse" to the *Essays on Religion and Literature, p.* 10; *London,* 1865.)

‡ See *In Apparatu ad Positivam Theologiam, Lib. IV., Art. XLIII., p.* 496.

§ The conceit that the *Summa Theologica* was not written by S. Thomas is too ridiculous to need refutation. Touron has treated the point at length, and it is not necessary to enter into it here. (See *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. VI.,* § *I., II., III., IV., V., VI., p.* 645—682.)

according to the character of the opposing troops and the nature of the ground. Thus the chief learns the position, strength, and resources of the enemy, and prepares accordingly to launch his grand attack. So was it with the Angelical. His various Lectures and *Opuscula*, his "Commentary' on the Sentences, his "*Quæstiones Disputatæ cum Quodlibetis*," his different Tractates on the inspired writings, his "*Opuscula Theologica*," his philosophical disquisitions, together with his "*Contra Gentiles*" and his "Expositions" on the labours of the Stagyrite are, as it were, advancing forces, apparently disconnected with each other, yet in reality directed in combination by a master-mind, each serving a special purpose, and preparing the way for victory in a general engagement.* At one time, for instance, S. Thomas

* Mettenleiter grasps the special merits of the *Summa*, and shows them well. He says, amongst other things :—"Soll man sich über die Spruche Peter Lombart's oder über die 'Categorien Aristoteles' auslassen? Die Gegenstände dieser Schriften, so bekämpft in den Schulen, wusste er durch geistvolle Schärfe, durch überzeugende Klarheit und lichtvolle Anordnung wieder zur Geltung zu bringen ; es lag ihm mehr daran, das Rechte herauszustellen, als mit Texten zu prahlen. Doch verschmächte er nicht, dort, wo es nöthig schien, Citate zu Hülfe zu rufen ; wo sie aber auftraten, zeigte sich's, dass er sein eigenes Wissen nicht aus Mangelhaftigkeit, sondern im gewissen Taktgefühle in den Hintergrund schob. Seine Darstellung ist nicht so weitschweifig wie die Alberts, nicht so wortreich und deklamatorisch wie jene Alexanders von Hales ; sie hat eine scharf zugespitze Pointe, auf die Alles hinauslaüft. Handelt es sich um eine Erörterung, eine Beweisführung? Wer wüsste so wie er mit Vernunftschlüssen umzuspringen? wer vermöchte so frei das siegende Dilemma zu setzen oder das gewagte zu widerlegen? wer so wie er das Epicheirema mit seinen streng begleitenden Beweisen zu entwickeln? Stösst ihm eine schwierige Frage auf : so zergliedert er sie, breitet sich alle Lösungen aus, nähert sich ihnen und entfernt sich dann wieder und fasst sie endlich alle zusammen, bis er seinen verwirrten, ermüdeten Gegner auf die einzige noch denkbare Lösung hindrängt, und das ist jene, wo Thomas ihn festen Fusses, unerbittlich wie die Vernunft, klar wie der Verstand selbst und unerschütterlich wie das gute Recht erwartet. Die Methode der Scholastik hatte sich in ihm zur höchsten Vollendung ausgebildet." (*Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin, Einleitung, p.* 29.)

marches boldly against rationalism and materialism, then he has a sharp encounter with the Saracens; now his cavalry sweeps in amongst the Averroists and the Arabians, and puts them to speedy flight; anon the three arms of the service are directed against the Greeks, who are principally defeated by the powerful artillery which thunders against their lines; then the Jews, unequal to resist a sudden onset, are cut down, taken prisoners, or made to serve in the victorious army; while as for minor raids, skirmishes, and brilliant affairs, they are too numerous to be mentioned, though most of them are recorded in Vols. XVI. and XVII. of this great chieftain's operations.* These more modest engagements, which would have made a lasting reputation for a smaller man, dwindle into insignificance when brought into comparison with that one decisive battle in which all the forces join, and then, by one combined movement against the enemy, achieve a masterful and crushing victory—in which all those who had been harassed one by one before, are now routed in company along the entire line. That is to say, having confronted the various aberrations of the human mind in his "Expositions" and *Opuscula*, the Angelical now concentrates his divisions, and by means of his

* It was the purity of his doctrine which gave and still gives the Angelical such influence. (See Touron, *Exposé de la Doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. IV., Chap. VII., p.* 417—418.)

great "*Summa Theologica*," which unites the perfection of them all, simultaneously attacks and defeats those enemies against whom before he had combated in detail.*

Such pictures as these convey to the imagination a fair idea of the separate and combined operations of the great Angelical, of his preliminary battles, and of his general attack.

But to extricate oneself from figures. and to recur to a definition already hazarded,† this "*Summa Theologica*" may be fairly called "The Christian religion thrown into scientific form, and the orderly exposition of what man should be."

For just as the material world, created by God, adumbrates, in a dark manner though it may be, the unity, beauty, and order of the Divine mind—just as it is stamped with the royal mark of

* Nor are his weapons those of sarcasm and invective. Vielmus speaks well on this point:—"Nusquam amarulentus est, nusquam tragicus, aut nimium concitatus, et vehemens; sed æquabilis ubique, ubique mitis, atque religiosus: quamvis numquam demissus, numquam languidus; sed semper fortis, sublimis, excelsus. Quapropter Augustinum mitissimum Patrem (non vero Hieronymum, aut Hilarium, qui terrere magis, quam loqui, et lancinare verius, quam scribere crebro videntur) sibi præter cæteros imitandum, et sectandum sumpsit. Scripsit Gregorius Nazianzenus de moderandis disputationibus Orationem eruditam sane, et valde piam: sed ejus præcepta multo melius Aquinas re ipsa expressit, quam Nazianzenus verbis. Probra, scommata, nigros sales, sannas, ironias, hyperboles in ejus scriptis (quod in scriptoribus plerisque, de rebus etiam sacris, proh dolor! cernere est) nusquam reperies. Strophas, captiunculas, cavillos, vitiosos elenchos, et malas artes, quas idem Nazianzenus, non secus ac flagella quædam Ægyptiaca, male in Ecclesiam nostram irrupisse jamdudum deplorat, e suis libris penitus proscripsit. Araneæ telam, quod aiunt, nunquam texit; hoc est, figmenta, vanasque, et nullius frugis, vel rerum, vel verborum meditationes, quibus nonnullorum volumina refertissima sunt, gravissimus vir consulto omisit: ut merito sectatores illius in Scholis Reales jampridem, inepto fortasse vocabulo, sed vere tamen dicantur." (Hieronymus Vielmus, *De Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis, Lib. II., p.* 130—131.)

† See *Chap. II., p.* 221.

supreme omnipotence and wisdom—so, also, though in a much more perfect way, with the spiritual system which He has set up to manifest His glory and to secure the salvation of His creatures. This vast organic creation is called the Church of Christ, and it is vital and energizes through the Spirit of God that made it.* It bears His image and likeness, it is filled with the plenitude of His truth and purity, it is representative to the world of the divinity and character of Jesus Christ, "Who is head over all the Church, which is His body, and the fulness of Him, who is filled all in all."† Or, to use another expression of the same Apostle, the Church is the Bride, Christ is its Head and Saviour, who loves, nourishes, and cherishes it, "and delivered Himself up for it, that He might sanctify it, cleansing it by the laver of water in the word of life, that He might present it to himself a glorious Church,

* The Bull of the Canonization of the Angelical, shows what a heart and mind he had—fit to grasp the fulness of church-teaching, and to appreciate the Bride of Christ :—"Lætetur itaque Mater Ecclesia, exultet Italia, parens Campania jucundetur, Prædicatorum sacer Ordo jam jubilet, Religiosorum devotio concrepet, Doctorum turba complaudat, animentur ad studia juvenes, provecti non torpeant, senes delectentur in illis, omnes in humilitate proficiant, provecti contemplationem non deserant, mandata Dei seduli exsequantur. Nam dedit illi Deus cor ad præcepta, et legem vitæ et disciplinæ ; et sapientia humiliati exaltabit caput illius. In medio Ecclesiæ aperuit os ejus, et implevit eum Dominus spiritu sapientiæ et intellectûs, stolam gloriæ induit eum. Nam veritas (quæ est Christus) ipsa veris, non fictis Doctoribus pollicetur : 'Qui elucidant me, vitam æternam habebunt.' Quamvis ipse verus justitiæ Sol, stellarum illustratione non egeat, nec illarum irradiatione, cùm illuminentur ab ipso, clarescat. Habitat enim lucem inaccessibilem, qui est splendor gloriæ, et figura substantiæ ejus ; idcircò tenebris non obscuratur, ut deficiat, aut nebulis offuscatur, ut suæ claritatis radios non diffundat." (See Barcille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, p.* 418—419.)

† *Ephes., Chap. I., v.* 22.

not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish."*

This glorious Bride, so cherished and nourished by our Lord, beautiful with His beauty, strong with His strength, exhibiting the highest gifts of faith, purity, and charity, manifests to the world the impress of the divine character and intelligence of Christ.† The scheme of God's glorification and the salvation of man, as it exists in the mind of the Bridegroom, is reflected, as it were, in the mind of the Bride. As Christ's blessed Spirit teaches the Church, so the Church teaches the world. To grasp, in as far as man may, the mind of the Church, is in so far to grasp the mind of the Saviour Himself. The Prophets and Seers and Lawgivers of the Old Covenant, the Apostles and Evangelists and Doctors of the New, give testimony of her, as she witnesses to her Saviour. As she is formed upon Christ as her model, so

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* *Ephes., Chap. V., v,* 23—27.

† And indeed not only is she strong through Christ, but those who defend her seem to partake of her strength. See how, even after his death, the Angelical asserted his purity and love. Speaking of various wonders worked by the relics of the Saint, the Bull of Canonization says :—" Alius dùm non devotè de sancto sentiret, virtutem Dei in sancto, in se duplicem est expertus, infirmitatis dùm contemnit, sanitatis, dùm à contemptûs culpâ discessit. Nam cùm sibi devotionis causâ à quodam Capellano plures venerandæ reliquiæ monstrarentur, ipse quoque ostensor pretiosiores adhuc se habere reliquias videlicet manum B. Thomæ de Aquino fateretur, illicò hunc derisorie de his tuffantem, cùm eas videre non curaret, dicens : Sanctus non est, sed quidam Ordinis Prædicatorum frater, tremor apprehendit , et caput ejus ad modum magnæ cistæ grossum, et valdè ponderosum sibi esse videbatur. Sed infirmitate correptus, et pœnitens, simulque de suâ incredulitate dictisque deplorans, dùm veniam à Sacerdote petitam obtinuit, reverenter manum ejusdem Sancti deosculans, confestim à tremore, et inflatione capitis liberatus evasit, sensitque progredientem, ut retulit, maximum ex dictâ manu suavitatis odorem." (Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, p.* 415.)

man is formed by her into a likeness of Him. In the supernatural order and harmony of her hierarchy, in the imperishable stability of her faith, in the lucid development of her moral life, and in the magnificent unity and symmetry of her dogmatic teaching—which she unfolds as she advances towards the full exhibition of her glory,—we recognize her luminous intuition of the complicated method of salvation, and her scientific apprehension of the entire economy of grace. Christ has stamped her with His own image, and she in turn seals man with her own seal.*

Now, as has been suggested, the Angelical spent his life in mastering the Church's intellect;† and the impression left upon his mind by this familiar intercourse he reproduces, for the sake of others, in the "*Summa Theologica.*" And what would this reproduction naturally represent save the Christian religion imaged, not in confusion but in scientific form?‡

* And in a particular manner she stamps her greatest Theologians with her imperial mark :—"Je ne sais ce qu'il faut pour mettre au monde une étoile qui éclaire le firmament ; mais ce qu'il faut pour mettre au monde un grand théologien, je ne l'ignore pas, vous ne l'ignorez plus vous-mêmes : il faut dans un même esprit une science étendue, une raison sublime, une foi tranquille et ferme, pour qui la parole de Dieu n'ait point de secrets, et point de douleurs. A ce prix, vous aurez Saint Augustin et l'homme incomparable [S. Thomas] qui est l'objet de ce discours." (Lacordaire's *Conférences de Toulouse, Discours pour la translation du Chef de Saint Thomas d'Aquin (Le 18 Juillet*, 1852), *p.* 229 ; *Paris*, 1857.)

† See *Chap. II., p.* 221—222.

‡ Rare indeed are the men who can reproduce the Church's mind with any approach to perfection :—"Qu'ils sont rares," exclaims Lacordaire, "les hommes à qui le ciel a dispensé l'éminence ! Qu'il sont rares les conquérants devant qui la terre s'est tue comme Alexandre, les législateurs qui ont tiré des peuples du néant comme Moïse, les orateurs qui ont ému la multitude comme Démosthènes, les poëtes dont la postérité a retenu les chants comme Orphée ! mais combien plus rares ces hommes, mortels

The "*Summa Theologica*" is more than this. As the Bride of Christ reproduces the mind of Christ, and is "nourished and cherished" by Him, as He fashions her into a likeness of Himself, so her children are formed according to her pattern. The Church is not a mere theory, but a living and huge energy, purifying, nourishing, and saving men, as Christ purifies, nourishes, and saves her. Her work is that of transformation—of turning men out of children of wrath into heirs of heaven. For that she lives and energizes, for that the grand scheme of her theology was drawn out, for that she casts the broad net to rescue man from the burning, and drag the fallen from the pit.*

comme nous, qui ont entendu la voix de la vérité dans toutes ses sphères, depuis le murmure qu'elle produit dans l'atome jusqu' à l'harmonie qu'elle fait tomber des lèvres de Dieu, et qui, paisibles possesseurs de ce concert, l'ont redit à notre oreille avec une puissance digne de notre âme, de l'univers et de Dieu lui-même. Tel fut saint Thomas d'Aquin." (*Conférences de Toulouse, p.* 229—230.)

* One of the most telling examples of the influence of the Church in forming men upon her own model is the Angelical himself. Mettenleiter gives the following symbols, which point to the various virtues of the Saint:—"Der Baum, den man bisweilen findet, und der seinen Schatten über St. Thomas ausgiesst, erklärt sich dadurch dass der Heilige einmal einen Baum mit seinem Gürtel von der Stelle gezogen haben soll. Man könnte übrigens darin auch eine Anspielung auf den 1. Psalm oder auf den Baum der heiligen Erkenntniss finden, von dem zum Heile der Kirche derselbe sich voll gegessen hat. Der Kelch mit der Hostie bezieht sich auf die ausgezeichneten Schriften des heil. Thomas über die heil. Eucharistie und das heil. Messopfer. Der Sonne, die auf seiner Brust glängst, liegt die Hinweisung auf den in ihm wohnenden Jesus, die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit, den Urquell alles geistigen Lichtes, zu Grunde. Der Stern auf seiner Stirne bedeutet die ihm von oben mitgetheilte Kraft des heiligen Geistes. Die Taube, die auf seiner Schulter sitzt oder schwebt, ist der heil. Geist, der ihn inspirirte. Die vierzehn schönen Frauen, mit denen Taddeo Gaddi in Florenz den heil. Thomas umgab, stellen, und zwar die eine Hälfte die 7 Tugenden, die andere die 7 Wissenschaften dar. Die Krone, der Bischofstab und die Infül, die auf dem Boden vor ihm liegen, bezeugen den Thatsache seiner Abweisung aller irdischen Macht und der bischöflichen Würden. Das aufgeschlagene Buch und das Crucifix vor demselben weisen auf seine Liebe zum Gebet und zur Betrachtung aus denen er die Weisheit in seinen Schriften schöpfte." (*Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin, p.* 1.)

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And such being the case, would not the accurate reproduction of her mind point out the road to man's salvation? If the physician commits to writing a minute description of robust health, and of the means of its attainment, does not his theory represent the first principle of practice? Would not his scientific method lead directly to such action in the concrete as would transform a sickly man into the very type of his own ideal? So it is with the "*Summa Theologica;*" it is no dead theory, it is not only "the Christian religion thrown into scientific form," but it is also, as a necessary consequence, "the orderly exposition of what a man should be." * Indeed, because it is the most scientific manifestation of religion, therefore it is also the most secure instrument for directing men to heaven, just as the mariner's chart in so far forth indicates with precision how the navigator is to keep the ship clear of danger and to sail steadily into port, in proportion as it accurately points out the lie of the land and the depth and currents of the sea. The "*Summa,*" in a word, represents in perfect system those vital principles which made the Christ-loving giants of the Early Church such splendid heroes. It is the Rule of Life, as well as the Philosophy of Faith.

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* The theory of the *Summa,* whilst it corresponds to man's innate tendency towards the Supreme Good, lifts him higher than the level of natural religion into the purer and more expanding atmosphere. (See Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XVI., p.* 336.)

Hence it is a systematic exposition of the nature of the Divine Being, inasmuch as He is the Author and Finisher of all things, more especially of the rational being, or, in other words, it treats of God and man, and of the relations between them: it points out God to man, and indicates how the rational creature is to attain to eternal happiness.*

Hence, naturally, it is cast into three grand divisions. The first part treats of the Godhead, His life, relations, and attributes, of creatures, and emphatically of man; the second speaks of the rational creature as tending to or from God, his last and highest end; the third of Christ, in so far as He is the way, the truth, and the life. And thus the circle is complete; the Saint sets out with the Creator, and carries the creature through the course of his pilgrimage as a redeemed sinner, back to that Hand out of which he originally came. The design was never fully realized by the

* Werner speaks of the aim of our Saint in writing his *Summa* thus :— "Er will den Bedürfnissen Jener entgegenkommen, welche in das Gebiet der Theologie erst näher eingeführt werden sollen; diese sollen aus dem Hauptwerke seines Lebens einen vollständigen und zugleich fasslichen Einblick in das Gesammte der Theologischen Doctrin nach ihrer zeitherigen Entwickelung gewinnen. Dazu eignen sich nach seinen Erfahrungen andere Werke nicht, welche entweder durch massenhafte Häufung von Fragen und Untersuchungen den Ueberblich über das Ganze erschweren, oder vermöge eines besonderen Zweckes, den sie verfolgen, nicht Alles und in jener methodischen Ordnung bringen, welche den Lernenden erwünscht und dienlich ist. Also um eine systematisch gerundete, und darin selbst schon eine weise Beschränkung der luxuriirenden Fülle von Distinctionen und Untersuchungen in sich schliessende Darstellung des gesammten Lehrinhaltes der kirchlichen Theologie handelt es sich in diesem Werke." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 801.)

Angelical—he did not get beyond the ninety-ninth question of the third part.*

He did not begin to set earnestly to work till after his refusal of the Archbishopric of Naples. Now that he felt himself secure, as Tolomeo da Lucca tells us, he laboured with redoubled energy. But even whilst occcupied on the first portion of his great undertaking his time was taken up with many other duties. He now completed his "Commentaries" on S. Mark, S. Luke, and S. John, which he dedicated to his friend Hannibal di Molaria; and he republished his treatise on religious life in answer to another attempt of William of S. Amour.† Then he was summoned to attend the general chapter at Bologna, and was appointed, at the request of the great university, to throw fresh intellectual life into the schools, and to occupy the post of professor of theology. Before taking possession of his chair he visited

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* "Thomas erklärt als seine Aufgabe, das System der heiligen Wissenschaft auszuführen, welche von Gott handelt, nach dem, was er an sich ist und insofern er Princip und Zweck der Creaturen, der vernünftigen insbesondere ist. Darnach zerfällt sein Werk in drei Haupttheile: I. Von Gott an sich und als ursächlichem Principe des creatürlichen Seins und Geschehens im Allgemeinen, des menschlichen Daseins im Besonderen. II. Vom Streben der vernünftigen Creatur, nähergesagt des Menschen zu Gott als seinem letzten und höchsten Zwecke. III. Von Christus, der als Mensch uns zum Wege dieses Strebens nach Gott geworden ist."

"Der erste Haupttheil zerfällt in die drei Abtheilungen von der göttlichen Wesenheit (*qu.* 2—26), Dreipersönlichkeit (*qu.* 27—43) und emananten (weltsetzenden und weltleitenden) Wirksamkeit Gottes (*qu.* 44—109). Die Lehre von Gottes Wesen umfasst die drei Abhandlungen über Gottes Sein (*qu.* 2), über die auf dem Wege der Negation zu eruirenden Wesensbestimmungen des göttlichen Seins (*qu.* 3—13), über die göttliche Wesensbethätigung im Erkennen (*qu.* 14—18), Wollen (*qu.* 19—24) und Können (*qu.* 25)." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 802—803.)

† See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XXI., p.* 669—670.

the tomb of S. Peter Martyr at Milan. The miracles wrought at this sepulchre before, and particularly after the Saint's canonization, had created great excitement in the Church.* On his arrival, S. Thomas found the magistrates of the city superintending the erection of a magnificent mausoleum over the relics of the Saint, and his presence amongst them was no sooner made known than he was requested to compose an epitaph descriptive of the faith, zeal, and charity of the holy athlete. †

From Milan he went to Bologna, and took possession of his little cell in the convent of the order. Here he remained some weeks in retirement before commencing his lectures in the schools. His days were passed in silent meditation, and in that deep thought which seems to have been his greatest recreation, whilst the greater portions of his nights were spent at the tomb of the great S. Dominic, who lay buried in the convent church. It was at this very time that

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* "Is erat Petrus Veronensis nobili genere natus, qui in Catharis et Manichæis ad fidem adducendis, gloriosam operam Catholicæ Ecclesiæ navaverat, dein impia sicarii manu crudeliter necatus, tot exantlatos pro christi legatione labores, martyrii palma coronavit." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Ellogium Historicum, p*, 25 ; *Ed. Parm.)*

† It reads thus :—

" Præco, lucerna, pugil, Christi, populi, fideique,
Hic silet, hic legitur, jacet hic mactatus inique
Vox ovibus dulcis, gratissima lux animorum,
Et verbi gladius, gladiis cecidit Catharorum.
Christus mirificat ; populus devotus adorat.
Martyrioque fides sanctum servata decorat.
Sed Christus nova signa loqui facit, ac nova turbæ
Lux datur ; atque fides vulgata refulget in Urbe."

—*(Loc. Cit.)*

the solemn translation of the relics of that holy founder took place (1267).* They were carried with public pomp from the humble sepulchre where they reposed, and were placed in a magnificent urn, chiselled with the most exquisite taste by the most celebrated artist of the day.† Bartholomew of Braganza, Arnulf of Viterbo, Ægidius Gallutius, all of them bishops, and all of them Dominicans, assisted at the ceremony. In the presence of these venerable men, and amidst the press of devout and eager friars, all that was mortal of the high patriarch of religious chivalry was lifted with great gentleness and reverence out of the tomb, and after having been kissed by fervent lips, and looked upon with loving eyes, was borne away to its more glorious resting-place.

The same kind of effect was produced by the presence of S. Thomas in the schools of Bologna as had been manifested at Paris and Cologne.

* "Hoc ipso anno 1267 die 5 Junii, Bononiæ interfuit secundæ translationi corporis S. Dominici Legiferi Patris, cum ex humili sepulcro in urnam egregii operis, regio ac magnifico sumptu ornata ejus ossa reposita sunt, beato Joanne Vercellensi VI. Ordinis Generali Magistro. Aderant huic solemni ceremoniæ sex Episcopi, quorum tres Dominiciani Instituti, nempe *Barptolemæus de Bregantia* Episcopus Vicentinus, *Arnulphus* Viterbiensis. Humanæ Episcopus in Piceno, quæ urbs hodie non amplius exstat, et *Ægidius Gallutius* Episcopus Torcellensis. Arca patefacta, Episcopi et Patres, collaudato Deo, qui admirabilis est in sanctis suis, venerabundi, summo cum lætitiæ ac pietatis sensu lacrymantes sacra pignora exosculati sunt; deinde ex suggestu extra Ecclesiam S. Nicolai, magni Patriarchæ capite ostenso, infinitæ multitudinis, quæ ad hoc religiosæ observantiæ spectaculum confluxerat, cupiditati satisfecerunt." (Vid. S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., Ellogium Historicum, p.* 25.)

† Tiraboschi speaks of it thus:—"E la migliore fra quante opere di scultura furono fatte in quei tempi, ed in cui forse travagliò anche Guglielmo Frate converso dell'Ordine de' Predicatori, similmente Pisano, ed eccellente discepolo di Niccola." *(Biblioteca della letteratura Italiana, Tom. IV., p.* 392; *Prima Edizione.)*

His fame had preceded him. The hall was crammed.* Not students only, but the very citizens themselves pressed into the lecture-room to look upon and listen to the great serene Angelical, as, rapt in the contemplation of God's highest truth, he poured forth the clear-flowing stream of his simple oratory, and entranced his hearers by the lucidity, order, and profoundness of his teaching.† Indeed, it is not enough to say that the citizens were attracted to him—men from distant cities, professors, students, intellectual knight-errants of every temper, were drawn to Bologna as to a centre, just as of old Socrates, Plato, or Aristotle, Roscelin, Abelard, or William of Champeaux gathered together from all quarters of the world men, it matters not of what condition, who felt the charm of genius and the fascinating attractions of syllogistical display.‡

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* We can say with Lacordaire :—"L'œuvre était achevée. Prince, moine, disciple, Saint Thomas d'Aquin pouvait monter sur le trône de la science divine ; il y monta en effet, et depuis six siècles qu'il y est assis, la Providence ne lui a point encore envoyé de successeur ni de rival. Il est demeuré prince comme il était né, solitaire comme il s'était fait, et la qualité seule de disciple a disparu en lui, parce qu'il est devenu le maître de tous." (*Conférences de Toulouse, p.* 240.)

† See Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXIV., p.* 301.

‡ It was at this period that the Angelical began his work, *De Regimine Principum*, for the instruction of Hugh, king of Cyprus. He did not, however, complete it, as the prince died before he came to man's estate. This work is to be found in the *Opp. Omnia* of the Saint, *Vol. XVI.* (See *Opusc. XVI., De Regimine Principum ad Regem Cypri, Libb. IV., p.* 225—291.) The third and fourth books were not written by S. Thomas. Feugueray holds that the second half of the second book is by another hand. The *Ellogium Historicum* speaks thus :—"Anno 1267 Bononiæ vulgavit opus de Regimine Principum ad Regem Cypri Hugonem, sed cum adhuc puer obiisset, laborem intermisit. Totum opus constat IV. libris : quorum duos priores Thomæ adscribunt, posteriores vero B. Ægidio Columnæ, vel Ptolemæo Lucensi. Illos tamen libros genuinum esse ejus

Whilst the Angelical was lecturing at Bologna, penning treatises on politics, morality, and dogma, preaching, teaching, journeying from place to place on business of the order, or practising strict observance in the convent, one abiding passion occupied his mind, and that was the gradual realization of the "*Summa Theologica*," of which mention has just been made. To this all was made subordinate. To perfect and elaborate this great conception he bent all the powers and instruments of his matured and mellowed mind.* A whole life of remote preparation, and two years of labour with the pen, produced the first part of the "*Summa*." As some mighty sculptor, who has spent from youth up learning first the rudiments and then the last perfection of his art, through simple cultivation can strike out a figure from the rough which would make ordinary men despair—summing up as it were at one stroke of the chisel the concentrated labours of a life,—so the great Angelical in the space of two short years laid the broad foundations of his lasting fame.

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fœtum negat Bellarminus, in lib. de Scripp. Ecclesiasticis. Hinc est quod in editione Lovaniensi Operum D. Thomæ an. 1652, libri ejusmodi non inveniuntur inter opuscula S. Doctoris." (S. Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia, Vol. I., p.* 25.)

* Even the learned and ponderous Werner becomes eloquent when speaking of the advance made by the Angelical in theology upon the days of S. Anselm :—"Welche reiche Entwickelung hatte die Theologie inzwischen durchgemacht, welch hohen Grad von Ausbildung und Durchbildung errungen! Das positive, speculative und dialektische Element, in jenem Anfangswerke in naiver Unmittelbarkeit mit einander geeinigt, hatten seitdem jedes seine reiche Geschichte durchgemacht, sich gegenseitig mit einander vielseitig gemessen, mannigfaltig ausgeglichen und vermittelt ;

This first part occupies four hundred and fifty pages of the Parma Edition, and comprises one hundred and nineteen questions, divided into five hundred and eighty-four articles.*

Forming the basis of a great superstructure, like all moral foundations, it deals with first principles, first truths, and first facts; a subject-matter which offers scope to endless development and comparison, and represents the material out of which the orderly and scientific *corpus* of theology is fashioned.

The Divine Being, His existence, attributes, knowledge, name, ideas, life, and will; the blessed Trinity of Persons, the Divine processions, rela-

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wozu Thomas selber durch seine bisher geschilderten Thätigkeiten in abschliessender und maassgebender Weise auf entscheidende Weise beitrug. Nun sollte das Resultat jener dreifachen, unter sich vielfältigst verzweigten und verschlungenen Entwickelung mit allen Errungenschaften gereifter Einsicht, welche ein zweihundertjähriger Entwickelungsprocess im geistigen Streben der vorzüglichsten Kräfte zu Tage gefördert, in Einem grossen Ganzen, lichtvoll entwickelt und harmonisch ausgeglichen, dargestellt werden; und diess zu leisten, war der *Summa theologica* des heiligen Thomas Aquinas vorbehalten." *(Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 802.)

* "Summam omnem in Præfationem . . . et Narrationem primum partimur; Narrationem autem in duas deinceps partes: in quarum prima de necessitate, unitate, præstantia, subjecto, et aliis ad sacram Theologiam spectantibus, tanquam secunda Præfatione, unica quæstione, quæ prima est tractat; qua etiam benevolos . . . lectores sibi facit; in posteriore . . . in altum divinitatis mare se immittit. Nam de Deo quadraginta tribus quæstionibus . . . verba facit; sed ita ut primum sex et viginti quæstionibus prioribus de his, quæ absoluta a Theologis dicuntur, quæ essentiæ Dei conveniunt, et ob id tribus personis Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto communia sunt, et quæ Philosophi . . . lumine naturæ non parum sunt consequuti; confestimque de Trinitate personarum . . . . accuratissime agit: quæ, ut sunt creaturis incommunicabilia, ita Philosophis prorsus inaccessa fuisse etiam ostendit. Hanc partem 17. quæstionibus sequentibus complectitur, et a Deo in se, ad Deum extra se in ejus operationibus externis progreditur. Cumque quatuor sint hujusmodi operationes, rerum creatio, gubernatio, humani generis redemptio, et glorificatio; rerumque creationem distinctio et ornatus sequantur, et creaturarum alia omnino spiritualis sit et incorporea, alia

tions, unity and plurality ; the Divine Persons, the Father and His special attributes, then the Adorable Son and Ever-blessed Spirit, their relations, equality, and similitude—all presenting before the mind an overwhelming abundance of dazzling mystery and greatness incomprehensible, overawing the faculties, and by that very power witnessing to the pre-eminent greatness of the Creator above the creature of His hands,—are some of the subjects discussed in *Pars Prima* of the "*Summa Theologica.*"

Having taken the student up to heaven's gates, and pointed out to him the majesty of the Triune God, the Angelical next treats of the Almighty's creative act and power. And here it is that the

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omnino corporalis, alia vero utriusque particeps, ac veluti nexus quidem ; sic progreditur, ut primum de creatione, hoc est, de actione et modo, quo a Deo creaturæ in lucem prodiere, tribus quæstionibus agat, 44. 45. et 46. deinde in 47. de earum distinctione in communi ; subindeque in 48. et 49. de speciali hac earum distinctione, qua passim homines utimur in bonum, et malum ; et postremo de spirituali creatura, quæ Angelus est, a 50. quæstione ad 64. usque, ubi essentiam, locum, motum, potentiam, operationem, et alias bonorum, et malorum Angelorum . . . affectiones perscrutatur. Quo peracto, in 65. quæstione de creatura omnino corporali, tanquam de altero extremo, et superiori opposito, usque ad 74. verba facit : quo loco primum libri Geneseos caput . . . explicat. In 75. vero usque ad 90. inclusive, naturam et affectiones hominis, qui nexus quidam ligamentumque rerum esse videtur, et quod ad animam, ejusque facultates, et operationes attinet . . . explicat. Cum vero constitutionem, et crasim humani corporis diligentius discutere Philosophi naturalis . . . quam Theologi esse videatur, de ea pauciora verba . . . facit a 91. quæstione usque ad 102. Ac ibi quidem et de prima hominis productione, tam maris, quam fœminæ, ac de statu et conditione utriusque, quod ad intellectum spectat, et voluntatem, quoad corpus, et vitæ conservationem, liberorum procreationem : locumque demum, in quo felicissime degebat, qui Paradisus, ut plurimum, dicitur, tractat . . . Et cum hactenus de creationis opere . . . egisset, confestim de gubernatione, qua omnia suaviter regit, et moderatur ; deque illius effectibus, qui varii et multiplices sunt, tam in creatura corporea, quam in incorporea, et media, quæ homines ipsi sumus, ad calcem voluminis usque, disertissime, et locupletissime disputat." (Hieronymus Vielmus, *De Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis, Lib. II., p.* 116—117 ; *Brixiæ, MDCCXLVIII.)*

Catholic theologian cut his way clear of the pantheism of the east, with its doctrine of emanation, and of that materialism which is the genuine fruit of the rationalizing spirit. The unmistakable establishment of this great truth—the emphatic assertion that between the Divine nature and all things else there is an immeasurable gulf; that the creature is not the mere effluence or exuberance of the substance of the Divinity, but a creation out of nothing by His *fiat;* that the infinite and the finite, the eternal and the temporal, the primeval Cause and secondary agencies, are not simply different in kind, but absolutely distinct in essence as well as mode; that nothing is of itself independent, but all is preserved as all was first created by the Omnipotent,* by Whom

* There is little doubt that it was his scientific exposition of the untenable nature of the Averroistic theory which gave the Angelical so great a name. The very perfection of the harmony of the *Summa*, which of itself excludes all heresy—as a healthy body rejects what is deleterious to it,—is one of the greatest arguments for the truth of Christianity. Error could not be so much in tune. Mettenleiter says :—"Aber was schadete das dem Ruhme des heil. Thomas? Dieser bleibt für alle Ewigkeit der grösste Name in der Geschichte der Scholastiker und in den Jahrbüchern der Kirche; er war es, der den katholischen Geist des heil. Augustin mit dem Bossuets durch eine eherne Kette verband. Der ruhmvolle Sohn des heil. Dominikus, grösser noch als sein Vater, vereinigte Thomas in seinem Geiste all das Wissen des Mittelalters, das gesammte Lehrgebaüde der Kirche. Sein Wort ist ein Orakel der Gottheit selbst. So beurtheilte ihn Johann XXII., als er von ihm sagte, dass Thomas mehr Licht über die Erde verbreitet habe, als alle Doctoren zusammen, und dass er, an Wundern reicher, denn an Schriften sey. Ein ebenso gewichtiges Urtheil sprach das Tridentinische Concil, als die Väter auf den Tisch des heil. Hauses drei Bücher niederlegten: Die heilige Schrift, die Dekrete der Päpste und das Summarium. Seit dem heil. Dominikus war der Orden im wahren Sinne des Wortes ein Orden der Beredsamkeit. Der heil. Thomas fügte ihm den Namen eines "Ordens der Wahrheit" hinzu. Schönes Loos unsers grossen Heiligen, der stets den Glanz des Ruhmes geflohen hat, und von dem schönsten Ruhme, dem eines katholischen Helden, auch noch in seiner Nachfolge ereilt wurde." (*Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquino, Einleitung, p.* 32–33.)

everything exists, without Whom everything would cease, and in Whom all things live, and move, and have their being—this gulf-separation of essence and this intimate connection in the creative act, whilst establishing a cardinal dogma of religion, strikes straight out on two sides against the dreams of a philosophy which has not been set up in the light of faith: it destroys the moral disease of pantheism on the one hand, and, by proving a Divine Providence over the world, does away with fatalism on the other.*

Having thus established the relative position of creature and Creator, of God, angel, and man, the Angelical speaks in detail of the angels' life, of their trial, and the fall of some amongst them;

* Here is a specimen of the various "*Quæstiones*" from I. to XLIII.:—I.—De sacra doctrina, qualis sit et ad quæ se extendat; II.—De Deo, an sit; III.—De simplicitate Dei; IV.—De perfectione Dei; V.—De bono in communi; VI.—De bonitate Dei; VII.—De infinitate Dei; VIII.—De existentia Dei in rebus; IX.—De immutabilitate Dei; X.—De æternitate Dei; XI.—De unitate Divina; XII.—De cognitione, et visione Dei; XIII.—De nominibus Dei; XIV.—De Scientia Dei; XV.—De ideis; XVI.—De veritate; XVII.—De falsitate; XVIII.—De vita Dei; XIX.—De voluntate Dei; XX.—De Amore Dei; XXI.—De justitia et misericordia Dei; XXII.—De providentia Dei; XXIII.—De prædestinatione Dei; XXIV.—De libro vitæ; XXV.—De potentia Dei; XXVI.—De beatitudine Dei; XXVII.—De processione, sive origine divinarum personarum; XXVIII.—De relationibus divinis; XXIX.—De personis Divinis; XXX.—De pluralitate personarum in divinis; XXXI.—De his quæ pertinent in divinis ad unitatem, vel pluralitatem personarum; XXXII.—De cogitatione divinarum personarum; XXXIII.—De his quæ pertinent ad personam Patris; XXXIV.—De Verbo in divinis; XXXV.—De hoc nomine Filii, quod est imago; XXXVI.—De pertinentibus ad nomen Spiritus Sancti; XXXVII.—De nomine Spiritus Sancti, quod est amor; XXXVIII.—De nomine Spiritus Sancti, quod est donum; XXXIX.—De personis in comparatione ad essentiam; XL.—De personis in comparatione ad relationes, sive proprietates; XLI.—De personis per comparationem ad actus notionales; XLII.—De æqualitate et similitudine divinarum personarum ad invicem; XLIII.—De missione divinarum Personarum; XLIV.—De prima causa omnium entium, &c. (*Vid.* S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Opp. Omnia, Tom. I., p.* 1—183.)

then, of the next creation of God—that of the world and of man during the Scriptural week, thus bringing into prominence other important subject-matter for development. Next, man in particular, his soul, body, mind, and their various relations, are considered; whilst procreation and the different influences, spiritual and corporeal, which act upon mankind are carefully discussed.

In a word, in this first part of the "*Summa*" the Saint draws as it were a sketch of the *dignissima scientia*, that is, of wisdom in the highest sense, and lays out the groundwork for the realization of that vast conception which possesses equal grandeur and simplicity in its design.*

But though this portion of the great edifice of theology may justly be considered as fundamental in its relation to the *Prima Secundæ* and the *Secunda Secundæ*, and the *Tertia Pars*, still it would be a mistake to imagine that there is

* The "*Prologus*" of the Angelical shows his own humility, and the wants of the age in which he lived :—"Quia catholicæ veritatis doctor non solum provectos debet instruere, sed ad eum pertinet etiam incipientes erudire (secundum illud Apostoli *I. ad Corinth. III.*, 1 : *Tamquam parvulis in Christo, lac vobis potum dedi non escam)*, propositum nostræ intentionis in hoc opere est ea quæ ad christianam religionem pertinent eo modo tradere secundum quod congruit ad eruditionem incipientium. Consideravimus namque hujus doctrinæ novitios in iis quæ a diversis scripta sunt plurimum impediri : partim quidem propter multiplicationem inutilium quæstionum, articulorum et argumentorum ; partim etiam quia ea quæ sunt necessaria talibus ad sciendum non traduntur secundum ordinem disciplinæ, sed secundum quod requirebat librorum expositio, vel secundum quod se præbebat occasio disputandi ; partim quidem quia eorumdem frequens repetitio et fastidium et confusionem generabat in animis auditorum. Hæc igitur et alia hujusmodi evitare studentes, tentabimus cum confidentia divini auxilii ea quæ ad sacram doctrinam pertinent breviter ac dilucide prosequi, secundum quod materia patietur." (S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Prologus, p.* 1 ; *Vol. I.)*

anything about it unfinished, or wanting in logical accuracy or precision of sequence, or in the concatenation and development of its members. The network of systematic integrity, with its lines and joints, and unities, with its exquisite bearing of part on part, with its reciprocal illuminations, with its combined methods of support, with the multiplicity of its elaborated detail, and with the marvellous synthetical oneness of its complete design, appeals as much to the reason and the imagination as does the majestic simplicity of the original conception.*

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* Take, for instance, the organic development—which is but a figure of the whole—of the question of the "*Essentia Divina.*"

DE ESSENTIA DIVINA,

(a) num sit :

(b) quomodo
- α. sit vel potius non sit :
  1. simplicitas,
  2. perfectio (bonitas) remota omni imperfectione creaturarum,
  3. infinitas,
  4. immutabilitas,
  5. æternitas,
  6. unitas ;
- β. a nobis cognoscatur,
- γ. a nobis nominetur ;

(c) quomodo operetur
- ad intra :
  - α. cognoscendo
    1. de scientia Dei,
    2. de ideis,
    3. de vero et falso,
    4. de vita Dei ;
  - β. volendo
    1. de voluntate divina,
    2. de iis, quæ absolute ad voluntatem pertinent :
       αα. amor,
       ββ. justitia et misericordia,
    3. de iis, quæ simul ad intellectum pertinent :
       αα. providentia,
       ββ. prædestinatio (liber vitæ) ;
- ad extra : γ. de potentia Dei.

—(See Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 803.)

It is to be regretted that, from the very nature of the case, assertion must here to a great extent take the place of proof. But if the reader would for example select at hazard one point out of this *Prima Pars* as a sample of the rest, he would speedily convince himself of the justice of the criticism : the "*Summa Theologica*" is as organic as the human frame itself, and its elements are compacted together with as much nicety and harmony.

Quitting the form for a moment, and reverting to the subject-matter, which represents the whole store of learning of the past, it may be said that the intimate acquaintance which the Angelical manifests here with Scripture and the Fathers, the breadth and accuracy of his knowledge, have something about them of the preternatural at least. There is nothing of the sharpness and flippancy of the schools, no random brilliant Abelardine fencing, none of the dangerous originality of Roscelin, none of the extravagant philosophy of William of Champeaux, and none of the difficult mysticism of Richard of S. Victor's. Mere human talent counts for little, inventive genius is not rated high, self and simple ingenuity are altogether sunk, the tone and temper of the noisy self-asserting university, with its rationalistic tendency and irreverent spirit, with all its fallacies and smartness, are here thrown into their proper light, not by any direct attack, but by a method

far more powerful than that;—by erecting a vast monument of organized truth, composed of the teaching of the massive-minded classic Fathers, of the words of Holy Writ confirmed by high authority, and of the purest of philosophies serving as handmaid gracefully and willingly to the more majestic truths of the supernatural order.* The appearance of the "*Summa Theologica*" in the midst of the crudities of the schools was as if the Basilica of S. Peter's were brought into juxtaposition with the Zions and Ebenezers of our more modern days.

For instance, in the first part of the "*Summa*"

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* Take Werner's words regarding the divine "Trinity" and "Persons;" for they bring out the architectonic tendencies of the Angelical, to which I have often called attention before:—"Die Dreieinigkeitslehre zerfällt in die drei Partien vom Ursprunge des trinitarischen Verhältnisses (*de processione, qu.* 27), von den aus dem doppelten Hervorgange in Gott sich ergebenden Relationen in Gott (*qu.* 28), von den göttlichen Personen (*qu.* 29—43). Diese werden wieder zuerst absolut (*qu.* 29—32) und dann vergleichungsweise (*qu.* 39—43) zum Gegenstande der Erörterung gemacht, zufolge nachstehendem Schema:

a) die göttliche Personen absolut betrachtet:

1. *in communi*
   - α. *significatio,*
   - β. *numerus,*
   - γ. *quæ pertinent ad unitatem et pluralitatem,*
   - δ. *notitia* (Bezeichnung);

2. *in specie*
   - α. *pater,*
   - β. *filius* als *verbum* und *imago,*
   - γ. *spiritus s.* als *amor* und *donum;*

b) die göttlichen Personen vergleichungsweise betrachtet

in Hinsicht auf
- α. ihre Essenz,
- β. ihre persönlichen Proprietäten,
- γ. ihre *actus notionales,*
- δ. ihr Verhältniss unter sich { æqualitas et similitudo, missio personarum divinarum.

—(*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel,* p. 807.)

Scripture and the Fathers advance in support of reason, as drawn from the corrected teaching of the Arabians and Greeks. The royal Psalmist, S. John the Divine, and the Apostle of the Gentiles; then S. Augustine, S. Jerome, S. Hilary, the Areopagite, and Boëthius, each speaks authoritatively on his own strong point, and adds the weight of his own *prestige* to the well-digested teachings of the great Angelical.* Then, from time to time, S. John of Damascus bears his witness, S. Gregory the Great confirms some weighty truth, S. Ambrose falls in with his high morality, whilst the pure philosophy of S. Anselm is not lost sight of amidst so many other glorious names. The creed of S. Athanasius, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and the Œcumenical Councils

* "Summa siquidem illius, *plurima theologia est et minima*: plurima quæstionum et articulorum ubertate, plurima sensuum altitudine, plurima rationum pondere; minima verborum paucitate, ac simplicitate luculenta. Cujus ad commendationem dici jure potest, quod a S. Hieronymo canonicarum epistolarum auctoribus laudi datum (in epist. ad Paulinum): *Brevis in verbis, longus in sententiis.* Si in lectione sacrarum literarum summam experimur voluptatem: et in operum S. Thomæ lectione incredibilem degustant, qui in eorum studio versantur. Quamobrem de angelici præceptoris doctrina citra censuræ metum prædicabo, quod de sacra Scriptura *Gregorius M., lib.* 20. *Moral. Cap.* 1. præclare dixit: 'Usu fastidium tollit, et tanto amplius diligitur, quanto amplius meditatur; legentis animum humilibus verbis adjuvat, sublimibus sensibus levat: aliquo modo cum legentibus crescit; a rudibus lectoribus quasi recognoscitur, et tamen doctis semper nova reperitur; scientias omnes atque doctrinas ipso etiam locutionis suæ more transcendit; quia uno eodemque sermone dum narrat textum, prodit mysterium.' Quot articulos *Thomas* scripsit, tot miracula edidit, inquiebat *Joannes XXII.* Christi doctrina judex est mundi. *Sermo*, inquit, *quem locuutus sum, ille judicabit in novissimo die* (Joan 6.). Et hunc doctrinæ Christi characterem habent S. Thomæ scripta, quæ infidelium et peccatorum pariter damnant contumaciam et facinora. Angelus est, qui latam a supremo judice in impios sententiam scribit ac denunciat, ut alius olim Balthassaris condemnationem in pariete exaravit." (Natalis Alexandri *Historia Ecclesiastica, Tom. XVI., Appendix, Panegyricus S. Thomæ, p.* 787; *Bingii ad Rhenum, MDCCLXXXIX.*)

of the Church add their venerable testimony to the general teaching; so that the "*Summa*" seems to be as it were one glorious song, in which the voices of the greatest heroes of antiquity, the purest and the best, chime in with the solemn chaunting of Prophets and Apostles, who, full of the strength and sweetness of the Spirit of God Himself, seem, like the alternate Seraphim around the Throne, to proclaim the love, beauty, strength, and mercy of the great Omnipotent, and the nature, character, and the high destiny of man.*

And whilst the Angelical was thus working out the great scheme of salvation in the solitude of conventual life, or in presence of eager and earnest students, bitterness and strife were ravaging the world outside. A rapid sketch of the relation of the Empire and the Holy See must here find place, before proceeding to the consideration of the second portion of the "*Summa*."

* "On ne doit pas être surpris, dit Saint Antonin, parlant de Saint Thomas, qu'un homme qui ne perdoit jamais Dieu de vûë, et qui conversoit si souvent avec les célestes Intelligences; un homme qu'on a vû tant de fois ravi en extase, dont quelques-unes ont duré trois jours entiers; un homme à qui les Apôtres saint Pierre et saint Paul ont souvent dicté l'explication de leurs propres ouvrages: on ne doit pas s'étonner, dis-je, qu'un tel homme ait eu une science si profonde, et qu'il ait fait de si grandes merveilles pour la Religion. C'est aussi ce qui a mis de si mauvaise humeur contre nôtre Saint, tous les Hérétiques. Comme c'est à cet admirable Docteur qu'on doit cette méthode réguliére qui regne dans l'école, avec laquelle on débroüille les opinions, on démasque l'erreur, on met la vérité dans tout son jour, et que l'on explique avec netteté les dogmes de la foi. Selon le vrai sens de l'Eglise et des Peres: l'hérésie n'a point eu de plus grand ennemi, que nôtre Saint; parce qu'elle n'a jamais pû tenir contre sa solidité, et si l'on ose le dire, contre l'infaillibilité de sa doctrine. C'est cette doctrine angelique dont tant souverains Pontifes ont fait l'éloge, car comme disoit le Pape Pie V.: Quelle hérésie, n'a pas été désarmée par l'érudition de ce saint Docteur; quelle erreur pourra-t-il jamais s'élever, dont on ne trouve le contre-poison dans sa somme." (*P. Croiset*—See Houdry, *Tom. III., p.* 261: *Lyon, MDCCXIX.*)

So long as the spirit of Frederick Barbarossa or Frederick the II. animated the ruling spirits of the world, there was little chance of peace in Church or State. As was the case in the days of Gregory IX.,* the Pope and the Empire were still in violent antagonism; and Clement IV., in the main, was doing his best to carry out the policy of Urban and Alexander. The Sovereign Pontiffs had had enough of the Hohenstaufens. Bold, ambitious, and imperious, implacable as enemies and false as friends, they had done little else than overset religion, inflame discord, spill blood, and harass the Papal States.† The Popes at last made up their minds to use all their efforts to prevent any member of that family coming into power, either in Germany or in the South.

At the death of Frederick II., Innocent IV. emphatically declared that the Holy See would never consent to any one of his family being invested with the crown. Naples and Capua, and many other cities, sided with the Pope; and when the ambassadors of Conrad, son of Frederick, and of Manfred, Frederick's natural son, made advances to these Italian cities, they were informed that the Italians had grown weary of interdicts and excommunication; and that if their masters desired to be received, they must present themselves with

* See *Volume I. of this work, Chap. IV., p.* 51—62.

† See Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. V., p.* 215.

the blessing and investiture of the Sovereign Pontiff.*

But there was far from being unanimity in respect of Pope Innocent IV. The restless and ambitious children of Frederick succeeded in ingratiating themselves with the Germans and Venetians, and were so powerfully supported by these, that for a course of years they were enabled to worry the Popes, and keep the greater part of Italy in continual fermentation. For instance, in 1251, Conrad entered Italy with a powerful army, and forthwith advanced against the Counts of Sora and Aquino, who had declared themselves in favour of the Pope.† Doubtless it was excessively mortifying to these princes that the Aquinos should not only have turned against them, but moreover should have preferred the policy of the Holy See to the traditions of the past, and have had the courage to maintain the Pope in opposition to the interests of their own relations. Whilst bravely resisting the pressure of numbers, the Count of

* "Les Successeurs d'Innocent, Aléxandre IV., Urbain IV., Clément IV. agirent tous selon les mêmes principes, et suivirent les mêmes routes, pour exclure les descendans de Frédéric, de l'une et de l'autre Sicile. Quelques peuples d'Italie entrèrent d'abord dans les intérêts du Saint Siège ; ils répondirent aux Ambassadeurs de Conrad, fils légitime de l'Empereur Frédéric, et aux Envoyés de Mainfroy, son fils naturel, qu'ils s'ennuyoient d'être si long-tems frappés d'interdit, et d'excommunication ; et que leur résolution étoit de ne prêter obéissance à personne, s'il ne venoit avec l'investiture, et la bénédiction du Pape." (Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Lib. III., Chap. V., p.* 216.)

† "En 1251, Conrad entra avec une puissante armée en Italie, et marcha aussitôt contre le Comte d'Aquin et de Sora, qui s'étoient déclarés pour le Pape. Il les combatit avec avantage, le jour de saint Martin ; et il continuoit ses progrès dans la Poüille, lorsque la mort l'enleva dans la fleur de son âge ; il n'avoit pas fini sa vingt-septiéme année, et son fils Conradin, qu'il avoit laissé en Allemagne, n'étoit âgé que de deux ans." *(Loc. Cit.)*

Aquino was overpowered, and Conrad advanced through Puglia with his victorious force, anticipating, no doubt, an easy conquest, when he was struck down by death at the early age of seven-and-twenty, leaving Conradin, his son, a little child of two years old, the heir to all his troubles.*

But if Conrad had died, Manfred, a man of great vigour, and well versed in the arts of diplomacy and war, was still alive. He forthwith declared himself tutor of little Conradin, and in spite of the menaces of the Pope, and an actual threat of war, he carried everything before him. Pope Alexander, however, was not easily dismayed. He cited Manfred to appear before him; and as he took no notice of the summons, the Pontiff at once declared the crown of Sicily vacant; and according to the usage of those days, sent the Bishop of Bologna, James Bonocambio, to London, to present it to Edmund, second son of the English king. The kingdom so graciously offered was as graciously accepted; and in the midst of a splendid assembly of the great ones of the land, the Apostolic envoy placed a ring on the finger of the youthful Edmund, as the symbol of his acceptance of the crown. But all this pomp turned out to be merely an idle ceremony.† The English monarch was too much

* *Cf.* Werner, *Erster Band*, *Fünftes Capitel*, *p.* 509.

† "Manfred, Conrad's Halbbruder, hatte nach dessen frühzeitigem Tode (1254) die Herrschaft über Sicilien, über das Fürstenthum Tarent, Apulien, Terra di Lavoro errungen, und liess sich auf ein falsches Gerücht von Conradin's, seines Mündels, Tode zu Palermo zum König krönen Vergeblich hatte Alexander IV. dem zweitgebornen Sohne des Königs von

harassed at home to be able to carry out ambitious projects in foreign parts in favour of his children. Manfred in the meantime was vigorously pushing his successes. He speedily possessed himself of the whole of Sicily, of the Principality of Trent, of Puglia, and of the Terra di Lavoro, and made the world conscious of his achievements by having himself crowned with great solemnity at Palermo in the autumn of 1258. This act, it might be called of bravado, added greatly to his *prestige*, and very shortly Sienna, Pisa, the larger part of Tuscany, and the Marches of Ancona, besides, many other portions of the Papal States, declared themselves subject to his authority.

Perceiving the critical position of affairs, Urban IV., who had succeeded Alexander, resolved to act with rigour against this disturber of the general peace.* In the presence of a great multitude the

England, dem Prinzen Edmund, die sicilische Krone angeboten und durch den nach London gesandten Erzbischof von Bologna, Jacob Boncambio aus dem Prediger-Orden, den Belehnungsact vornehmen lassen. Der König von England verzog die nöthigen Maassregeln zur Besitzergreifung des Reiches, Manfred hingegen brachte Siena, Pisa und ganz Tuscien auf seine Seite, überzog die Mark Ancona und die übrigen Theile des Kirchenstaats (Spoleto, Romagnola) mit seinen Söldnern." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 509.)

* "Demzufolge behandelte ihn Urban IV. als offenen Feind der Kirche, und liess mittelst öffentlichen Anschlages an die Thore der Kirche zu Viterbo Manfred vor sein Gericht laden, um sich über verschiedene Grausamkeiten und Kirchenfrevel zu verantworten; er habe die Stadt Arriano durch seine Saracenen von Grund aus zerstören, mehrere Unterthanen des Papstes widerrechtlich hinrichten lassen, die kirchlichen Censuren verachtet und ungeachtet derselben kirchlichen Gottesdienst für sich halten lassen, drückende Steuern auferlegt und die Saracenen augenfällig vor den Christen begünstiget. Da auf Genugthuung von Seite Manfred's nicht zu rechnen war, eben so wenig aber auf den König von England, so wurde mit dem französischen Königshause angeknüpft, und Ludwig's IX. Bruder, Carl von Anjou, nach Italien zu kommen eingeladen (1263)." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 509.)

Pope cited Manfred to appear before him, and caused the citation to be fixed against the doors of the church at Orvieto (1262), but Manfred made as light of this citation as he had before of the Papal censures. Urban then turned his eyes to France. He sent the Cardinal of S. Cecilia to wait upon S. Louis, who had just returned from his crusade, and to offer the crown of Sicily to his brother Charles, Count of Provence and Anjou.* The king at once perceived in what a difficult position the Pope was placed. He urged his brother to accept the offer, and with the agreement of Church and State a tax was levied upon the clergy to defray the expenses of the undertaking. But Pope Urban did not live to witness the issue of the enterprise upon which he had set his heart. However, Clement IV., who succeeded him, carried out his policy with the earnestness of a man who knew how great an interest was at stake. He published two Bulls: in one he annulled the gift made by his predecessor to Edmund (1265), in the other he conferred the kingdom of Sicily on Charles, Count of Anjou. †

* "Mais voyant que Mainfroy ne faisoit pas plus de cas de toutes ces citations, que des censures Ecclésiastiques, et ne pouvant plus rien attendre du Roi d'Angleterre, à qui les Seigneurs Anglois faisoient eux-mêmes une guerre opiniâtre, le saint Pere eut recours aux Princes de la Maison de France, et fit traiter pour le Royaume de Sicile, avec Charles Comte d'Anjou, et de Provence. On envoya pour cela en France le Cardinal de Sainte-Cecile; et saint Louis étant de retour d'Orient, le Pape lui écrivit bientôt après, pour lui représenter le péril, où la Religion se trouvoit exposée en Italie, par la conduite de Mainfroy." (Touron, *Liv. III., Chap. V., p.* 217.)

† "Absorbée elle-même par la discorde qui régnait entre son souverain, Henri III, et les barons révoltés, elle ne put répondre que par

Prince Charles did not lose time. Having celebrated Easter with King Louis, he hurried to Marseilles, embarked with a thousand knights, arrived at Ostia, and then without delay proceeded to Rome. He was received with acclamation by the Romans as the liberator of the Church, and the defender of the liberties of the people. The Pope, who was still at Perugia, sent four Cardinals to wait on him, and he was invested, amidst great ceremony and display, in the Lateran Basilica with the sovereignty of Sicily (1265).*

Charles was not long in setting to work to consolidate his position. The armies of Manfred and of the new king came into collision at Beneventum. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody, but at length the French obtained an advantage; then Manfred himself was slain, and finally his whole army was routed and cut to pieces. This was a severe blow to the Ghibelines, and of immense benefit to the Pope.

But if Conrad had fallen in battle fighting for the Sicilian kingdom, and if Manfred had met a similar fate, there was still one more of that fierce and thirsty race remaining—the young Conradin, who had now attained his fifteenth year. Upon

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des promesses aux propositions du souverain pontife. Une crainte aussi éloignée n'ayant fait qu'activer les succès de l'usurpateur sicilien, Urbain IV avait révoqué la donation faite par son prédécesseur, et il avait fait appel aux princes de la maison de France, en offrant le royaume de Sicile à Charles d'Anjou, frère de Louis IX." (Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXV., p.* 312.)

* Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. V., p.* 219.

hearing of the death of Manfred he at once had himself proclaimed emperor; and urged on by the Germans,* and by a party which was always to be found in Italy, he gave himself out as king of Sicily. The Pope threatened those who dared to offer him encouragement and assistance with censure and interdict, and forbade the young Prince either to assume the title or to take possession of the crown. But Conradin cared about as much as those who had preceded him for the thunders of the spiritual power. He established his ministers in Tuscany and in the Italian kingdom; he himself invaded Italy, took Verona, advanced on Pavia, and having marched through Lombardy and Tuscany, entered Rome, where he was received with marks of extraordinary honour by the unprincipled and fickle inhabitants, as well as by Henry of Castile, who, in betraying Charles of Anjou, branded himself with the three-fold infamy of being a traitor to his relation, his benefactor, and his king.†

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* "Conradin âgé alors de quinze ans, ayant appris la défaite et la mort de Mainfroy, prétendit à l'Empire, et prit cependant le titre de Roi de Sicile, excité par la plûpart des Princes d'Allemagne, et appellé en Italie par ceux qui favorisoient toujours son parti." (Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. V., p.* 216.)

† "Mais ce jeune Prince, qui avoit appris de ses peres à les mépriser, entra toujours en Italie, et se rendit d'abord à Veronne, accompagné de son oncle le Duc de Baviere, et de son beau-pere le Comte de Tirol. De Veronne il alla à Pavie avec ses troupes choisies, et fit solliciter les Romains, à se révolter contre le Roi Charles. Enfin ayant traversé la Lombardie et la Toscane, il s'avança jusqu'à Rome, où il fut reçu avec des honneurs extraordinaires, par ce peuple inconstant, et par le Senateur Henri de Castille, qui avoit trahi Charles I., son Parent, son Roi, son Bienfaiteur." (Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. V., p.* 219.)

So far fortune seemed to favour Conradin in an extraordinary degree. He did not remain long in Rome. He marched out into Puglia with a large force, composed of Germans, Italians, and Saracens. Charles went forth to meet him, and Conradin prepared a second time to hazard the fortune of a battle. The armies came to collision near Tagliacozzo. Conradin's host, which was under the command of several princes, after a sanguinary engagement suffered total defeat.* The Pretender, Henry of Castile, the Duke of Austria, and many men of high distinction, were made prisoners of war. Henry, at the intercession of the Abbot of Cassino, was set at liberty ; but Conradin and the Duke of Austria were both beheaded (1268). Such was the end of the fierce and warlike family of Suabia, such was the beginning of the mastership of the house of Anjou over the Sicilian kingdom. The Popes at length found peace, and the Aquinos at last found safety. †

Clement IV. did not live long to enjoy the victory of Tagliacozzo. The Church was deprived of a great Pope, and Thomas of Aquin lost a great admirer and friend, when death carried him away. ‡

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* "Le 26 février 1266, il rencontre l'ennemi de l'Eglise dans la plaine de Grandella, près Bénévent. Mainfroi y trouva la défaite et la mort. Deux ans après, Conradin, qui avait accepté l'héritage dangereux de ces luttes acharnées, succombe à son tour sous le génie militaire de la France, près de la ville de Tagliacozzo. Sa mort suit de près sa défaite." (Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXV., p.* 313.)

† Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXV., p.* 313.

‡ See Artaud de Montor's *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes, Tom. III., p.* 22—23.

Those who were acquainted with this Pontiff's daily life, those who knew of his rigid fasts, his hard bed, his hair shirt, and his mighty self-control —who were aware how charitable, prudent, and learned a man he was,—were conscious that a pillar of the Church, in his demise, had been removed. Few men have possessed so profound a knowledge of law, or have been so gifted with sweetness, tenderness, and zeal. He was buried amongst the Dominicans at Viterbo (1268), and upon his tomb reclines the graceful figure of S. Hedwige, whom, in his lifetime, he had catalogued amongst the Saints.

During all this period the great Angelical was living in his own ideal world, not so as to be useless to mankind, but so as to effect a work which, in its very first appearance, created a most unusual sensation. No sooner was the *Prima Pars* of the *Summa* published than the authorities of the various schools of Italy and France perceived it to be a book of priceless value. Many were the petitions made to the Saint to lecture, many the earnest efforts to secure his services in universities and schools.* But his obligations at

* "Il n'y a donc point de quoi s'étonner, que des écrits de ce caractère, réveillant dans le cœur de ceux qui les lisoient, les plus justes sentimens d'estime pour leur Auteur, ayent fait naître en même tems le desir de le voir, et de l'entendre lui-même. Comme les Villes de la Grece se disputoient autrefois l'honneur d'avoir été la Patrie du Prince des Poëtes, celles de l'Italie, et de presque tous les Royaumes Chrétiens, marquoient une semblable émulation, pour se procurer l'avantage de recevoir celui, qui est appellé à juste titre, l'Ange des Ecoles, et le Prince des Théologiens." (Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. V., p.* 224.)

Bologna retained him at his post. So high a *prestige* did his new work lend to the Dominicans, that simply on account of the reputation of S. Thomas many new foundations were commenced, and the power and the position of the Friars were greatly strengthened. For example, Archbishop Matthew della Porta, who had been the Saint's disciple, purely out of veneration for his master founded the Convent of S. Maria della Porta at Salerno; whilst the Abbot of Monte Cassino, at the Angelical's own request, and with the unanimous consent of a Synod of the clergy, established another House at San Germano.*

During the interregnum which ensued between the death of Pope Clement and the election of a successor, S. Thomas went for a time to Paris. He had already spent three years lecturing in Bologna. During this period he had been actively employed on the second part of the "*Summa Theologica.*"

He appears to have been called to France for several reasons. In the first place a general Chapter of the Order was about to be held in

* "Der Bischof Cäsarius von Salerno wies den Dominicanern eine Kirche zusammt den dazu gehörigen Gebäuden, Gärten und sonstigen Appertinenzien an, aus Hochachtung vor den Verdiensten des Ordens—wie es in der Dotationsurkunde heisst—und aus besonderer Werthschätzung des verehrungswürdigen Mannes, des Bruders Thomas; in diesem neu gestifteten Kloster wurde später eine Hand vom Leichname des heiligen Thomas als Reliquie bewahrt, und seine Schwester Theodora, Gräfin von Sanseverino, beigesetzt. Der Abt Bernhard von Monte Cassino räumte dem Predigerorden in San Germano eine Stätte ein, um zu seiner eigenen Freude Thomas' Wünschen sich willfährig zu zeigen." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 512.)

Paris (1269), at which many nice points of theology were to be discussed; then, John of Vercelli was particularly anxious to receive the Saint's advice; whilst some affirm that he was summoned as Definitor of the Roman province, and was entrusted with a delicate mission to the King of France in connection with the condition of the Church and of the clergy.

The king, who at this time was about to set out on his second crusade, received the Angelical with exceptional marks of reverence and affection. Anyone who has studied, ever so superficially, the character of that tender-hearted, just, and gentle monarch, so full of genuine heroism, so bright a picture of high chivalry and of the *cuor gentil*, will at once perceive how close a bond there must have been between him and the Angelical.* Who, in history, has ever read of so priestly a prince, and of so princely a Dominican? Naturally of lofty mind, nurtured from his tenderest infancy by a mother who was a Saint, formed on the highest model — his one striving was to promote his

* How familiar they were, and how the king treated the friar, comes out in the following :—"Fuit præterea prædictus Doctor consilio providus, quia consequens erat, ut, qui divina cognosceret, de humanis certissime judicaret. Qui licet a temporalibus negotiis et mundanis miro modo esset extraneus, quia divinis rebus totaliter erat intentus; tamen cum intellectum suum speculativum, requisitus in consilio, ad agibilia et temporalia convertit, tam subtiliter et utiliter consulebat, quasi videretur quis consilium requisivisse divinum; utpote qui illas regulas habebat præ oculis, a quibus omne, quod humanitus agitur, divinitus diffinitur. Unde de illustri Rege Franciæ S. Ludovico dicitur, quod semper in rebus arduis dicti Doctoris requirebat consilium, quod frequenter expertus fuerat esse certum: ut utriusque in hoc perpenderetur sanctitas, et Illustris Regis, quod in dubiis Doctorem consulendum requireret, et sancti Doctoris, qui divino Spiritu, quid esset verius, responderet." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VI., n.* 36, *p.* 669.)

people's greatest good, to maintain truth, to foster justice, and to avenge wrong.

> "Indeed he seems to me
> Scarce other than my own ideal knight,
> 'Who reverenced his conscience as his king;
> Whose glory was redressing human wrong;
> Who spoke no slander—no, nor listened to it.'"

There is no question that the bloom of such a character as his was brought to its full perfection through the influence of such men as S. Bonaventure and S. Thomas.* Both king and priest were chosen souls and governing spirits, each in his own special sphere; S. Louis in the active, ruling a kingdom; S. Thomas in the contemplative, dealing with high theories of philosophy. †

Besides fulfilling certain important duties, the Angelical now took up his old position as professor at S. James's; and during two years dazzled the the students and the lively Parisian citizens by the depth and maturity of his mind, which now combined the highest gifts of ripe and educated

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* There is little doubt regarding the influence of the Angelical:—"Dicitur, quod, cum primo Parisiis de aliquibus arduis et necessariis in crastino deberet habere consilium, de sero mandabat prædicto Doctori, ut illa nocte super dubio imminentis casus mente intenderet, ut, quod esset utile respondendum, in crastino cogitaret: quod vir obediens, sicut mandatum receperat, sic implebat." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. VI., n.* 36, *p.* 669.)

† How like S. Louis and S. Thomas were is evident from this single passage:—"Cette âme tendre et pieuse, blessée au dehors dans tous ses amours, se retirait au dedans et cherchait en soi. La lecture et la contemplation devinrent toute sa vie. Il se mit à lire l'Ecriture et les Pères, surtout saint Augustin. Il fit copier manuscrits, se forma une bibliothèque: c'est de ce faible commencement que la Bibliothèque Royale devait sortir. Il se faisait faire lectures pieuses pendant le repas, et le soir au moment de s'endormir. Il ne pouvait rassasier son cœur d'oraisons et de prières. Il restait souvent si longtemps prosterné, qu'en se relevant, dit l'historien, il était saisi de vertige, et disait tout bas aux chambellans: 'Où suis-je?' Il craignait d'être entendu de ses chevaliers." (Michelet, *Histoire de France, Tom. III., Liv. IV., Première moitié du XIII. Siècle, p.* 478—479; *Bruxelles*, 1840.)

genius with the mellow experience of many years.

The subject-matter of his lectures appears to have had a twofold scope: that of preparing and clarifying principles and reasonings towards the completion of the "*Summa Theologica*," and that of striking with vigorous boldness at the prominent errors of the day.* The calm majesty of that great intellect gathered up the follies and aberrations of human pride, and then before the most keen-sighted audience in the world brilliantly displayed their inconsequence, and still more brilliantly (because it was more difficult) drew out a plan of Christian truth, solid, united, compact, which thoroughly satisfied the reason by the severity of its process, and pleased the imagination by the harmony and oneness of its parts.†

First, there was the still-threatening heresy of Averroës, which acted with a strange fascination on the mediæval mind.‡ Against this the Angelical brought forth his questions on the human soul: he showed its true nature and position, he manifested its relations to the lower world of sense and to the superior world of spirit, and by the unaswerable cogency of his logic, and the clearness of his exposition, aimed a mortal blow at a deadly system of philosophy. Then he launched out

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* Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. VI., p.* 222.
† Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXV., p.* 318.
‡ See *First Vol. of this work, Chap. XVII., p.* 405, *sqq.*

straight at that insidious foe of all soaring minds, pantheism, in his questions on the power of God.* The relations of creature and Creator are here determined: God's power is studied in His external acts, and creatures are proved to be the effects of His almighty power, not parts of, or emanations from, Himself. Then the Saint discussed a subject bearing on the union of the Word with the created substance,—as the point of contact between the Infinite and the finite,—and thus a species of Manichæism, which had considerable hold on many minds, was combated and overthrown; and finally he handled important questions regarding vice and virtue, dwelling upon the true notion of evil, showing forth the weighty responsibility which lies on every rational creature, and displaying the reach of those duties which are incumbent on men as members of society. †

The Angelical's work was by no means simply theoretical. He drew out theory to serve for

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* "Es war das letzte Mal, dass Thomas in Paris sich aufhielt; dringende Bitten hielten ihn für zwei Jahre daselbst fest. Er veröffentlichte hier einen grossen Theil seiner "*Quæstiones disputatæ*" nämlich die "*Quæstiones de anima*," "*de potentia*," "*de creaturis spiritualibus*," *de virtutibus*," "*de malo*;" Endlich gehört in diese Zeit auch die "*responsio ad Joannem Vercellensem de 42 Articulis.*" (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 512; *Cf.*. Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXV., p.* 318; Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. VI., p.* 223; see also *Chap. IX.. p.* 752, *of this Volume.)*

† "Septem verba e cruce protulit [Christus], octavum ad Thomæ laudem immortalem: *Bene scripsisti de me Thoma!* Bene quia scripsisti nihil quod doctrinæ meæ non sit prorsus consentaneum. Bene scripsisti, quia ad majorem nominis mei gloriam, ecclesiæque defensionem meæ studia tua ac opera collineant universa. Bene scripsisti; siquidem tuus, ut eruditorum plurimorum calamus, inani gloriæ serviit numquam, sed semper charitati. Felix ille calamus tuus *machina est, per quam structura*

practice, and this becomes evident on reading the theological decisions which were formally promulgated by Bishop Stephen Tempier. This accomplished prelate assembled a body of divines in 1270 to discuss the various philosophical and theological errors of the day, and to suggest some means of stemming the rationalism and irreverence of the schools.* The work of this learned meeting was summed up in a document of great importance, in which the principal false maxims and theses which had infested the University were drawn out in order and condemned.† Now these maxims and theses are the very same against which S. Thomas had been combating with all his energy for many years, not only at Bologna, but at S. James's; and there is little doubt that the stringent measures taken by the Bishop Tempier were in great part owing to the skill with which the great Angelical had displayed in their true light the insidious bearings of those poisonous propositions.

Having fulfilled his duties at S. James's, the Saint gave up his chair to his friend Br.

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charitatis ascendit. (Verba *S. Augustini.)* Bene de me scripsisti in libris Sententiarum, in libris contra Gentes, in quæstionibus disputatis et quodlibeticis, in opusculis, in scripturæ sacræ Commentariis, in Summa, ubique perpetuo. Bene scripsisti de me ut Deo, ut homine, ut redemptore, ut legislatore, ut judice. Bene de mysteriis, operibus, præceptisque meis. Bene de omnibus quæ vitam spectant meam, divinam, mortalem, gloriosam." (Natalis Alexander, *Historia Ecclesiastica, Tom. XVI., Appendix, Panegyricus S. Thomæ, p.* 787—788.)

* See the swarm of deadly errors mentioned in the *First Volume of this work, Chap. XVII., p.* 401—409, *sqq.*

† See Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXV., p.* 319; *Cf.* Du Boulay, *Hist. Universit. Tom. III., p.* 397; *Biblioth. PP., Tom. IV., p.* 1143.)

Romanus and betook himself to Bologna, where he was to bring out the second part of the "*Summa Theologica.*" *

After two years of labour, the *Prima Secundæ* and the *Secunda Secundæ* appeared, that is to say, the second grand division of the "*Summa*," which is sub-divided, one half being called the *First of the Second*, and the other the *Second of the Second.* †

This grand division forms the main body of that mighty superstructure which the Angelical erected on the foundations he had laid two years before; and just as the second part is founded logically in the first, so the second portion of the second part is grounded in the first portion, which occupies four hundred and sixty pages. God and His divine works were treated of in the fundamental part of the "*Summa;*" now man, the image of God, whose end is the contemplation of the Divine Essence in the world to come, becomes the subject of a most searching analysis.

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* "Im Jahre 1271 kehrte er wieder nach Bologna zurück, und veröffentlichte sofort dem zweiten Theil seiner theologischen Summe, der die christliche Sittenlehre enthält, und an Umfang und systematischer Durchbildung Alles hinter sich zurückliess, was vor ihm über diesen Gegenstand geschrieben worden war." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 513.)

† Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis, *Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ.* The Saint explains his scope in his *Prologus*, which runs thus:—"Quia, sicut *Damascenus* dicit, lib. 2 orth. Fid., Cap. 12, a princip. homo factus ad imaginem Dei dicitur, secundum quod per imaginem significatur *intellectuale, et arbitrio liberum, et per se potestativum*; postquam prædictum est de exemplari, scilicet de Deo, et de his quæ processerunt ex divina potestate secundum ejus voluntatem, restat ut consideremus de ejus imagine, idest, de homine, secundum quod et ipse est suorum operum principium, quasi liberum arbitrium habens, et suorum operum potestatem." (*Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ, Prologus, p. I., Vol. II.*)

First his happiness or end is determined, which does not consist in riches, honours, glory, power, pleasure, or any other corporeal, spiritual, or created good, but alone in the contemplation of the Divine Essence. Man, made by God, is placed in this world to pass through it, and to enjoy eventually for all eternity that one inebriating delight which never fails as it never satiates.*

He is to attain this paradise by making use of his free will in co-operating with grace: he can either tend towards his own eternal happiness or recede from it: he can be either saved or lost. Hence human actions are treated in reference to the freedom of the will, and in relation to the goodness or malice which belongs to them. Then the passions, which act with such force upon human nature, are discussed, first in general, then in particular. Love, its causes, its effects;

* "In secunda parte Summæ, quam propter ejus magnitudinem Auctor in duas partitus est (et ob id Primam secundæ et Secundam secundæ frequenter audis) de homine potissimum agat; et hoc profecto, quatenus suorum operum libero arbitrio, quo præditus est, principium est, et potestatem habet. Et quia gratia finis cuncta fiunt, ob id a consideratione finis scribendi initium in Prima secundæ cœpit: de quo, primum quidem in communi disputat, ac postea de eo seorsum, qui felicitas et beatitudo nuncupatur, prioribus quinque quæstionibus tractat . . . Et subinde a 6. quæstione ad 22, de actionibus humanis . . . At vero a 22. usque ad 48. tractat de perturbationibus animæ . . . nobis et brutis communibus. A 48. autem, ab actibus tum homini propriis, tum illi cum bestiis communibus . . . ad principia illorum conscendit: quorum geminum internum esse videtur potentia nimirum, et habitus; alia externa, Deus . . . ac Diabolus . . . Sed omnino præterit potentiam . . . atque in 49. quæstione de habitibus perscrutationem aggreditur, antiquioribus Patribus vel prorsus incognitam, vel perfunctorie, et veluti per transennam significatam. Quibus primum in universali examinatis, moxque in particulari, nempe iis, qui virtutes dicuntur; et postremo cum declarasset, quæ vitia sigillatim singulis virtutibus opponuntur usque ad 89. quæstionem, mox in 90. adornat instructionem de externis humanarum operationum principiis." (Hieronymi Vielmii, *de Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis, Lib. II., p.* 118.)

hatred and pleasure, concupiscence and its influences; sorrow or pain, with its causes, effects, and remedies, with its goodness and its malice; then hope, despair, and fear, with its object, cause, and effects, together with anger and audacity, come under consideration. Next, the principles of moral actions are developed; these are either internal or external; and as the moral capacities or faculties of man are treated of in the first part of the "*Summa*," * so here, in this second part, man's habits come under discussion, first in general, then in particular, as directing man to God or as turning him away from lasting happiness. Inasmuch as they act in the first direction they are moral, inasmuch as they energize in the second they are immoral; these two great divisions of ethic force are treated of, first in general, and then in detail. † For example, the moral virtues are

* Vielmus continues thus :—"Et præterita Dæmonum mentione, quod in priori parte copiose de illis disseruisset, rursum de Deo ea ratione agit, quod cum duplici veluti organo uti videatur ad ducendos . . . homines ad virtutes; legibus nimirum, . . . et gratia . primum de legibus, a 90. quæstione ad 108 . . . postremo de gratiæ necessitate, essentia, partitionibus, causis, et effectibus usque ad 114. quæstionem, quæ postrema est, ipse plenus gratia, magna cum laude docet." *(Loc. Cit., p.* 119.)

† Take examples :—*Quæstio XLIX.*—De habitus in generali, quoad eorum substantiam : *Art. I.*, Utrum habitus sit qualitas; 2, Utrum habitus sit determinata species qualitatis; 3, Utrum habitibus importet ordinem ad actum : 4, Utrum sit necessarium esse habitum. *(Summa Theologica, Prima Secundæ, p.* 169—173; *Vol. II.)* Again : *Quæstio. L*—De subjecto habituum : *Art. I.*—Utrum in corpore sit aliquis habitus; 2, Utrum anima sit subjectum habitus secundum suam essentiam, vel secundum suam potentiam; 3, Utrum in potentiis sensitivæ partis possit esse aliquis habitus : 4, Utrum in ipso intellectu sit aliquis habitus; 5, Utrum in voluntate sit aliquis habitus; 6, Utrum in Angelis sit aliquis habitus. *(Loc. Cit., p.* 173—178.) Or this : —*Quæstio LV.*—De virtutibus quantum ad earum essentias : *Art. I.*—Utrum virtus humana sit habitus; 2, Utrum virtus humana sit habitus operativus; 3, Utrum virtus humana sit habitus bonus; 4, Utrum virtus convenienter definiatur *(Loc. Cit., p.* 189—191.)

discussed according to their essence and their subject: intellectual and moral virtues are compared, and the latter are distinguished according to their relation to the passions and to each other; then the cardinal, and next the theological virtues are considered; and the cause, means, connection, equality, and duration of virtue then come under observation; and finally the gifts, beatitudes, and fruits of the Spirit are analyzed in three successive questions. Having shown the nature and connection of the influences which lead man to the Beatific vision, the Angelical next treats of those elements which draw away from God. Amongst the external causes which are fruitful of evil original sin is especially mentioned.* The external principle of evil deeds is Satan, the external principle of good is God. God teaches man by Law—which is divided into the "Eternal," the "Natural," the "Human," the "Old," and the "New" Law—whilst He supports him by His grace, which is treated *in se*, and according to its causes and operations; and finally merit is spoken of, which is the effect of co-operating grace. †

In this first division of the second part of the "*Summa Theologica*" man, his end, the instrument

* See Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 812.

† "Die vornehmsten Auctoritäten dieses ganzen ersten Theiles der Moral sind Aristoteles und Augustinus; in der Lehre vom Gesetze tritt neben ihnen mehrere Male Isidor von Sevilla (*Etymolog. lib. V.*) bedeutsam hervor, auch Cicero und die einleitenden Erörterungen des *Decretum Gratiani* werden aus dieser Veranlassung öfter citirt." (Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 812.)

by which he is to attain it, the obstacles in the way, the helps towards it, are all fully brought forward and held up to view: in the second division, in the *Secunda Secundæ*, upon the basis already laid, the Angelical completes and perfects the structure which he had begun, and manifests the full compass of his thought, together with a keenness of analysis, a subtlety of perception, and a breadth of intuition, which bear upon them the stamp of a supernatural revelation. This *Secunda Secundæ* occupies over six hundred and sixty pages.* Never has more piercing vision been displayed, never a steadier hand, or a sharper eye, or a wider range, or a deeper knowledge of human nature. As the first division treated of virtue in

* *Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis Summa Theologica Secunda Secundæ, p.* 1—668; *Vol. III.* The *Prologus* gives in the Angelical's own words the scope of this masterpiece :—"Post communem considerationem de virtutibus et vitiis, et aliis ad materiam moralem pertinentibus, necesse est considerare singula in speciali. Sermones enim morales universales minus sunt utiles, eo quod actiones in particularibus sunt. Potest autem aliquid in speciali considerari circa moralia dupliciter: uno modo ex parte materiæ ipsius moralis, puta cum consideratur de hac virtute vel hoc vitio; alio modo quantum ad speciales status hominum, puta cum consideratur de subditis et Prælatis, de activis et contemplativis vel quibuscumque aliis differentiis hominum. Primo ergo considerabimus specialiter de his quæ pertinent ad omnes hominum status; secundo vero specialiter de his quæ pertinent ad determinatos status. Est autem considerandum circa primum, quod si seorsum determinaremus de virtutibus, donis, vitiis et præceptis, oportet idem multoties dicere. Qui enim sufficienter vult tractare de hoc præcepto: *Non mœchaberis*, necesse habet inquirere de adulterio, quod est quoddam peccatum, cujus etiam cognitio dependet ex cognitione oppositæ virtutis. Erit ergo compendiosior et expeditior considerationis via, si simul sub eodem tractatu consideratio procedat de virtute et dono sibi correspondente, et vitiis oppositis, et præceptis affirmativis vel negativis."

"Erit autem hic considerationis modus conveniens ipsis vitiis secundum propriam speciem. Ostensum est enim supra, 1—2, qu. 18, 72 et 73, quod vitia et peccata diversificantur specie secundum materiam vel objectum, non autem secundum alias differentias peccatorum, puta cordis, oris et operis; vel secundum infirmitatem, ignorantiam et malitiam, et alias hujusmodi differentias. Est autem eadem materia circa quam et virtus recte operatur, et vitia opposita a rectitudine

general, here it is considered more in detail. It is divided into seven leading headings—the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the four cardinal ones of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance.

He speaks first of Faith, as an act, as a virtue, as a habit, of its cause and its effect; then of the graces of knowledge and science, which correspond to it; of the opposing vices, such as infidelity, heresy, apostasy, blasphemy, and blindness of mind; and finally of faith, science, and knowledge in relation to precept.

Hope is dealt with in the same way: hope as it is in itself and those who have part in it, and the gift of fear, which is the grace corresponding to it; the vices opposed to it, such as despair and presumption; and those precepts which bear a certain relation to hope and to fear occupy a considerable space.

Then comes the great treatise on Charity, which

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recedunt. Sic ergo, tota materia morali ad considerationem virtutum reducta, omnes virtutes sunt ulterius reducendæ ad septem; quarum tres sunt theologicæ, de quibus primo est agendum; aliæ vero quatuor sunt cardinales, de quibus posterius agetur. Virtutum autem intellectualium una quidem est prudentia, quæ inter cardinales virtutes continetur et numeratur. Ars vero non pertinet ad scientiam moralem quæ circa agibilia versatur, cum ars sit *recta ratio factibilium*, ut supra dictum est, 1—2, qu. 57, art. 3 et 4. Aliæ vero tres intellectuales virtutes, scilicet sapientia, intellectus et scientia, communicant etiam in nomine cum donis quibusdam Spiritus sancti. Unde simul etiam de eis considerabitur in consideratione donorum virtutibus correspondentium. Aliæ vero virtutes morales omnes aliqualiter reducuntur ad virtutes cardinales, ut ex supra dictis patet, 1—2, qu. 61, art. 3. Unde in consideratione alicujus virtutis cardinalis considerabuntur etiam omnes virtutes ad eum qualitercumque pertinentes, et vitia opposita. Et sic nihil moralium erit prætermissum." (Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis *Summæ Theologicæ Secunda Secundæ, Prologus, p.* 1, *Vol. III.*)

is the only force which can lead man to his end, without which all else is dead, and which is handled here by the Angelical in that masterful manner which especially belongs to him. First he shows what charity is in itself, where it resides, how it comes, and whether it can be increased; next he treats of the object of it, pointing out who are to be loved, and in what order; then its principal acts, love, joy, peace, mercy, beneficence, alms-deeds, fraternal correction; whilst their opposites, hatred, sloth, envy, discord, contention, schism, war, quarrels, sedition, and scandal, are analyzed in as many essays; and, finally, those precepts are pointed out which have a bearing upon charity; and the gift of wisdom and the sins of folly are discussed.*

The Cardinal virtues come next in order; --Prudence, considered absolutely, its integral and subjective parts, its concomitant virtues, its corresponding graces; imprudence, negligence, and prudence of the flesh, which stand opposed to it, as well as those precepts which bring it to bear upon mankind. Justice in itself is handled in four questions, its parts in fifty-nine; then piety, its

* This is how Vielmus explains the *Secunda Secundæ*:—"In Secunda secundæ vero, tamquam a genere ad species confestim descendit. Nam cum de virtutibus, et eorum oppositis vitiis, quæ et peccata dicuntur, deque aliis ad moralem materiam pertinentibus, communem et universalem considerationem in Prima secundæ fecisset; operæ pretium se facturum putavit, si præterea ea omnia in species suas dispertiret, et sigillatim doceret. Etenim actionibus humanis obeundis (quod circa particularia versentur) universaliores doctrinæ morales minus prosunt: proinde de virtutibus, et vitiis seorsum, ac speciatim sibi agendum suscepit." (*De Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis, Lib. II., p.* 119.)

corresponding gift, and the precepts which follow from it. Regarding justice in itself, right, justice, injustice, and judgment, are fully worked out, whilst the subjective elements of justice occupy eleven questions, its integral parts one, and its potential relations forty. The subjective elements or species of justice are denominated distributive and commutative. The opposite of the first consists in the unjust exception of persons; the opposites of the second are homicide, mutilation, and robbery, together with unjust judgment, accusation, witness, and defence; and outside the tribunal, contumely, detraction, murmuring, derision, amd malediction. Sins against free commutative justice are fraud and usury.* Under the potential division of justice are religion, devotion, prayer, sacrifice, oblations, tithes, vows, oaths, and their opposites, such as superstition, including idolatry and divination, then tempting God, perjury, sacrilege, and simony; next piety, observance, *dulia*, obedience, disobedience, ingratitude,

* Vielmus gives the order of the *Secunda Secundæ* thus :—"Agit autem primo de virtutibus Theologicis, fide, spe, et charitate, a prima quæstione, usque ad 46. nam de fide, illique correspondentibus, 16. quæstionibus prioribus tractat; de spe subinde, a 17. usque ad 22. de charitate confestim, a 23 ad 46. usque. Jam vero in 47. de moralibus, quæ Cardinales vocantur, quod classicæ sint . . . ad 182. usque edisserit; huncque tenorem servat, ut a notioribus ubique progrediatur, hoc est, ab objectis ad actus, et ab actibus ad habitus, subjecta, causas, effectus, tam internos, quam externos, quorum posteriores fructus quoque vocantur; et inde ad eorum opposita, partitiones, et affectiones. Principem autem moralium virtutum prudentiam, quæ etiam virtus intellectualis est, a quæstione 47. ad 56. explicat; deinde in 57. agit de justitia, usque ad 122, in qua reperies tractationem nobilissimam de religione . . . In 123. quæstione de fortitudine agit, usque ad 170. de temperantia docet." (*Loc. Cit., p.* 120.)

vindication, truth and its opposites, friendship, liberality, avarice, prodigality and equity, come under discussion.

Fortitude is next in order, and is treated in its essence, martyrdom being its highest manifestation, and in its parts—magnanimity, magnificence, patience, and perseverance; their opposites, the precepts attached, and the special gift, are developed. Then come Temperance in itself, its opposites, its parts in general and in particular; shame, honesty, abstinence, fasting, gluttony, sobriety, drunkenness, chastity, virginity, luxury, and its divisions; then the potential parts of temperance, continence and meekness, modesty and humility. Upon this follow pride the source of sin, and the sin of our first parents, their punishment and temptation; finally studiousness as a part of temperance, curiosity and modesty, and those precepts which have to do with temperance.*

Having dwelt on the several virtues incumbent

* Vielmus continues thus:—"Cumque virtutes Theologicæ, et Morales, quas enumeravimus, ad hominum omnium status et conditiones spectare videantur; aliaque sint præterea Dei dona, quæ non omnibus, sed seorsum aliquibus in Ecclesiæ beneficium Deus impertiri solet . . . de iis quoque explicare subinde eo ordine properat, ut principem locum tribuat illis, quæ ad cognitionem, qualis est prophetia; secundum illis, quæ ad elocutionem, ut donum linguarum, sermonis, scientiæ, et sapientiæ; tertium illis, quæ ad operationem, cujusmodi est gratia miraculorum, pertinent; et de his quidem a 171. usque ad 178. tractat. Porro quia homines inter se, non virtutibus solum, et gratiis gratis datis, verum etiam operationum studiis, et officiorum multiplicitate, ac varietate statuum differunt; ideo . . . ad vitam contemplativam, et activam expendendam . . . sese transfert, a 179. quæstione videlicet, usque ad 182. postremoque officia, et status, qui personæ obligationem quamdam dicunt, a 183. ad calcem operis, hoc est, ad 189. usque absolvit." *(Loc. Cit., p.* 120—121.)

on man if he would arrive at the Beatific Vision, the Angelical goes on to treat of those special virtues which are principally accorded to mankind for the benefit of others, and of the two main conditions of human life; and by this means the Saint advances towards the realization of his ideal of the most perfect state and the most perfect man. The different ministries in the Church of Christ are in accordance with the various vocations amongst Christians, and the two principal conditions of life are the active and the contemplative, whilst the several ministries are those of apostles, prophets, and evangelists, of pastors and doctors. With respect to prophecy the Saint dwells on its cause, the mode of prophetical knowledge, and on its division; for instance, on rapture, especially in connection with S. Paul, on the gifts of tongues, on speech, and on miracles.*

The whole movement of the "*Summa Theologica*" is towards the Beatific Vision of God, which will be the occupation of man's eternity; and to tend towards it is the paramount duty and the one

* Vielmus finishes thus :—"In qua explicatione de illis in genere primum agit, deinde ad statum perfectionis descendit, et inde ad statum Episcoporum, et Religiosorum. Ubi quid Episcopi sint, quidve Religiosi; quæque eorum professioni, et ordini conveniant; quomodo secernantur Religiones, et quid agere debeant, abunde edocet. Et hic finem felicissimum imponit secundæ parti, quam Gerson omnium scriptis, qui materiam Moralem hanc tractarunt, præferre non gravate quoque videtur; est enim perspicua, locuples, et subtilis, et, ut ego arbitror, Aristotelis Moralia longius, quam censere quisquam possit, ordine et copia antecellit. Neque tot oppugnatores habuit hæc pars, quot priores habuerunt. Unus Martinus Magister Parisiensis Patrum memoria fuit, qui eam alicubi notare ausus est; sed ejus nenias Cardinalis Cajetanus diserte ac copiose retundit, ac plane longius explosit." (*De Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Doctrina et Scriptis, Lib. II., p.* 121.)

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supreme interest of man on earth. And, in drawing out the difference between the active and contemplative life, the Angelical is but giving the key to all that has gone before, and is simply manifesting the *rationale* of that complicated moral machinery of which in part the broad outline has been indicated in the preceding pages. The entire Patristic spirit is here displayed by him at its fullest and its best ; * the great classic Fathers, who have been mentioned as furnishing the principal traditionary elements to the "*Summa*," when the Angelical treats of these two states in combination, seem to be vividly brought before the mind, and we recognize in their lives and characters typical specimens of that perfection

* Cardinal Toletus explains the scope of the whole *Summa* most accurately:—"Fecit [S. Thomas] etiam aliud opus matura jam ætate, quod Summa Theologica dicitur, in qua ab ordine Magistri recessit, et miro ordine, brevitate et gravitate res theologicas discussit ; opus quidem utilissimum, et nunquam satis laudatum, quod in tres divisum est partes, quarum primam exponendam sumpsimus hoc anno. Ut autem hujus divisionis aliquam reddamus rationem, adverte de Deo duplicem esse cognitionem ; alteram de eo respective, ut causa est omnium. Est autem causa non quidem materialis, aut formalis ; sed efficiens et finalis. Quamvis autem sit omnium finalis ; tamen modo peculiari est finalis solius creaturæ rationalis, quatenus ipsi per gratiam et gloriam proponitur obtinendus et communicandus. Consideratio ergo erit triplex de Deo, et secundum se, et ut causa efficiens est, et ut causa finalis creaturæ rationalis, maxime hominis, qui pluribus mediis indiget ad suum finem consequendum, pluraque habet impedimenta. Juxta hanc considerationem S. Thomas processit : nam in prima parte de Deo secundum se, et ut omnium est causa efficiens per creationem egit, et simul etiam de eo, ut est causa finalis generalis omnium ; in aliis vero duabus partibus, ut est causa finalis hominis : quæ consideratio in hoc versatur, puta in ostendendis mediis, quibus homo ad suum hunc finem pervenit. Et quia media sunt duplicia, intrinseca, qualia sunt virtutes morales et Theologicæ ; et extrinseca, qualia sacramenta et Verbi divini incarnatio ; in secunda parte tractavit de virtutibus omnibus in generali et in particulari, et de vitiis oppositis, quia eadem est doctrina contrariorum. In tertia vero parte de incarnatione et sacramentis ; et tandem de resurrectione et copulatione cum fine." (Vid. Francisci Toleti *in Sum. Theolog. S. Thom. Aquin. Enarratio, Tom. I., præmium, p.* 5—6.)

which he has so marvellously thrown into system in this master-work. It would almost appear that he kept them before his mind's eye as models, just as the sculptor in his choicest works is ever casting a glance at some unrivalled torso of Grecian art, so as to impregnate his fancy with the genius of the conception, without servilely imitating each mechanical motion of the chisel.* Or he would seem, whilst sketching his own ideal man, to be unconsciously portraying those characteristics which rendered him Angelical, and one of the fairest figures of moral beauty to be met in the annals of the Saints. Who ever realized in his life with such exquisite exactness his own high idea of a divine man, as the Angel of the Schools? Who ever married so harmoniously that splendid combination of intense and sustained contemplation with the outpouring of purest wisdom for the benefit of others, as this Prince of Theologians? Who so profoundly versed in things of God, in the knowledge of fundamental truth, and at the same time so tender towards others, so great a benefactor to the human race, as this Doctor of the Blessed Sacrament? Whose charity to man was so overflowing with divine affection, whose love to God was so burning, so consuming, as that which flamed in his seraphic heart, shone like a sun upon his breast, and

* See *Geschichte des heil. Thomas von Aquin.* Dr. Dominicus Mettenleiter's *Einleitung, p.* 26—27.

brightened on his brow with the effulgence of Paradise itself? *

Read what he says of that great gift which in its measure made him what he was :—

The Lord says in the tenth chapter and forty-second verse of S. Luke: "Mary hath chosen the best part which shall not be taken away from her." Now "Mary" signifies the contemplative life, and therefore it is more excellent than the active: † that is to say, the contemplative life, absolutely considered, is more excellent than the active; and this the Philosopher proves in the tenth book of *Ethics*, by eight arguments, thus: (1) because the contemplative life brings the noblest faculty of man into play, that is, the intellect, and is occupied with spiritual things, whereas the active life is engaged in external occupations. ‡ Hence "Rachel," by which the contemplative life is signified, is said to mean vision of God [*visum principium*], § whilst the active is figured by Lia, who, as S. Gregory says in his book of *Morals*, ‖ was

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* Professor Gibelli speaks eloquently on the merits of the Summa :— "Ivi [nella Somma] la filosofia sgombra d'ogni ingannevol velo, sincera e schietta di forme, posto giù l'usato orgoglio, è lieta di servire alla teologia, la quale si mostra irraggiata del suo divino splendore ; la Ragione e la Fede fanno di se, ciascuna secondo sua natura, bellissima ed oltremirabil mostra. Qualunque più astrusa controversia, qualunque più malageval quistione, che mai possa occorrere a mente umana quanto o alla ontologia, o alla ideologia, o alla psicologia, o alla teologia polemica o alla dogmatica o all'ascetica e vattene là, quivi si trova diffinita, e si veggono della vera sentenza le prove e le riprove. In somma quest'Opera, vero tesoro di sapienza, argomento unico anzi che raro della potenza dell'umano ingegno avvalorato da sopraceleste grazia à tale per ogni rispetto che può solo essere lodata dal più Dotto de'Santi, e dal più Santo de'Dotti." *(Vita, Cap. XXV., p.* 95—96.)

† *Opp. Omnia* S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *Vol. III., Summæ Theologicæ Secunda Secundæ, Quæstio CLXXXII., Art. I, p.* 609 ; *Ed. Parm.*

‡ *Quæst. CLXXX., Art. VIII. ad* 2 ; *et Quæst. præc. Art. IV., ad* 3.

§ "Rachel vero ovis, vel videns principium *(ut Rachel dicatur quasi* raa chel, *id est, vidit principium)* interpretatur ; quia contemplativi simplices et innocentes sunt sicut oves, at ab omni tumultu sæculi alieni . . . ut videant illum qui ait: Ego sum principium qui loquor vobis." (Vid. Cornelii a Lapide *Commentarii in Scripturam Sacram, Tom. I. In Genesim, Cap. XXXIX., n.* 28, *p.* 245. *Parisiis, MDCCCLIV.)*

‖ *Moral., Lib. VI., Cap. XVIII., à princ.*

blear-eyed: (2) because the contemplative life can be more sustained than the active, though not in its highest degree; * hence Mary, who represented the contemplative life, is described as sitting assiduously at the feet of the Lord: (3) because there is more pleasure in the contemplative than in the active life, and it was this that made S. Augustine say that "whilst Martha was troubled, Mary rejoiced:" † (4) because in the contemplative life man is more independent of others, since those who practise it experience fewer wants; hence it is said in S. Luke: "Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things:" ‡ (5) because the contemplative life is loved more for its own sake, whilst the active is directed towards others. § Hence it is said in the Psalm: "One thing have I asked of the Lord, this will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life; that I may see the delight of the Lord:" || (6) because the contemplative life consists in a certain rest and repose, according to the Psalm: "Be still and see that I am God;" ¶ (7) because the contemplative life has to do with divine things, the active

* All the great Church bishops were the same. Bishop Eusebius of Vercelli (340—371) set the first example of monastic living. He introduced *Vita Communis* amongst his clergy. S. Martin of Tours (373—400) followed his example: from S. Augustine the practice spread into Italy, Gaul, and Spain. In fact, total abandonment of the world was looked upon as one of the first conditions for converting it. (For further information see Ginzel, *kanonische Lebensweise der Geistlichen, p.* 19; *Regensburg*, 1851.)

† *Lib. De Verbis Dom., Serm. XXVI., Cap. II., ante med.* [See *Opp. Omnia S. Augustini, Vol. V., Sermo CIV., p.* 616—619, *Migne.*]

‡ *Luke X.*, 41.

§ Even in his treatment of the mystic life the Saint keeps strictly to clear and logical method. How well Drioux speaks:—"Il évita le second [défaut] en procédant d'une façon si rigoureuse, que depuis le commencement de son vaste ouvrage jusqu'à la fin on marche de déductions en déductions d'après des principes constants et inevitables. Toutes ses divisions et toutes ses subdivisions sont justifiées par la logique la plus sévère, et il n'est pas possible de trouver un plan qui soit à la fois plus vaste, plus simple et plus naturel. Il embrasse tout, et chaque chose se trouve si parfaitement à sa place qu'on ne pense pas en parcourant ce vaste édifice qu'il soit possible d'assigner un autre ordre aux parties qui le component." *(La Somme Théologique de S. Thomas, Latin-Français en Regard, par* M. l'Abbé Drioux, *Introduction, Tome I., p.* 15; *Paris*, 1853.)

|| *Ps. XXVI.*, 4. ¶ *Ps. XLV.*, 11.

with human affairs. Hence S. Augustine * says: "'In the beginning was the Word'—behold whom it was that Mary heard: 'The Word was made Flesh'—behold whom it was that Martha served:" † (8) because the contemplative life has to do with that which is special to man, namely, the intellect, whilst those powers which we have in common with brutes take their share in the duties of the active life. Hence, after it is said in the Psalm: "Men and beasts wilt thou preserve O Lord," that is mentioned which is special to man, namely, "In Thy light we shall see light." ‡

Our Lord adds a ninth reason when he says: "Mary hath chosen the best part, which shall not be taken from her,"§ which S. Augustine expounds thus: "Your part is not bad, but hers is better. Listen why it is better: because it shall not be taken from her: one day you shall be relieved of the burden which oppresses you, but the sweetness of Truth is everlasting." ‖

Here, be it remarked, the three great elements which go to the construction of the "*Summa*" can be easily seen as they help in the building up of the Angelical's synthesis of theology,—Aristotle's

* Drioux notices how the whole *Summa* rests upon tradition, Scripture, and reason. He fully appreciates S. Thomas' mastery of the Fathers. "Si nous examinons le fond de l'ouvrage," he says," tout le monde reconnaîtra qu'il n'est pas possible de trouver une connaissance plus profonde des saintes Ecritures, des Pères de l'Eglise, des décisions des conciles et des papes, de la philosophie ancienne et de toutes les sciences naturelles . . . Saint Paul est parmi les écrivains sacrés celui qu'il cite le plus souvent . . . Parmi les Pères il a une prédilection marquée pour saint Augustin, mais il n'en rapporte pas moins les témoignages de saint Basile, de saint Ambroise, de saint Grégoire et de tous les autres docteurs, soit qu'ils paraissent contraires au sentiment qu'il soutient, soit qu'ils le confirment. Aristote est le philosophe ancien qu'il suit de préférence, mais on voit qu'il n'ignore pas la doctrine des platoniciens, des stoïciens et des autres grandes écoles de la Grèce. Il a lu Cicéron, et il sait retirer de son meilleur ouvrage philosophique [Les Tusculanes] les vérités les plus élevées qu'il renferme." (*La Somme Théologique de S. Thomas, Latin-Français en Regard, Tom. I., Introduction*, § 1, *p.* 16.)

† *Lib. De Verbis Dom., Serm. XXVII., Cap. II., circa med.* [*Loc. Cit.*]

‡ *Ps. XXXV.*, 8. § *Luke X.*, 42.

‖ *Lib. de Verbis Dom.* [*Loc. Cit.*]

Ethics representing Reason, S. Augustine standing for Tradition, and the words of our Lord Himself speaking with luminous distinctness, declaring the infallible teachings of the Scriptures. Whilst the pagan moral does not point beyond earth, S. Thomas points up to heaven. His spirit was too great to be satisfied with happiness that fails: he began to gaze upon the bright speck in the distance till it grew before his eyes and enlarged its disk, and unfolded before his contemplation into the effulgence of supernatural vision, imperfect here, yet never to be quenched, but rather to be perfected when Christ's Face shall be unveiled, and His glory shall appear.*

This second part of the "*Summa*" appeared in two large volumes, the first containing one hundred and fourteen questions, including six hundred and nineteen articles; the second nine hundred and seventeen articles, and one hundred and eighty-nine questions.†

On the appearance of the master portion of this work the General Chapter of the Dominicans, which was sitting at Florence, was besieged by

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* All the writers of the Saint's life speak of the extraordinary power that was given him of seeing things of the other world. (For example, see Frigerio, *Lib. III., Cap. III., p.* 137.)

† It is striking how the Angelical selects as his authorities in his *Summa* those special men who are specially strong upon the particular question under discussion. For instance, in the moral portion of the *Secunda Secundæ* there is S. Augustine; in Canon Law S. Isidore, Gratian, the *Decrees of the Popes*, and the *Corpus Juris Civilis*: in contemplation, S. Gregory the Great, S. Bernard, and Richard of S. Victor's: then in natural virtue Cicero, Sallust, Macrobius, &c.

applications from various universities, imploring the Fathers to send the Angelical to teach in their several schools. Bologna, fearing to lose him, did all in its power to persuade the Chapter to allow him to remain; Paris, for the third time, forwarded its warm petition;* Rome intreated that the greatest of theologians should be permitted to give *éclat* to the most Christian city of the world; whilst beautiful Naples, which years ago had been dazzled and charmed by his brilliancy and virtue as a youth, and which had not forgotten his early history, more fervently than all the rest prayed the Fathers in Chapter assembled to allow Brother Thomas to return to the University of which he had been so bright an ornament, to pour out his matured knowledge as a finished theologian. Charles, King of Sicily, joined in this supplication; and it was finally decided that the wishes so earnestly expressed by so admirable a Prince should prevail over all the rest.†

The Saint therefore left Bologna for Naples, and passed some little time in the old convent of

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* "L'Ecole de Paris faisoit ses diligences pour l'avoir une seconde ou troisième fois: elle ne manquoit pas de titres, pour exiger la préférence, puisqu'elle pouvoit toujours le regarder comme son éleve, et l'un de ses plus illustres membres. On ne nous a point conservé la Lettre, qui fut écrite à ce sujet; mais dans celle, que les mêmes Docteurs écrivirent deux ans après, au Chapitre Général des FF. Prêcheurs, qui se tenoit à Lyon, et qui est rapportée dans l'Histoire de l'Université de Paris, on y fait mention de celle-ci: *Cum eum à nostro Collegio, Generali Capitulo vestro Florentiæ celebrato requisissemus instanter, proh dolor! non potuimus obtinere.* Les Romains demandoient aussi la même faveur." (Touron, *Liv. III., Chap. VII., p.* 224—225.)

† See Bareille, *Histoire de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XXV., p.* 322, *Quatrième Edition.*

S. Sabina, where he renewed the recollection of his youthful years, when hurrying away from maternal influence at Naples, he had found peace in the palace-convent of Hyacinth and Ceslas, and comfort in the simple church where S. Dominic had loved so much to pray.* Here, where his little cell still may be seen, he commenced the third part of the "*Summa*," and wrote his Commentary on Boethius.

In due course he set out for Naples, and *en route* visited his old friend, Cardinal Richard, at whose country-house he had converted two Jewish Rabbies some years before. Here he fell ill, but he speedily recovered; then his *socius*, Reginald, was attacked by a violent and dangerous fever. The Angelical applied a relic of S. Agnes to the invalid, a relic which he carried about his person in admiration of the spotlessness of the Saint, and Reginald was instantly and wholly cured.† An adequate idea of the enthusiasm of the entire population when S. Thomas entered Naples cannot be conveyed

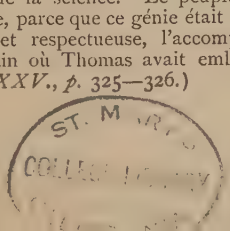
* See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. VI., p.* 102.

† Speaking of the Angelical's faith in the intercession of the Saints, the *Vita* says:—"Delche l'essempio ne diede quel, che con Reginaldo le avenne: imperoche essendosi infermato; e visitandolo san Tomaso, lo ritrovò dal male aggravato; e come che di perfetto medico professione faceva; prima consolandolo, acchioche il male comportato havesse: e poscia delle consolationi operando i corporali; ma divini rimedij, l'essortò, che havesse ricorso alla beata Agnese, pregandola, che socorrer gli dovesse, che per i suoi meriti haverebbe ottenuto appresso all'onnipotente Dio la sanità, e li pose sopra la testa alcune reliquie della sudetta santa Agnese, che lui portava adosso del continuo, per essere molto divoto di quella Santa: e gli disse, ch'egli havesse divotione a quella benedetta Vergine: Ilche fatto, l'infermo si sentì subito sano." (*Vita di San Tomaso d'Aquino, p.* 30; Touron, *Liv. III., Chap. VII., p.* 225; Bareille, *Chap. XXV., p.* 323.)

by mere description. It was, historians say, a genuine ovation. It recalls to mind the reception of S. Athanasius in Alexandria.* The whole city turned out to meet the man of God. The highway was one sea of human heads, which flowed steadily in one direction, when, touching upon the simple *cortège* of the Angelical, and surrounding him, and almost swallowing him up, it gradually flowed back towards the city. Frantic were the shouts of joy amongst the people, wildly and enthusiastically they bore their prize along towards the great convent of S. Dominic;† triumphant was the entry. His genius and gentleness captivated serious and learned men; the orator saw in him one possessed, if not of powers of display, of marvellous powers of persuasion; religious men in looking on him beheld the champion of their order, and a pattern to be copied only at a distance; theologians saw him, and felt that he was beyond the range of envy; kings and nobles recognized under the rough tunic of the Friar the bluest and purest blood of Italy, whilst the poorest of the poor, and the unlettered simpleton,

* See *Chap. III., p.* 306 *of this Volume.*

† "Son entrée dans cette ville fut un véritable triomphe; et ce triomphe était d'autant plus beau, qu'il avait été plus spontané, plus universel. Toutes les classes de la société se pressèrent avec un égal enthousiasme sur les pas de Thomas d'Aquin. La gloire de cet homme répondait à tous les sentiments, à toutes les idées. Les lettrés, les grands et toute la population des écoles accouraient pour contempler la plus haute personnification de la science. Le peuple lui-même se précipitait à la rencontre du génie, parce que ce génie était un religieux et un saint . . . La foule, émue et respectueuse, l'accompagna jusqu'aux portes de ce couvent dominicain où Thomas avait embrassé la profession religieuse." (Bareille, *Chap. XXV., p.* 325—326.)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in casting their eyes upon the great Angelical, remembered how he had abandoned all earth could offer, and all that pride of place could give, to serve God, like them, in the midst of poverty and in company of the poor.

To the Angelical himself it must have been a strange sensation to feel himself borne along in the surging frantic crowd, if he was not altogether unconscious of their jubilant applause—to find himself the idol of that hour, if he was not still serenely living in the sunlight of the upper world. Anyhow, he speedily set himself once more to his accustomed work, lecturing, preaching, contemplating, corresponding, and penning the remainder of the "*Summa Theologica.*"* Here he was in his old city once again which he had known so well in early boyhood; where, as an infant, he was taken to the baths; where the bright light had shone around his brow;† where our Lady chose him for her own;‡ and where he first learnt to love S. Dominic, and to exercise his extraordinary powers of logic and of memory. Here he was comparatively within easy distance of Rocca Sicca, San Giovanni, Loreto, Belcastro, and Cassino—of his old haunts where he had spent so many pleasant days. It almost seemed as if a pilgrim had come home again after a long absence

* See Bareille, *Chap. XXV., p.* 328; Touron, *Liv. III., Chap. VII., p.* 227.

† See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. I., p.* 6—7.

‡ See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. I., p.* 6.

in an alien land—home again to labour a little more, to rest, and then to die.*

During the year and a half he was at Naples, he composed several important works. He finished his Commentary on the first fifty Psalms, and did all he was destined to do to the "*Summa Theologica.*" He wrote ninety questions, including five hundred and forty-nine articles of the third part: and though he did not absolutely complete his great scheme, he had, in reality, finished it in the main, after he had treated of the Incarnation, and had drawn out a scientific exposition of the knowledge, grace, and perfections of Christ, of the mysteries of His life, and of His merits and His passion.

This third part then dwells on three great subjects, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the Sacraments of the New Law, and the General Judgment, thus completing the circle of salvation—beginning with God as man's Maker, and ending with Him as his Judge. And although the Angelical did not get beyond the Treatise on Penance, still this third part was made up of extracts from his other works. The treatment

* The king not only petitioned to have the Angelical at the University of Naples, but he also paid a pension for him:—"Neapoli igitur regiis stipendiis sacram disciplinam docuit usque ad vitæ exitum, et narrant historici præstitutam illi fuisse mercedem unius unciæ auri per singulos menses." (See *Ellogium Historicum, Opp. Omnia*, S. Thomæ Aquinatis, *p.* 26, *Vol. I.)* And in commemoration of the above the following inscription has been written:—"*Viator, huc ingrediens siste gradum, atque venerare hanc imaginem et cathedram in qua sedens Mag. ille Thomas de Aquino de Neap. cum frequente, ut par erat, auditorum concursu, et illius sæculi felicitate admirabili, doctrinam Theologicam docebat.*" *(Loc. Cit.)*

on our Lord falls into two main portions, one dwelling on His Person, the other on His life and works.*

First, S. Thomas speaks of the hypostatic union in itself, of the person assuming human nature, of the nature assumed, of the parts of human nature, and of the order of its assumption; next of the accompanying gifts, of the grace of Christ as man, and as Head of the Church; of His knowledge in general, of the knowledge possessed by His soul, of infused and experimental knowledge, and of the power of the soul of Christ: then of the defects which He assumed as to His body, and as to His soul; then again of the results of the union as they affect Christ himself, as to His being, His will, His operation; as they regard the Eternal Father in respect of subjection, prayer, priesthood, adoption, predestination; and finally as they influence us in respect of adoration, and of the Lord's mediatorial office in regard of His creatures. His work on earth, His passion, and His glorification fall under four heads: His coming into the world, His progress through the

* The *Prologus* shows the scope:—"Quia Salvator noster Dominus Jesus Christus, teste angelo, *populum suum salvum faciens a peccatis eorum*, viam veritatis nobis in seipso demonstravit, per quam ad consummationem totius theologici negotii, post considerationem ultimi finis humanæ vitæ et virtutum ac vitiorum, de ipso omnium Salvatore ac beneficiis ejus humano generi præstitis nostra consideratio subsequatur. Circa quam (1) considerandum occurrit de ipso Salvatore; (2) de sacramentis ejus, quibus salutem consequimur; (3) de fine immortalis vitæ, ad quam per ipsum resurgendo pervenimus. Circa primum duplex consideratio occurrit: prima est de ipso Incarnationis mysterio, secundum quod Deus pro nostra salute factus est homo; secunda de his quæ per ipsum Salvatorem nostrum, idest, Deum incarnatum, sunt acta et passa." (Sancti Thomæ Aquinatis *Summa Theologica*, *Pars Tertia*, *Prologus p.* 1, *Vol. IV.*)

world, His going out of it, and His exaltation, which begin with the twenty-seventh and end with the fifty-ninth question.*

And in this we have an outline of the great moral instrument for forming men into Christians. Here we see the influence of the Solitaries, whose companionship was with Christ, of the Fathers who lived to Him alone, and of the great Founders of Monastic Orders, whose one end and aim was to reproduce His likeness upon the earth.† Here we perceive the influence of S. Anthony and his courageous abandonment in the desert; of S. Athanasius and his indomitable battling in the cause of the Word Incarnate in the world; of S.

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* The whole history of redemption, as drawn out in this portion of the *Summa Theologica*, can be taken in at a glance, by looking at the following scheme :—"Das Wirken und Leiden Christi wird unter die vier Kategorien des *ingressus*, *progressus*, *egressus* und *exaltatio* Christi gebracht, jede abermals vier Momente in sich fassend :

I.	II.	III.	IV.
INGRESSUS :	PROGRESSUS :	EGRESSUS :	EXALTATIO :
1. Empfängniss (*qu.* 27—34),	1. Wandel (*qu.* 40),	1. Leiden (*qu.* 46—49),	1. Auferstehung (*qu.* 53—56),
2. Geburt (*qu.* 35. 36),	2. Versuchung (*qu.* 41),	2. Tod (*qu.* 50),	2. Himmelfahrt (*qu.* 57),
3. Beschneidung (*qu.* 37),	3. Lehre (*qu.* 42),	3. Begräbniss (*qu.* 51),	3. Thronen zur Rechten des Vaters (*qu.* 58),
4. Taufe (*qu.* 38. 39),	4. Wunder (*qu.* 43-45),	4. Höllenfahrt (*qu.* 52),	4. Wiederkunft zum Gerichte (*qu.* 59)."

—Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Fünftes Capitel, p.* 819—820.

† It is in this that the influence of the monastic system of theology which flourished at S. Victor's is perceptible in the method of S. Thomas, namely, that he aims, not only at displaying the scientific figure of theology, but at turning out *monastic men ;* that is, men of holocaustic sacrifice, men of adoring love, men of singleness of purpose, Christians in every way complete. This comes out with great clearness when a comparison is instituted between the system of the Victorines and that of our Saint. The Eastern Fathers gave breadth, the Latin solidity, the Greek force, and the Victorines direction. (See *the First Volume of this work, Chap. XI., XII., p.* 198—269.)

Basil and S. Gregory *Theologus* in their abiding adoration of His Image; of S. Chrysostom whose life was lived away in defending His revelation; of S. Jerome and S. Augustine, who, out of love of Him, quelled the giant rebellion of their natures; and of S. Ambrose and S. Gregory the Great, who, in moulding their intellects and hearts on His model, were enabled in turn to fashion the civil order of society according to the methods of the Cross.* The Christ-principle which animated them, was paramount in the will and reason of Thomas of Aquino. If his one real striving was to conform himself to the image of the Saviour, his one solitary ambition was to construct a scheme or instrument for forming men after the same pattern; for elevating, purifying, and widening their natures; and for filling them with the force and generosity, with the purity and charity of the Crucified. All that is mighty in intellect, and all that is sovereign in will, by the action of this organism, can be turned towards the noblest end in imperishable endurance.† The rulers of the Church here can

* Who knows in these days how to control the masses as S. Athanasius did, and S. Basil, and S. Chrysostom? Who possesses their divine largeness, their nerve, and yet their gentleness and delicacy of feeling, their sweetness and yet their force of character?

† It at once occurs to any calm and judicial mind that it is visionary to hope that the "*Summa Theologica*" will ever become a text-book amongst educating men. Truly, one thing is practice, another is theory. It may be visionary to anticipate that a theory will be adopted soon which seems far removed from people's thoughts. The men in Plato's cave or den believed in shadows, and were ready to put any one "to death" who attempted to undeceive them. But the fact of men's obstinacy in error does not make it less necessary to proclaim the truth, rather the more so, and that often and repeatedly. However soundly men may sleep they

see the nature of true force of character, true justice, true benignity, and breadth of view; here they are taught that noble art which combines giant strength with divine gentleness, whilst they learn how to exhibit the uprightness of a judge with the tender consideration of a father. Here the theologian or philosopher can instruct himself in the hidden mysteries of true development of mind, of expansion and accuracy, of grasp and steadiness, in the intuitions of faith, and in the deductions of the reason: here man's brain, if he will but open it, may be flooded with light, and invigorated by an element which is next door to a revelation; here, in a word, is exhibited a complicated yet sublimely-simple moral machine, constructed by the illuminated genius of a Saint, for widening all the faculties, ennobling the character, and fashioning the intellect of man upon the highest principles of Christianity.

If the impression on the wax is exquisite, equally perfect must be the die sunk into the steel, that is to say, the theory of the *Summa Theologica* must exactly correspond with its impress on the soul in the order of active life. And as each delicate line, and spiral whorl, and gentle curve which goes to form the whole design is brought

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wake at last if they are shaken rudely enough. It is difficult to convert the worshippers of false gods or of home-made idols. But if there is a way of doing so it is by thrusting before their attention the true theory of life, and before their eyes the highest models of the same: that is, the "*Summa*" of S. Thomas and the Fathers of the Church.

into existence by the very act of stamping out every pre-existing form, so is it with the "*Summa*" of S. Thomas.* The perfect Christian theory is the annihilation of all other schemes which do not harmonize with it, be they founded on philosophy, politics, or religion ; and the perfect Christian man, by the very act of being what he is, becomes an active foe and sworn antagonist to every principle in the order of action and ideas which crosses the imprint of Christ's image on the heart. Thus the "*Summa Theologica*" is not only a colossal challenge to the unbelieving world, but it is a mighty instrument for creating patristic men, and turning out matchless champions of the Cross. It simply embodies the principles which animated the soul of S. Anthony in the desert, and of S.

* It may be objected that the Angelical did not wholly catch the traditionary teaching of the Church, for example, in his treatment of the Immaculate Conception. There is no doubt that he held the Lombard's view when he wrote his Tract on the "*Salutatio Angelica.*" (See *Vol. I. of this work, Chap. XXI., p.* 602 ; *note*, also *Opusc. VI., p.* 133) ; but there are not wanting grave authorities who maintain that the Saint held and taught the revealed doctrine in his more important works. Let Werner speak :—"Dass Thomas die Lehre von der unbefleckten Empfängniss Mariä bestritten, ist nicht sicher festgestellt, obwol die ihm zugeschriebene Lehre von einer nachfolgenden Heiligung der in Schuld empfangenen Jungfrau nach dem Vorgange eines Johannes Damascenus, Radbertus Paschasius, Ratramnus, Anselmus, Hildebert, Bernardus, Richard von St. Victor, Engelbert, Odo von Cambrai, Petrus Venerabilis, Albertus Magnus nicht überraschen kann und sogar als seine wahrscheinliche Ansicht zu vermuthen wäre. Indess muss bemerkt werden, dass zu wiederholten Malen, neuerlichst durch Cardinal Lambruschini (*De immaculato Virginis conceptu*, Rom. 1842) behauptet worden ist, die Schriften des heiligen Thomas seien von späteren Abschreibern an verschiedenen Stellen, namentlich jenen, welche über die unbefleckte Empfängniss handeln, gefälscht worden. Von geflissentlichen Textveränderungen spricht bereits Joannes Nicolajus in seiner Vorrede zur Pariser Ausgabe von Thomas' Werken (1663) ; Lambruschini bemerkt, dass die Stelle : *nec ante animationem, nec in animatione, sed post animationem sanctificata* u. s. w., welche 3 *qu*, 27, *art.* 2 zu lesen ist, in mehreren alten Handschriften sich nicht finde." (*Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel, p.* 868, *note.*)

Athanasius, S. Basil, and S. Gregory, in the world.

And though his own great specialty was contemplation, though he shrank away from active life, S. Thomas was not moved one hair's breadth in the just balance of his mind. His perfect type of highest perfection is not exclusive contemplation after all. The outcome of his "*Summa Theologica*," the noblest and the best which that huge moral instrument would aim at turning out, points straight at those great specimen-men who have been spoken of before, those who, anointed with the unction of the Episcopate, possess the plenitude of the priesthood, and cherish in the centre of the heart, from the very nature of their calling, that self-immolating heroism which is the life-spring of noble deeds.* It is not the pure contemplative, nor is it the man of pure action, who represents the pattern Christian of the Angelical: but it is he who, from the very overflow of his contemplating spirit, pours out upon others the riches of his piety and the fulness of knowledge;

* And in drawing out his theory of perfection the Angelical makes use of those very men who have already been brought forward as types of the noblest class of Christian heroes: indeed, not only they are quoted, but others also; for example, in *Quæstio CLXXX., Art. I., p.* 599, S. Gregory the Great is quoted five times; in the next *Quæstio* four times, as well as S. Augustine's *Soliloquies;* in the next, Richard of S. Victor's, S. Bernard, Denis, and S. Augustine; in the next, Richard of S. Victor's again, and S. Bernard, and S. Gregory the Great. S. Gregory the Great would, naturally, be most frequently referred to; for, being a Benedictine, his special gift would be contemplation: but the other great Fathers exert their influence, and it is clear enough to any student of the lives of those great masters, and of the *Summa* of S. Thomas, whence the latter drew his views and principles of the perfection of the moral man.

who, if he has not actually renounced all created things, is prepared to do so in his heart, and to trample on them out of love of God and man; who, "*ex abundantia dilectionis divinæ*," in the wideness of his charity, embraces all mankind, and, as it were, possesses, through the nobility of nature and of grace, those highest gifts of sacrifice, charity, and tenderness, which others generally acquire through the pressure of rule and the yoke of self-restraint.* Whilst the religious, under vow, is striving towards perfection, the bishop holds a position which implies that he is already perfect: he is the Head and Crown of the moral order, the king and pattern of every perfection of mind and heart: his depth of contemplation only renders his actions more divine; and his actions, from their very purity, stimulate his intelligence in the practices of contemplation,—they are, with him, the steps by which he mounts up into the kingdom, and enters the threshold of the Holy Court.†

* Riess, in his learned article headed *Aristotélisme* in Goschler's *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* says:—"S. Thomas sembla renverser le rapport établi entre la théologie et la philosophie en plaçant, avec Aristote, la science au dessus de l'action; mais il est vrai que, s'il voit dans la science le but suprême, il lui donne un sens essentiellement pratique et religieux, puisqu'elle n'est autre chose pour lui que la contemplation des bienheureux; et de plus il dit expressément que la science théologique est une science pratique, qui, partant de la foi révélée, est bien superieure à la science qui n'est que le résultat de la pensée théorique et de la raison naturelle des philosophes." (*Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de la Théologie Catholique, traduit de l'Allemand par.* I. Goschler, *Tom. I., p.* 535; *Paris*, 1869. *Troisième Edition.*)

† The following objection and its answer will show clearly in what light the Angelical looked upon Episcopal perfection, and manifests his facile acquaintance with the Fathers. This is the *objection*:—"Præterea, perfectio principalis consistit in dilectione Dei quam in dilectione proximi. Sed status religiosorum directe ordinatur ad dilectionem Dei; unde et ex Dei servitio et famulatu nominantur, ut *Dionysius* dicit 6 cap. eccl. Hierarch. ante med. Status autem Episcoporum videtur ordinari ad

What, then, is the practical object of the "*Summa Theologica?*" Is it not to furnish us with the moral frame-work upon which are fashioned the greatest and best of men? Does not the culminating point just mentioned, as it were, usher into our very presence, those great classic Fathers whose lives have been sketched already? Does not the Angelical seem to say, "Here is the instrument by which men made of clay, through the grace of God, can be transformed into lights of the world and salt of the earth." Let the full force of the "*Summa Theologica*" be brought to bear upon a soul of noble original nature and high intellectual gifts, only let the plastic mind and tender heart be moulded, and stamped by such a die as this, and the result in the contemplative order may be a S. Thomas, a S. Anthony, or a S. Jerome; in the active, a S. Chrysostom, a S. Augustine, or a S. Gregory the Great.* The supreme in intellect and the supreme in will, here find their place.†

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dilectionem proximi, cujus curæ superintendunt, unde et nominantur, ut patet per *Augustinum*, 19 de Civit. Dei (cap. 19, a med.). Ergo videtur quod status religiosorum sit perfectior quam status Episcoporum." This is the *reply*:—"Ad secundum dicendum quod hoc ipsum quod Episcopi intendunt his quæ pertinent ad proximorum dilectionem, provenit ex abundantia dilectionis divinæ. Unde Dominus primo a Petro quæsivit ut eum diligeret; et postea ei sui gregis curam commisit: et *Gregorius* dicit in Pastorali part. I., cap. 5, parum ante med.: *Si dilectionis testimonium est cura pastoralis, quisquis virtutibus pollens gregem Dei renuit pascere, Pastorem summum convincitur non amare.* Hoc autem est majoris dilectionis signum, ut homo propter amicum etiam alii serviat quam si soli amico velit servire." *(Summa Theologica Secunda Secundæ, Quæst. CLXXXIV., Art. VII., p.* 620—621; *Vol. III.)*

* Does not the Church herself draw the picture of these same great athletes in her service *De Consecratione Electi Episcopi?* (See *Pontificale Romanum, p.* 58—83; *Romæ*, 1849.)

† See *Chap. II., p.* 127—129 *of this Volume.*

If the Episcopal estate represents the Angelical's highest pattern, the monastic represents the next in eminence.* The monk is but striving after that sublime perfection which the bishop already has attained. His instruments are potent ones,—forces which give his spirit freedom; poverty, that is, trampling on perishing clay, that he may be free to embrace eternal light; chastity, that is, abandonment of earthly ties, that his only bond may be in heaven; and obedience, that, under the mighty will of God, he may shake off the despicable slavery of self: and all this under a solemn irrevocable vow, that human weakness may not prevaricate and look back upon the flames in which all its fetters have been consumed. Such as these were the men of the *Collationes Patrum*, of whom the Angelical loved to read. Here we see S. Anthony,† S. Pachomius, and S. Arsenius, S. Benedict, S. Dominic, and S. Francis of Assisi.‡

Such, then, are the two great classes of pattern

* It might be remembered that the author is not inventing here a teaching of his own, but simply putting into English the teaching of S. Thomas.

† With what power the Angelical grasped the issues of the solitary life! He saw clearly how spiritually strong a man must be to live by himself; and how mighty those were who succeeded in doing so!—"Id quod est solitarium debet esse sibi per se sufficiens. Hoc autem est cui nihil deest, quod pertinet ad rationem perfecti . . . Sicut ergo id quod jam perfectum est, præeminet ei quod ad perfectionem exercetur, ita vita solitariorum, si debite assumatur, preeminet vitæ sociali. Si autem absque præcedenti exercitio talis vita assumatur, est periculosissima, nisi per divinam gratiam suppleatur quod in aliis per exercitium acquiritur; sicut patet de beatis *Antonio* et *Benedicto*." (*Summa Theologica*, *Secunda Secundæ*, *Quæst. CLXXXVIII.*, *Art. VIII.*, *p.* 656—657, *Vol. III.*)

‡ It is clear now, why the Angelical made the defence of the Religious Orders such a cardinal point, and why so much space was dedicated to this question in the *First Volume of this work*. (See *Chapters XXIII. and XXIV.*, *p.* 673—808.)

men ; such are the instruments which the Angelical saw clearly were wanting to the world. The "*Summa*" was his moral machine for making salt and light—for turning out detached men, men of incorrupt life, of illuminated and widened charity. He wished to bring the Fathers back. Rationalism, which is simply the sharp edge of one side of the human mind, would, by degrees, break up like frost before the sun, when brought in contact with them; irreverence could hardly be irreverent in the august presence of men so truly great; whilst heresy and schism would find opponents filled with the light of knowledge and the flame of love. Could S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Augustine, S. Jerome, and S. Gregory the Great be multiplied on earth, there would indeed be many a fierce battle, but there would also be many a crushing victory.*

But it will be asked, Does the Angelical expect all men to be bishops and monastic men? Assuredly not. He would be the first to say that all are not called to be, and, from the nature of the case, cannot be patterns for the world. Models and patterns are few in every order. They are

* It was because he was master of a sound and integral dogmatic teaching, that the Angelical was capable of building up such a splendid moral system. To teach morality without dogma, is to build a house without foundations : to teach it without an infallible substratum of positive theology, is to build upon the sand. The height, depth, and solidity of the *Summa's* method of developing the divine in man, and elevating the human, is accounted for by its complete mastery of the Traditionary and Scriptural Dogmatic Teaching of the Church. The house stands, because it is built upon a Rock.

made for the rest to look upon, and, in their place and measure, to imitate. The theologian and the contemplative will find his type in the Angelical; the statesman in S. Athanasius, S. Ambrose, and S. Gregory the Great; the orator in S. John Chrysostom; the recluse in S. Anthony; the poet in S. Gregory *Theologus;* the champion of liberty and freedom in S. Basil; the controversialist in S. Augustine; whilst the monastic state itself holds out to view true principles of progress, stability and freedom, of government, self-restraint and self-forgetfulness, in the very construction and mechanism of religious life. What the bishop and the monk carry out *ad litteram*, that the rest should aim at in spirit and at a distance.

The world is not reformed, the civil order is not conquered, by great ideas alone, nor simply by courageous and gifted men: it can be subdued by these in combination only. Society has lost her standards, her pattern heroes; the high theory of Christian life is fading out of the mind of men. A thousand discordant voices cry, a thousand hideous forms are lifted before the eyes; and the world becomes confused in the midst of the delirium of rampant pride and passion, of hideous democracy, and the fury of the half-educated masses.* Set up, before it is too late, the chaste,

* In the *Summa* are laid down the true *Principles of the Rights of Man*. One error will ever litigate with another error; but let Truth prevail, not piece-meal, but in its integrity, and then in its good time it will not only light up the darkness but it will calm the storm; and civil

the pure, the tender Saints of God, the tramplers upon wealth, the lovers of the poor, the champions of true freedom, true beneficence, which forgets self in the very act of giving, which stamps upon pride in its very effort after good, and never feels itself to be so rich as when it is pouring itself out for the benefit of others. Pull the pagan patterns down: set up the heroes of the Cross: educate men, not on the morality of the Stagyrite, but on that of the Angelical. Let the "*Summa Theologica*" * take the place of the Ethics of the infidel, and let the Kings of Christianity be set before the angry eyes of the ever-growing populations of the world, to tame them into subjection

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society will find its *equilibrium*. If rulers and the thinking men of a country were formed upon the *Summa* and stamped with its impress, then Truth and Justice would, in part, at least, take the place of the five or six millions of armed men who maintain a precarious peace with steel and gunpowder. Lasting security proceeds from within the heart—it is not to be preserved by cultivated brute-force displaying itself with a soldier's uniform, or a policeman's stick.

* Regarding the intuition of the Angelical in matters of Tradition, these words may be added to what has already been quoted *(p. 902, note)*, from Werner's *Life*:—"Der Dominicaner Philipp Bromiard († 1390) beruft sich in seiner *Summa Prædicantium* im Artikel *Maria* auf 3 *qu.* 27, *art.* 2, um zu erhärten, dass der Vorzug der Heiligung Maria's darin bestehe, dass sie in Animationsacte, d. i. im Momente, als ihr Leib beseelt wurde, geheiligt worden sei. In demselben Artikel wird gesagt, dass die römische Kirche zwar nicht selber das Fest der *Immaculata Conceptio* feiere, aber dessen Feier in anderen Kirchen tolerire, daher die Behauptung einer unbefleckten Empfängniss Maria's nicht *totaliter* zu verwerfen sei, obwol die Kirche—wie er hinzufügt—durch diese Toleranz nur zu erkennen gebe, dass es ungewiss sei, wann Maria geheiligt worden sei; auch bestehe das Fest nicht zu Ehren der Empfängniss, sondern der Heiligung Maria's. Als eine vorzüglich beweisende Stelle wird besonders 1 *dist.* 44, *qu.* 2, art. 4 ad 3^{tium} betont — : *Talis fuit puritas beatæ virginis, quæ peccato originali et actuali immunis fuit.* In 1 *dist.* 17, *qu.* 2, *art.* 4 heisst es : *In beata Virgine fuit depuratio ab omni peccato, ideo pervenit ad summum puritatis.* Es ist indessen die Frage, ob der Ausdruck *depuratio* nicht eine vorausgehende Unreinheit voraussetze, wenn schon nicht der Zeit, so doch der Sache nach, worauf auch Thomas' obige Aeusserung über das Fest der unbefleckten Empfängniss hinzudeuten scheint." *(Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel, p. 868—869, note.)*

by the meekness and giant power of their lives, to show them that a system of religion and world-government still remains, which, whilst it teaches princes to be poor and humble, renders them so supremely great, that the wayfaring man has but to see them to acknowledge that their sovereignty is hallowed by the intrinsic royalty of their characters and hearts.

The masses of the people have a certain instinct within them, which, though it does not see truth, is ever restlessly seeking after it; and they will, without remorse, break down polities and institutions until they find it. The day must come when the standards shall be set up; whether that day will dawn after a sea of blood and tears has purified the land, or whether the horrors now casting their shadows at our feet will be averted by thrusting truth boldly before the world, a prophet only could determine. The day has passed for mere material politicians. *Divine* patterns alone can work a cure. If there is an instrument for forming them, it is the "*Summa Theologica*;" if they ever exist at all, they will be to their own age what S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, and S. Gregory the Great were to days gone by. They will be as lights and beacons, proclaiming, not so much in blatant words, but rather in their private and public lives, those principles which speak to the hearts of restless multitudes, and preach the

divine teachings of the Crucified. In their coming pagan philosophy, materialism in religion, dogmatic "science," and the coarse cunning of the demagogue, as well as the refined inanity of those who are too weak to be very wicked, will be lighted up by the flames of truth.* Men filled with the Spirit seem doubly transfigured in the presence of men of clay. Men formed upon the "*Summa*"—which itself is compacted of Tradition, Reason, and Scripture—would, by their very presence, were they placed before the eye of the world, command a veneration and secure a respect which is elicited neither by power nor position, and which the diplomacy of statesmen is too crafty to attain. Purity, Truth, Justice, and Gentleness, springing from an intellect and heart moulded on Christ-principles, alone could stem the torrent, and cast a light into the darkness of our day.

It was the Christ-principle of the Benedictine Pope, S. Gregory the Great, and of S. Augustine, the Benedictine Monk, which converted England to freedom, to order, and to faith, in days gone by; it is their principle, and their principle only,

* Take our own Island! "We are told by public authority," says the Archbishop of Westminster, "that one-half of the people of England never set their foot in a place of worship. Whether the calculation be true or not, I leave to those who made it to determine; but we are told, and I repeat what I have heard, that in this city of London, one-half—that is, a million and a half of men—on this very day [Sunday], and at this very hour at which I am speaking, neither have been, nor in the course of this day will be, in any place of Christian worship. May I not well say, then, the salt has lost its savour?" (See *The Fourfold Sovereignty of God*, *Lecture VI.*, *p.* 157—158, by Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster.)

though it may be under modified conditions, that will introduce into our threatening chaos, into our increasing darkness, into our growing peril from the people, such elements of reverence and liberty, of progress and obedience, of enlightened science and unswerving faith, as alone are able to secure to a mighty nation that cohesive force, that expansive elasticity, and that graduated order of development which constitute the difference between a national *cadaver*, and a body politic animated from end to end by the healthiest energies of a spontaneous yet regulated life.—But to return to S. Thomas and his gentle mystic life.

As he approached the end of his great labours on the "*Summa*," his spirit, which had from his boyhood been living in the world unseen, became more and more absorbed by heavenly things.*

* The following *Opuscula* have been ascribed to the Saint, but are of very doubtful authenticity :—"Scriptum super quatuor libros M. Sententiarum ad Annibaldum Annibaldensem cardinalem.—De Præscientia et prædestinatione.—Postilla seu Expositio Aurea in Librum Geneseos.—Expositio in Danielem Prophetam.—Expositio in I. et II. Machabæorum.—Commentarium in VII. Epistolas Canonicas.—Commentaria II. in B. Joannis Apocalypsin.—Commentarium super Libros Boëtii de Consolatu Philosophico.—Expositio in Tractatum Boëtii de Scholarium Disciplina.—De Motoribus Corporum Cœlestium.—Sermones.—De Secreto (Quæstiones).—Officium de Festo S. Augustini.—Piæ preces." *(Vol. XXII.—XXIV., etc. Edit. Parm.)*

These are, at least, uncertain :—"*Opusc. XLIX.*—De intellectu et intelligibili ; *Opusc. LI.*—De Venerabili Sacramento Altaris [probably by Albertus Magnus ; see Rubeis, who says *(Dissert. XXI.) non sunt Aquinatis*] ; *Opusc. LII.*—De Sacramento Eucharistiæ ad modum prædicamentorum ; *Opusc. LIII.*—De humanitate, D.N.J.C. ; *Opusc. LXVII.*—De quo est, et quod est ; *Opusc. LXVIII.*—Tractatus de adventu et statu et vita antichristi ; *Opusc. LXIX.*—Tractatus de præambulis ad judicium, et de ipso judicio et ipsum concomitantibus ; *Opusc. XXXVII.*—De Eruditione Principum, Libb. VII."

These are spurious :—"*Opusc. VIII.*—De Articulis centum et octo sumptis ex opere Petri de Tarantasia ; *Opusc. L.*—De Universalibus, Tractatus I. et II. ; *Opusc. LIV.*—De dilectione Dei et proximi ; *Opusc.*

His trances and ecstasies became more frequent, his converse with the other world more preternatural, his visions and his gift of prophecy, his absorption, and his knowledge of men's thoughts, more astonishing. The Hand of God seems to have been placed upon him with stronger pressure, and that bright transfiguration, which is perfected in Heaven through the Beatific Vision, appears almost to have been begun on earth. As the fruit in the sunlight, day by day ripens, growing in fulness and deepening in colour, till at length it is ready to drop golden from the bough, so the great Angelical seems to have advanced steadily and gradually to his spiritual perfection, till, mature for Heaven, he was gathered by a Divine Hand, and garnered into the Everlasting Home.

Indeed, he not only dwelt in the Unseen World, but he absolutely conversed with its inhabitants; so that what was hidden from the gaze of ordinary mortals became visible to him,—what we see, was, as it were, withdrawn from him; what is veiled from our senses, was miraculously opened before his eyes.*

LV.—De Divinis Moribus; *Opusc. LVI.*—De beatitudine; *Opusc. LVII.*—De modo confitendi, et de puritate conscientiæ; *Opusc. LVIII.*—De officio sacerdotis; *Opusc. LIX.*—Expositio missæ; *Opusc. LX.*—De emptione et venditione ad tempus, seu ad terminum; *Opusc. LXIV.*—De vitiis et virtutibus deque aliis numero quaternario procedentibus; *Opusc. LXV.*—De concordantiis dictorum, in quo concordat seipsum in passibus apparenter contrariis; *Opusc. LXVI.*—De usuris in communi, et de usurarum contractibus." *(Vol. XVI.—XVII. Edit. Parm.)*

* The principal editions of the works of S. Thomas are the following:—"*Opera Omnia, Romæ*, Voll. XVII., 1570; *Venetiis*, Voll. XVII., 1592; *Antverpiensis*, Voll. XVIII., 1612; *Parisiensis*, Voll. XXIII.,

For instance, at Paris, his sister who had died appeared to him in vision, said she was in purgatory, and implored masses for her soul: the Angelical requested his students to say mass, and pray for her. Shortly after, she appeared to him in Rome, and said she was in glory. He asked her about himself. She said: "Thou standest well, brother, and wilt join us speedily: but a greater glory is prepared for thee than for us. Preserve, however, what thou hast." He asked after Landulf. She said he was in the penal fire.* Again, whilst praying, according to his custom, in the Church at Naples, B. Romanus, whom he had left in Paris as Master of theology, stood before him. S. Thomas approached his friend, and said:

1660; *Veneta II.*, Voll. XXVIII., 4°, 1745; *Parmæ*, Voll. XXIV., 4°, 1852—1859; *Parisiensis*, Voll. XV., 8°, 1853.

Summa Theologica, *Basileæ*, Voll. IV., 1489; *Venet.*, Voll. IV., 1494; *Coloniæ*, fol., 1499; *Antverpiæ*, 1575; *Romæ*, Voll. XII., 12°; *Parisiis*, 1647; *Lugduni*, 1677; *Parisiis*, Voll. IV., 1663; *Lugduni*, 1701; *Romæ*, Voll. X., fol., 1773; *Patavii*, Voll. V., fol., 1698; *Patavii*, Voll. XII., 12°, 1712; *Parisiis* (Migne), 1846;—and Abbé Migne alone has sold over 7,000 copies of the "*Summa Theologica*;"—Drioux, Voll. XV., 8°, 1853.

Summæ Prima Pars inter 1462—1467, inter 1473 et 1477; *Secundæ Prima Pars*, *Moguntiæ*, fol., 1471; *Venet.*, fol., 1483; *Secunda Secundæ*, fol., 1466, 1472; *Romæ*, 1474; *Tertia Pars*, *Venet.*, fol., 1477; *Quarta Pars*, 1480; *Quæstiones Secundi Lib. Secund. Partis*, *Mantuæ*, 4°, 1472; *Summa de Articulis Fidei*, 4°, 1460; *De Veritate Catholicæ Fidei*, *Romæ*, fol., 1475; *Coloniæ*, 1475; *Venet.*, 1476, 1480; *Quæstiones Quodlib.*, *Coloniæ*, 1471, 1473; *Norhimb.*, 1475; *Ulmæ*, 1475, 1476; Quatriscriptum in Libb. Magistri Sentent. *Moguntiæ*, fol., 1469; In Libros Sentent., *Coloniæ*, fol., 1481; Super I. et II. Sentent., 1498; Super III. Sentent. *Coloniæ*, 1476; Super IV. Sentent. 1478, 1481; *Coloniæ*, 1480, 1497; Physicorum Libb. VIII., 1480; De Corruptione et Generatione, 1488; Metaphysicorum Libb. XII., 1480; De Ente et Essentia, 1496, 1498; De Anima, fol., 1480; Logicorum et Fallaciarum, fol., 1481; Commentaria in Libb. Aristotelis de Anima et Unitate Intellectus, 4°, *Colon.*, 1480; *Papiæ*, fol., 1488.

* "Fertur quod ipso existente Parisiis, apparuit ei imaginaria visione soror sua: quæ cum diceret se esse in Purgatorio, certum Missarum numerum petivit, per quem sperabat liberari Deo propitio et ejus interventu. Qui vocans studentes rogavit, ut pro sororis suæ anima Missas dicerent et

"Welcome here! When did you arrive?" * "I have passed from this life" replied the figure, "and am permitted to appear on your account." Overcome by the apparition for a moment, then collecting himself, the Angelical said: "In the name of God, then, I adjure you to answer me these questions: How do I stand? and are my works pleasing to God?" "Thou art in a good state, and thy works do please God," was the reply. Then "What about yourself?" enquired the Angelical. "I am now in eternal life," answered Romanus, "but I have been in purgatory." "Tell me," continued S. Thomas, "the answer to the question which we have so frequently discussed, whether the habits which are acquired in this life remain to us in Heaven?" "Brother Thomas," replied Romanus, "I see God, and do not ask me more." "How do you see God," rejoined the Saint, "do you see Him immediately, or by means of some similitude?" The other answered: "As we have heard, so have we seen, in the city of the

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orarent. Quæ postmodum, cum prædictus Doctor esset Romæ, iterum in visione ei apparuit, et se fuisse liberatam a Purgatorio, et frui gloria, dictis Missis, quas petiverat, revelavit. Qui Doctor cum de se quæreret quid esset, illa respondit: Tu frater es in bono statu, et cito venies ad nos: sed major tibi gloria parata est quam nobis. Tene tantum, quod habes. Cui quærenti de fratre suo Landulfo respondit, quod erat in Purgatorio: de Domino vero Raynaldo alio fratre suo dixit, quod erat in Paradiso: de quo habuit hanc visionem, quod ostenso sibi libro per Angelum, qui scriptus erat lineis aureis et azuriis, nomen fratris Doctor reperit, inter lineas aureas, quæ erant Martyrum, quia pro fidelitate Ecclesiæ morienti sub tyrannide persecutionis Frederici Imperatoris sibi mors computata fuit ad martyrium, quod apud Deum fuit meritorium et acceptum." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. VIII.*, *n.* 45, *p.* 671—672; *Cf. Vita*, *p.* 29.)

* *Vita*, *p.* 29.

Lord of Hosts!" * and then instantly vanished.† So habitual had the ecstatic life become to the Angelical, that at last he could scarcely fix his mind in contemplation without being carried away in rapture; without being lifted off the ground entranced.‡ At length he was so absorbed in divine things, that even the "*Summa*" itself failed to interest him. He finally ceased writing, after a marvellous rapture which seized him, and shook his whole frame, whilst celebrating mass in the Chapel of S. Nicholas, at Naples. After this mass, contrary to his invariable custom, he did not sit down to his desk, nor would he consent to dictate anything; and though engaged on the tractate concerning "Penance" in the Third Part of the

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* *Ps.*, *XLVII.*, 9.

† "Alia fuit mirabilior dicto Doctori visio revelata, non imaginaria, sed corporalis et aperta: cui existenti in conventu Neapolitano in Ecclesia ad orandum, apparuit ei Frater Romanus Magister in Theologia, quem Parisiis legentem dimiserat: cui cum adesset Frater Thomas, et diceret: Bene veneritis. Quando venistis? Ille respondit: Ego ex hac vita transivi, et concessum est mihi pro tuo merito apparere. Tunc prædictus Doctor colligens spiritum, qui fuerat ex subita illa apparitione commotus, respondit: Ex quo Deo placet, ex parte ipsius te adjuro, ut ad quæsita respondeas. Quæro, de me quid est? Et si Deo placent opera mea? Et respondit: Tu es in bono statu et placent opera tua Deo. Tum Doctor intulit. Quid est de te? Respondit: Ego sum in vita æterna, et fui in Purgatorio . . . Tunc addidit: Quæro quid est de illa quæstione, quam frequenter disputavimus; utrum habitus in hac vita acquisiti maneant in patria? At ille respondit: Frater Thoma, ego video Deum, et nihil aliud de hac quæstione petatis. Et iterum petivit ab eo: Ex quo vides Deum, dic mihi si videas Deum sine media specie, vel mediante aliqua similitudine? Tunc respondit: Sicut audivimus, sic vidimus in civitate Domini virtutum, et statim disparuit. Qui Doctor remansit ex tam mirabili et insolita apparitione attonitus, et de placida responsione jocundus." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. VIII.*, *n.* 46, *p.* 672.)

‡ See how he could read men's thoughts (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. VIII.*, *n.* 47, *p.* 672); and how he was supernaturally dealt with (*Processus in Vita*, *Cap. X.*, *n.* 55, *p.* 674); for instance, a boy saw a bright star come in at his window, and remain shining over his head whilst resting wearily on his pallet. (*Ibidem.*)

"*Summa*," he put away his pen, and became wholly lost in contemplation.* Even Reginald, who knew him so intimately, could not account for this. He said, with amazement, to his master: "My Father, why hast thou cast on one side so great a work, which thou didst begin for the Glory of God, and the illumination of the world!" All he replied was, "*Non possum*"—"*I cannot* write any more." Reginald, fearing lest over-work had affected his master's brain,† was continually imploring him to continue writing, but the Saint ever made the same reply: "I cannot, Reginald, for everything that I have written appears to me as simply rubbish." From this time forth S. Thomas may be said to have lived, not on earth but in Heaven. Shortly after his great ecstasy he visited his sister, the Countess of Sanseverino, whom he tenderly loved. Even on the journey he was perfectly carried away, and it was with difficulty that his *socius* could get him to the Castle

* "Item dixit idem testis [Dominus Bartholomæus de Capua], quod, cum dictus Fr. Thomas celebraret Missam in dicta capella S. Nicolai Neapoli, fuit mira mutatione commotus, et post ipsam Missam non scripsit; neque dictavit aliquid, imo suspendit organa scriptionis in tertia parte summæ in tractatu de Pœnitentia; et dum idem Fr. Raynaldus videret, quod ipse Fr. Thomas cessaverat scribere, dixit ei: Pater, quomodo dimisistis opus tam grande, quod ad laudem Dei et illuminationem mundi cœpistis? Cui respondit dictus Fr. Thomas: Non possum." (Boll., *Processus de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Cap. IX., n.* 79, *p.* 711.)

† Recall some of his labours: His *Commentary* on *Aristotle* contains 891 *Lections*, his *Expositions* of *Holy Scripture* 803 *Lections* and *Chapters;* his two *Commentaries* on *the Lombard* 568 *Questions* in 2931 *Articles;* his *Quæstiones Disputatæ* 510 *Articles;* his *Quodlibeta* 130 *Questions* and 260 *Articles;* his *Summa contra Gentiles* 463 *Chapters;* his *Summa Theologica* in three Parts 518 *Questions*, 2652 *Articles*, and above 10,000 *Resolutions:* then, there are his 43 authentic *Opuscula* and his 221 sketches of Sermons (Cf. Werner, *Der heilige Thomas von Aquino, Erster Band, Siebentes Capitel, p.* 875—876.)

gates. His sister seeing him approach, hurried out to meet him; but he, being so absorbed, scarcely noticed her.* She turned terrified to Reginald, and exclaimed: "How is this that Brother Thomas is altogether tranced, and will scarcely speak a word to me?" Reginald replied: "Ever since the feast of S. Nicholas he has been like this, and from that day forth he has not written a word." Then he began again with great earnestness to beg the Angelical to say why he refused to write, and how he had become thus beside himself. Being pressed with such importunity, S. Thomas at length exclaimed to Reginald: "I adjure thee, by the Omnipotent and Living God, by thy holy vows, and by the charity which binds thee now, not to reveal during my lifetime what I am about to say!" And then he added: "All I have written appears

* "Idem vero Fr. Raynaldus timens, ne propter multum studium aliquam incurrisset amentiam, instabat semper, quod idem Fr. Thomas continuaret scripta, et similiter ipse Fr. Thomas respondit: Raynalde, non possum: quia omnia, quæ scripsi, videntur mihi paleæ. Tunc Fr. Raynaldus stupefactus, . . . quod dictus Fr. Thomas iret ad Comitissam S. Severini sororem suam quam caritative diligebat, quo properavit magna cum difficultate, et cum illuc accederet, ipsi Comitissæ sibi occurrenti vix locutus est. Tunc Comitissa dixit dicto Fr. Raynaldo cum magno timore: Quid est hoc, quod Fr. Thomas totus est stupefactus, et vix mihi locutus est? Respondens idem Fr. Raynaldus. ait: A festo B. Nicolai circa fuit in isto statu, ex tunc nihil scripsit: et idem Fr. Raynaldus coepit instare apud dictum Fr. Thomam, ut diceret illi, qua de causa scribere recusaverat, et quare ita stupefactus erat: et post multas interrogationes omni importunitate factas per ipsum Fr. Raynaldum, respondit Fr. Thomas eidem Fr. Raynaldo: Ego adjuro te per Deum vivum omnipotentem, et per fidem quam tenetis Ordini nostro, et per caritatem quæ modo stringeris, quod ea, quæ tibi dixero, nulli reveles in vita mea. Et subjunxit illi: Omnia, quæ scripsi, videntur mihi paleæ respectu eorum, quæ vidi et revelata sunt mihi." *(Boll., In Processu de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Cap. IX., n. 79, p. 711.)*

to me as so much rubbish, compared with what I have seen, and what has been revealed to me!"

Meanwhile, after three years vacancy, following the death of Pope Clement IV., Theobald, Archdeacon of Liége, was chosen Pope, and took the title of Gregory X. This Pontiff dedicated himself to carrying out two special objects—the union of the Latin and Greek Churches, and the recovery of the Holy Land from the hand of the infidel. He it was, who made Tomaso d'Agni di Lentino, Archbishop of Cosenza, and then Patriarch of Jerusalem; and he it was, who, being aware of the Angelical's deep acquaintance with the vexed points of Greek and Latin theology, issued a special Bull commanding his attendance at the II. Council of Lyons, and requesting him to bring with him the famous Tractate he had written in the days of Pope Urban IV., against the errors of the Greeks.*

In obedience to the voice of authority, the Angelical set out for Lyons towards the end of January 1274, with his inseparable *socius*, Reginald. His health was feeble, and his mind was still fixed on the visions of another world. They travelled by way of Campagna, and called at the Castle of Maienza, in the diocese of Terracina, where Frances, wife of Hannibal Ceccano, niece of the

* See Frigerio, *Lib. IV., Cap. I., p.* 156; see also, Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X., n.* 56, *p.* 674; Werner, *Erster Band, Sechstes Capitel, p.* 846; Gibelli, *Cap. XXX., p.* 112; *Cf.* Drioux, *La Somme Théologique, Introduction,* § *II., p.* 17.

Angelical, resided. Here the Saint weak and faint, reposed awhile, but did not rally. He wholly lost his appetite, though the fish he seemed to fancy, to the amazement of all, was miraculously provided.* After a while he felt himself a little stronger. The report of his being in the neighbourhood spread with rapidity. It reached a Benedictine Abbey which was about six miles distant from the Castle. The monks remembering, no doubt, the close connection of S. Thomas with S. Benedict, how his family had lived under the shadow of the Holy Rule, how his uncle had been an Abbot, and his sister a Benedictine Nun, and how he himself had been grounded by the monks in the first principles of holocaustic sacrifice, invited him to Fossa Nuova where the silence was seldom broken save by the matin call to prayer, or by the voices of the monks pleading in the choir. The Saint gladly accepted the invitation, saying: "If the Lord means to take me away, it were better

* The *Gratia* is recorded thus by Tocco:—"Qui [S. Thomas] a Magistro Joanne de Guidone de Piperno medico requisitus, si aliquem cibum appeteret, et de nullo cibo, nisi de halecibus, quos comederat in Francia se diceret posse gustare: anxiatus est medicus, quod tanto Doctori infirmo non posset remedium adhibere, quia talis piscis non poterat inveniri. Qui egressus ad plateam castri, invenit unum, qui unam sarcinam sardarum recentium de Terracina portabat. Quam cum ad terram deponi fecisset, ut, si aliqui pisces admixti essent sardis, perquireret, reperit unam cistam de halecibus recentibus: de quo admirans medicus, quia numquam tales pisces fuerant in partibus illis visi, et quia portator piscium sardas se emisse sæpius asserebat, prædictos pisces Magistro deferri mandavit cum gaudio credens ipsum consolari de proviso sibi divinitus cibo concupito. Doctor autem . . . renuens de piscibus comedere, dixit medico: Magister melius est, quod Divinæ Providentiæ me committam, quam quod de his piscibus divina concessis potentia, quos nimio desiderio concupivi, manducare præsumam." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X., n.* 57, *p.* 675; *Cf. Processus in Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Boll., Cap. II., n.* 9, *p.* 687.)

that I should die in a religious house than in the midst of seculars." * So he quitted the Castle of Maienza, and protected by the monks, who had come to escort him, he rode in the midst of them towards the distant monastery. See him as he gets from off his horse, and is led by the Fathers into the monastic Church; see him kneeling there in silent adoration as they all assemble and surround him so broken, yet so Angelical, pouring forth his heart to God before the altar! He rises; they follow him; the Abbot conducts him through the Church into the silent cloister. Then the whole past seems to break in upon him like a burst of over-powering sunlight; the calm and quiet Abbey, the meditative corridor, the gentle Benedictine monks: he seems as if he were at Cassino once again, amidst the glorious visions of his boyish days—amidst the tender friendships of his early youth, close on the bones of ancient kings, near the solemn tomb of Blessed Benedict,

* Here is the testimony, on oath, of the Abbot of Fossa Nuova :—"Die Martii vigesima quarta ejusdem mensis Neapoli in palatio Archiepiscopatus, venerabilis et Religiosus vir, Fr. Nicolaus Abbas monasterii Fossæ-novæ . . . primo interrogatus super vita et conversatione ejusdem Fr. Thomæ, dixit, quod olim tempore felicis recordationis Domini Gregorii Papæ Decimi, dum dictus Fr. Thomas vocatus iret ad Concilium Lugdunense, et transitum faceret per Campaniam, infirmatus fuit in castro Magentiæ cujusdem Domini Anibaldi de Ceccano et cum ipsa infirmitate graveretur, dixit, ut audivit a pluribus : Si Dominus voluerit me visitare, melius est, quod reperiar in domo Religiosorum, quam in domibus secularium : et ex tunc caussa devotionis fecit se portari ad monasterium Fossæ-novæ, quod distat a dicto castro milliaribus sex vel circa, ubi jacuit infirmus quasi per mensem : et cum pervenisset ad dictum monasterium, in ingressu ipsius audivit dici dictus testis, quod dictus Fr. Thomas dixit : Hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam." (*Boll. Processus de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Cap. II., n.* 8, *p.* 687; *item, Cap. VI., n.* 49, *p.* 700.)

in the hallowed home of great traditions, and at the very shrine of all that is fair and noble in monastic life.* He seemed completely overcome by the memories of the past, and, turning to the monks who surrounded him, exclaimed : "*This* is the place where I shall find repose!" and then ecstatically to Reginald, in presence of them all : "*Hæc est requies mea in sæculum sæculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam*"—"This is my rest for ever and ever; here will I dwell, for I have chosen it!"†

The fever which had seized upon him instead of diminishing was increasing in its force. He was conducted to the Abbot's cell, which, out of respect for so great a Saint,‡ and so profound a genius, had been vacated by the Prelate pur-

* "Post hoc [miraculum de halecibus] cum prædictus Doctor fuisset aliquibus remediis confortatus, ut videretur sibi, quod posset iter inceptum prosequi versus Romam, juxta monasterium Fossæ-novæ transiens ; invitatus ab Abbate et monachis, volens ibi aliquibus diebus vires resumere, prædictum monasterium est ingressus cum comitiva decenti concurrentium et concomitantium monachorum. Qui cum primo ingressus fuisset ecclesiam, debita reverentia sacro altari exhibita, claustrum intravit, ubi facta est super eum manus Domini, et tactus Spiritu prophetiæ, dixit pluribus audientibus monachis et sui ordinis fratribus, et præcipue suo socio, cui consueverat similia revelare : Fili Raynalde, hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi ; hic habitabo, quoniam elegi eam." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. X.*, *n.* 58, *p.* 675 ; *Cf.* Frigerio, *Lib. IV.*, *Cap. I.*, *n.* 5, *p.* 157 ; Gibelli, *Cap. XXXI.*, *p.* 116 ; Bareille, *Chap. XXVII.*, *p.* 360 ; Werner, *Erster Band*, *Sechstes Capitel*, *p.* 848 ; Touron, *Liv. III.*, *Chap. XII.*, *p.* 248 ; *Vita*, *p.* 33 ; Boll., *Processus de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, *Cap. III.*, *n.* 19, *p.* 690 ; *Item*, *Cap. VI.*, *n.* 49, *p.* 700 ; *Item*, *Cap. IX.*, *n.* 80, *p.* 711.)

† *Ps. CXXXI.*, 14.

‡ For the extraordinary number of miracles worked by the Saint, regarding the sweet odour and incorruption of his body, see Boll., alia Vita, Auctore B. Guidonis Episcop. Lodivens. : Lib. I., Cap. I—LV. ; Lib. II., Pars I., Cap I.—XXIV. ; Pars II., Cap. XXV.—LXXII. Pars III., Cap. LXXIII.—XCIX. The Second and Third Books contain a full account of, or reference to, ninety-nine distinct miraculous cures performed through the intercession of S. Thomas. (Vid. Boll., *Processus de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, *p.* 714—721.)

posely for him.* Here, during the whole of his illness, which lasted about a month, the community watched over him with all the tenderness and reverence of sons towards a father. The Benedictines would suffer no one to wait upon him but themselves: all servants were excluded; even the wood to make his fire was cut down in the forest by the hands of the brethren, and borne on their willing shoulders to his hearth.† They were overjoyed to receive him into their home, and to minister to him of their choicest and their best. He, on his part, full of calmness and peace, patient as a child, gentle as charity itself, knew he was amongst his own; and yearning continually after his release—fixed in the thought of the Eternal Rest of God—was ever repeating over these words of S. Augustine: "So long as in me there is ought which is not wholly Thine O God, suffering and sorrow will be my lot; but when I shall be Thine alone, then shall I be filled with Thee, and wholly set at liberty!" ‡

It was the Christ-principle which filled his entire being, and bore him up out of this visible scene

* "Post quod propheticum dictum de suo obitu fratribus sui ordinis præcipue, lamentantibus, positus fuit Doctor in camera Abbatis, cæteris sociis, sicut exigebat necessitas, cum magno caritatis affectu collocatis." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X., n.* 58, *p.* 675.)

† "Ubi cum prædictus Doctor pluribus diebus gravatus amplius infirmitate decumberet; monachi cum tanta reverentia et humilitate ei servire coeperunt, ut et de silva propriis humeris ligna deferrent; felices se reputantes, si sancto Doctori possent exhibere servitium, qui adhuc vivens properabat ad regnum. Ipse vero Doctor providus in se et aliis compassivus dicebat: Unde hoc mihi, ut et servi Dei serviant homini, et onus tantum de longe deferant, quo laboratis?" (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X., n.* 58, *p.* 675.)

‡ *Confessions, Book X., Chap.* [*XXVIII.*] 39. *Edit. Oxford.* See also, Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Liv. III., Chap. XIII., p.* 249.

into those expanding realms of light, from which light comes into the mind of man. Knowing how faith and science had illuminated the man of God, especially with respect to the union of the soul with its Beloved, the monks, notwithstanding his feeble condition, could not refrain from asking him to expound to them the *Canticle of Canticles*, which has wholly to do with the mystic marriage of the soul with Christ. Ever since his great vision the Saint had put aside his pen. All his learning, in the brightness of the light which shone upon him at that hour, appeared to him as a faded flower in the mid-day sun.* Still, the monks implored him, reminding him how Blessed Bernard had done the like. The Angelical looked at them with unutterable gentleness, and said: "Get me Bernard's spirit, and I will do your bidding." † Finally, he gave way to them, and surrounding the bed on which he lay, they heard from the lips of the dying Theologian how there

* During the illness of the Saint, a radiant star or comet stood over the monastery. A Brother of the Abbey having fallen asleep whilst in the Church, saw, at the moment of the Angelical's death, a large bright star, falling as it were, upon the Convent, whilst two other stars uniting themselves to it, fell with it; the larger bright star then mounting up the heavens became as great as the other two together, and pierced out of sight beyond the clouds. (See Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X., n.* 60, *p.* 675—676.) B. Paul de Aquila also had a vision at Naples. He saw the Angelical teaching in the Schools. S. Paul entered with a company of Saints, and taking the Saint by the cappa lead him out of the School:—"Ad cujus Doctoris exitum prædictus Frater cœpit fortiter clamare; Succurrite, quia Fr. Thomas nobis tollitur." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X., n.* 61, *p.* 676.) B. Raymund Maturus, after the Saint's death, had a vision of him: One eye appeared much larger than the other: "De hoc Fili, miraris," said the apparition to him, "quod tantam differentiam in me oculi dextri a sinistro perpendis: tanta est differentia scientiæ, quam nunc habeo in patria ab ea quam habui dum essem in via." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X., n.* 65, *p.* 677.) See also another vision in the *Processus de Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Boll., Cap. VII., n.* 67, *p.* 706.

† Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin, Chap. XIII., p.* 251.

is no strength, or peace, or light, for man in earth or heaven, without the charity of Christ and the merits of His Cross.*

Growing still weaker, the man of God became conscious that his hour was drawing very nigh. He sent for Reginald, his *socius*, and with deep contrition and many sighs, made a review of his entire life, which, in reality, was simply a manifestation of the abiding and angelic purity of his heart and spirit.† Having done this, he then begged the brethren to bring him the Body of our Lord—that Lord Who, from infancy up, had been the main-stay of his life and the one desire of his large and tender heart.‡ The Abbot, accompanied by his community, proceeded to the chamber of the dying man, solemnly bearing the Blessed Sacrament. The door was gently opened, the monks one by one went in, and speedily surrounded the bed and filled the cell: then, with slow and

* "Qui [S. Thomas] licet admodum debilis esset, quia credebat, ut prophetizaverat, ut ex vita transiret, rogatus ab aliquibus monachis, qui capere poterant, ut aliquod memoriale suæ scientiæ eis in fine relinqueret, breviter eis exposuit Cantica Canticorum: ut in hoc casu deficiente corpore a vita mortali, anima illa non deficeret ab actu necessario doctrinali, et in Canticum terminaret amoris, ut sicut ad Deum suum exercuit studium, sic ad habendum dilecti perveniret amplexum." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X.*, *n.* 58, *p.* 675.)

† His Confessor, who knew his life fully, declared that, from his birth to his death, his mind and heart had never once been sullied. At forty-eight, he was as pure as a child of five years old. Reginald spoke thus, in his Funeral Oration: "Surgens itaque in medium," says Tocco, "prædicavit et dixit: Ego istius Doctoris totius vitæ exterioris et conscientiæ testis sum et frequenter audivi meritum ejus tam evidens: et nunc generalem ejus Confessionem audivi, quem ita semper purum reperi, sicut puerum quinque annorum: quia nunquam carnis suæ sensit contagium, nec habuit in aliqua prava voluptate consensum." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X.*, *n.* 64, *p.* 676.)

‡ "Deinde cum coepisset prædictus Doctor nimia debilitate deficere, et sui exitum de hac vita præscire, cum magna devotione petiit exhiberi sibi Christianæ peregrinationis viaticum, sacrosanctum Christi Corporis Sacramentum." (Tocco, *Boll., Cap. X.*, *n.* 59, *p.* 675.)

silent step, the Abbot came, bearing the bright Ciborium containing the Nourishment of Eternal Life. Immediately the great Angelical perceived his Master's presence, with the help of the brethren he rose from his pallet, and, kneeling upon the floor, adored his King and Saviour; and whilst shedding many tears, amidst the sobs of the monks who could not control their emotion, he made his act of Faith in the real presence of his Lord.* When he had made an end, and the Abbot was on the point of administering the Saving Host to him, he exclaimed, in the hearing of all the monks: "I receive Thee, the price of my soul's redemption, for love of Whom I have studied, I have watched, and I have laboured! Thee have I preached, Thee have I taught, against Thee never have I breathed a word, neither am I wedded to my own opinion. If I have held ought which is untrue regarding this Blessed Sacrament, I subject it to the judgment of the Holy Roman Church, in whose obedience I now pass out of life." Then, as the Abbot lifted up the Spotless Element to administer to him, with a sweet torrent of tears and with mighty devotion, the glorious man uttered his favourite ejaculation: "Thou, O Christ, art the King of Glory; Thou art the Everlasting Son of the Father!" and received gently upon his tongue the Angelic Bread which came to him from Heaven.† And, as he was approaching

* See Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. X.*, *n.* 59, *p.* 675.

† "Et præmissis aliquibus devotis verbis, sumendo Sacramentum prædixit: Sumo te pretium redemptionis animæ meæ, pro cujus amore

close upon his change, the Abbot with the brethren still watched about his bed; and those senses, which had served their Master with such generous loyalty, were one by one anointed, with the Sacred Unction, by loving Benedictine hands at his request, whilst he, quite conscious of what was going on, answered "Amen" to the prayers of the minister of God.* See them, then, for the last time, bending over him. See the Prince of Theologians, passing out of life, or rather advancing through his labours into rest, to realize away from the twilight of earth the one dream of his soul; to see the King in His Glory, and the Blessed adoring before the Everlasting Throne!† There he lies, the great Angelical, calm and self-contained, as if reclining in the mighty Hand of God, "*Expectans beatam spem et adventum Domini*," looking forward to the blessed hope and coming of his Lord!

The brethren, meanwhile, with untold tender-

studui, vigilavi, et laboravi, te prædicavi et docui, nihil umquam contra te dixi, nec sum pertinax in sensu meo, sed si quid male dixi de hoc Sacramento, totum relinquo correctioni Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, in cujus obedientia nunc transeo ex hac vita. Dicitur de prædicto Doctore etiam, quod in elevatione Corporis Christi etiam consueverat dicere: Tu Rex gloriæ Christi, Tu Patris sempiternus es filius, usque ad finem cum magna devotione et lacrymis." (Tocco, *Boll.*, *Cap. X.*, *n.* 59, *p.* 675.)

* "Quo Sacramento suscepto, sic devote sibi ad meritum, aliis ad exemplum petivit consequenter die altera sacræ Unctionis oleum, exeuntium Sacramentum: ut ille unctionis spiritus, qui eum præ participibus suis unxerat, ad cœlum duceret, quo tendebat. Post paullulum autem suum spiritum Domino reddidit: quem sicut Sanctum susceperat, sic servavit, qui tam lætanter exivit de corpore, quam mirabiliter videbatur vivere extra corpus." *(Ibidem.)*

† The Angelical told Reginald that he had asked, and had received, three favours from Heaven: abstraction of Spirit, humility of life, and a knowledge of the condition of his brother's soul:—"Ed hauendo io chiesto tre doni in vita; sono stato fatto di quelli degno per sua bontà. Et da questi argomento la presente gratia, et la futura gloria. Il primo

ness and reverence follow his countenance with their lustrous eyes, and watch life gradually ebbing away, till, at last, that moment comes, which it is not given to any man to know, when the spirit secretly flies swiftly away out of the world of time and sense.

He was taken from exile on the early morning of the seventh of March, in the year twelve hundred and seventy-four, in the prime of manly life, being scarcely eight and forty years of age.*

It is but natural, it is but beautiful, that he, who in early boyhood had been stamped with the signet of S. Benedict, should return to S. Benedict to die. He had gone forth to his work and to his labour in the morning, and he returned home to his brethren in the evening-tide. †

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fù, che nessuna affettione delle cose temporali, ò carnali hauesse annihilata la purità della mia mente: ò la fortezza debilitata. Il secondo, che non hauesse permesso, che lo stato della mia pouera humiltà fosse stato alterato da Prelatura, ò dignità. Il terzo, che scouerto m'hauesse lo stato dell'anima di mio fratello Rinaldo, il quale per la difensione della Romana Chiesa con morte crudele, et tormenti amari da questa vita è partito." (*Vita, p.* 33.)

* At the very hour of the Angelical's *transitus*, Albertus Magnus, his old master, was seen by the Community and Prior of the Convent, at Cologne, to burst into tears. The Prior implored him to say what was the matter: "Ego dico vobis graves rumores," replied the aged man, "quia Fr. Thomas de Aquino filius meus in Christo, qui fuit Lumen Ecclesiæ, mortuus est, et mihi revelatum est a Deo; et tunc Prior notavit, et compertum est tunc fuisse mortuum, quando hoc fuit revelatum." (Boll., *Processus in Vita S. Thomæ Aquinatis, Cap. VII., n.* 67, *p.* 706.)

† It appears that the Angelical continued throughout life to wear the Benedictine Badge or Scapular: "Movet me primum, quod Parisiis olim, in majori Conventu D. Jacobi, ubi maximam vitæ partem D. Thomas exegit, a plerisque Magistris, et antiqui moris Viris acceperim, ex prisca Majorum traditione haberi, communiterque teneri, Doctorem Angelicum, sub alba Dominicanorum veste, Benedictinum Schema, seu Scapulare nigrum gestare solitum fuisse. Quod idem a Viro doctissimo eodemque eximiæ probitatis Magistro Julio Mercoro, apud Mediolanum Fidei Quæsitore, accepisse profitetur laudatus hic sæpe Vir summus Angelus de Nuce, Archiepiscopus Rossanensis." (Vid. *De Monachatu Benedictino D. Thomæ Aquinatis, Cap. VII.*, § *IV.*, *p.* 67.)

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